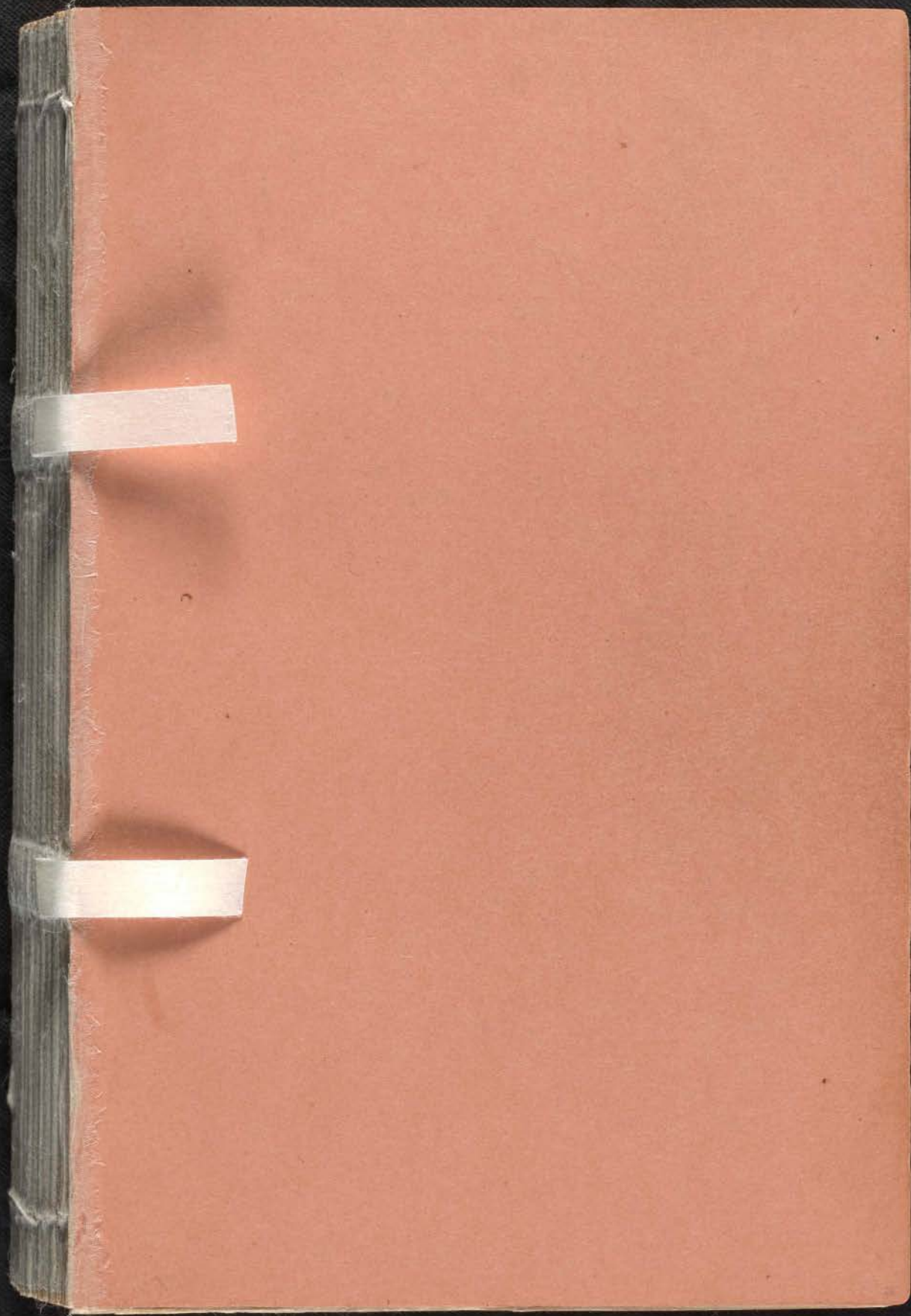


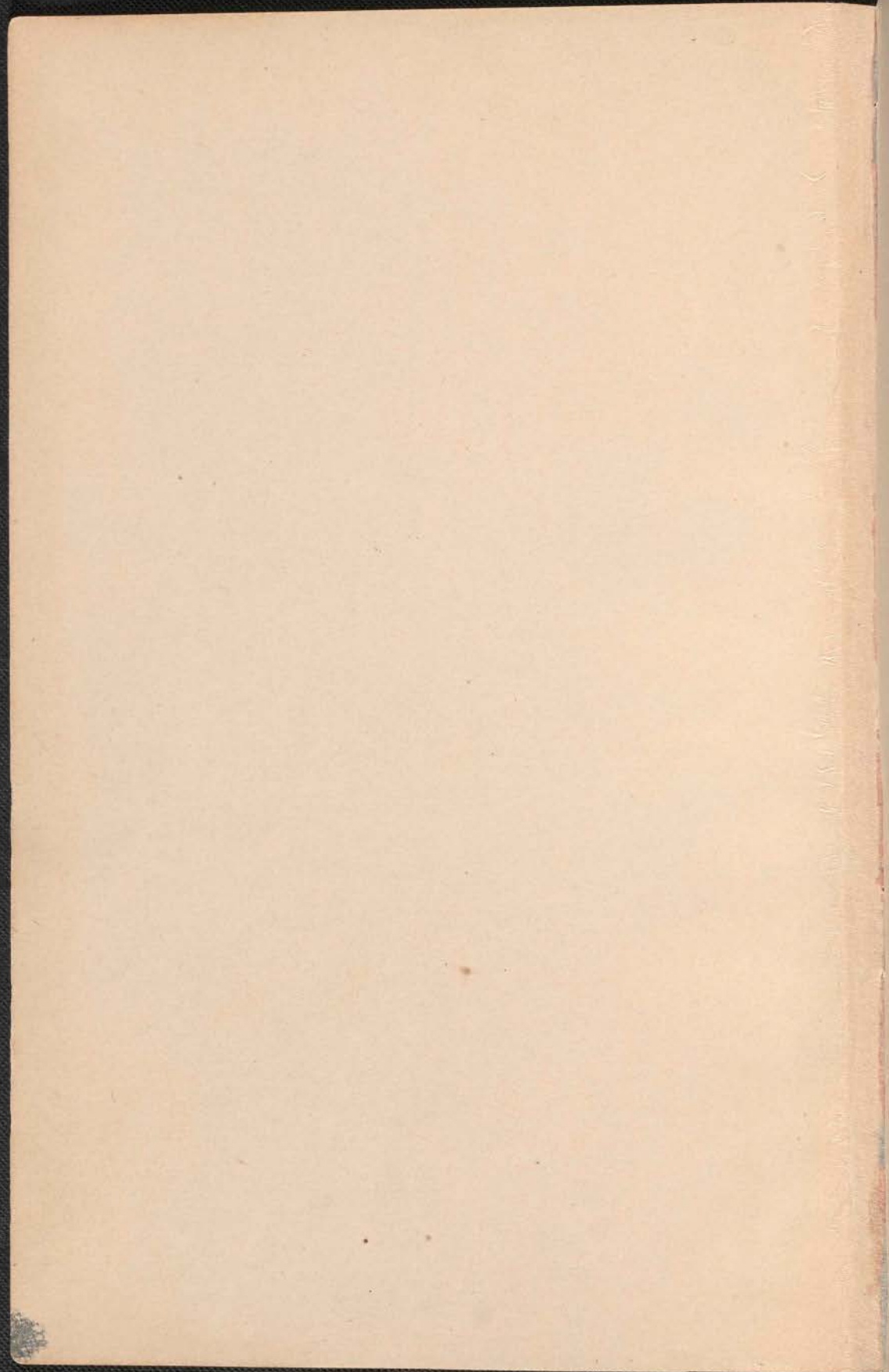
LANCASTER MASS

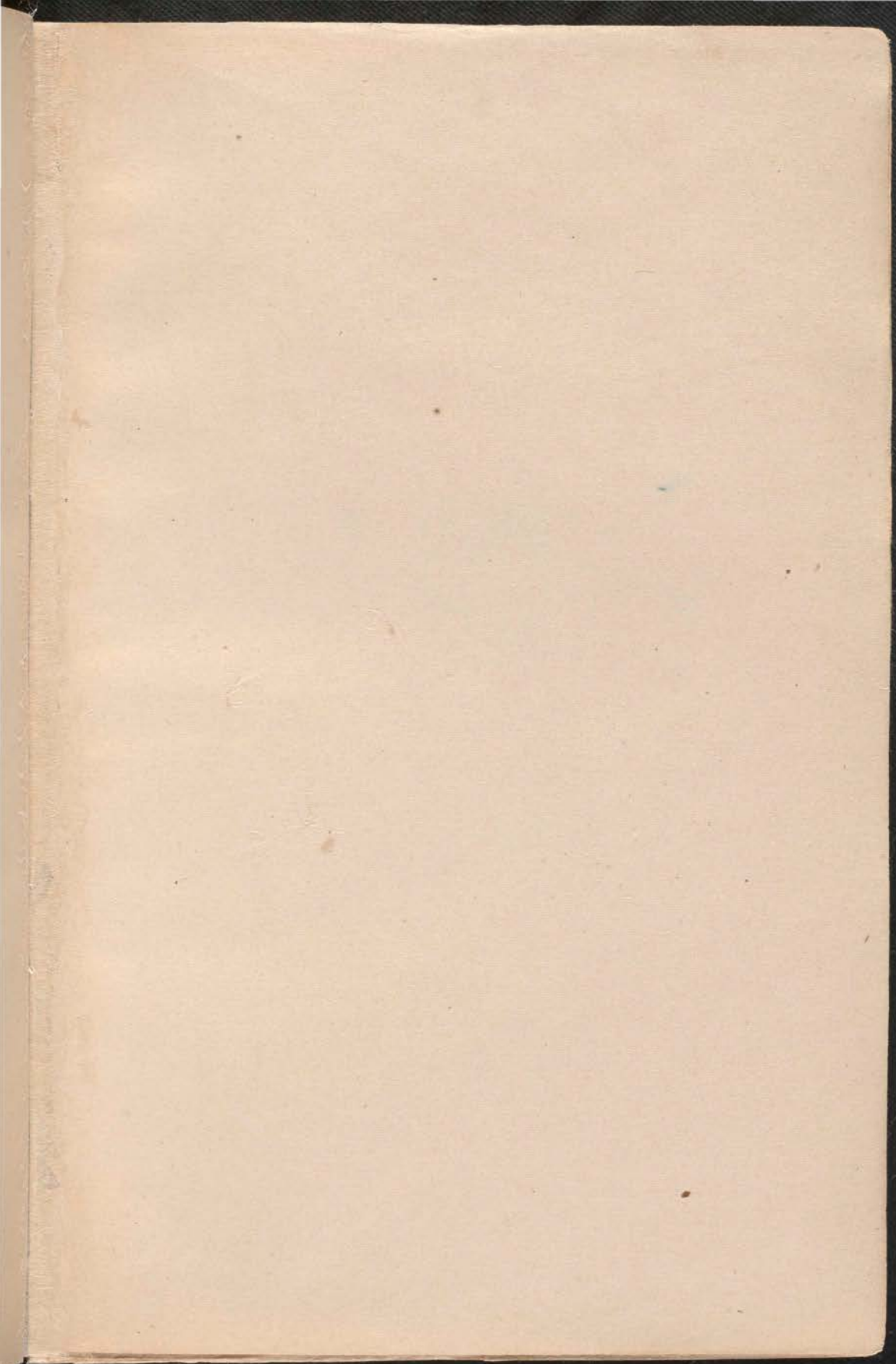


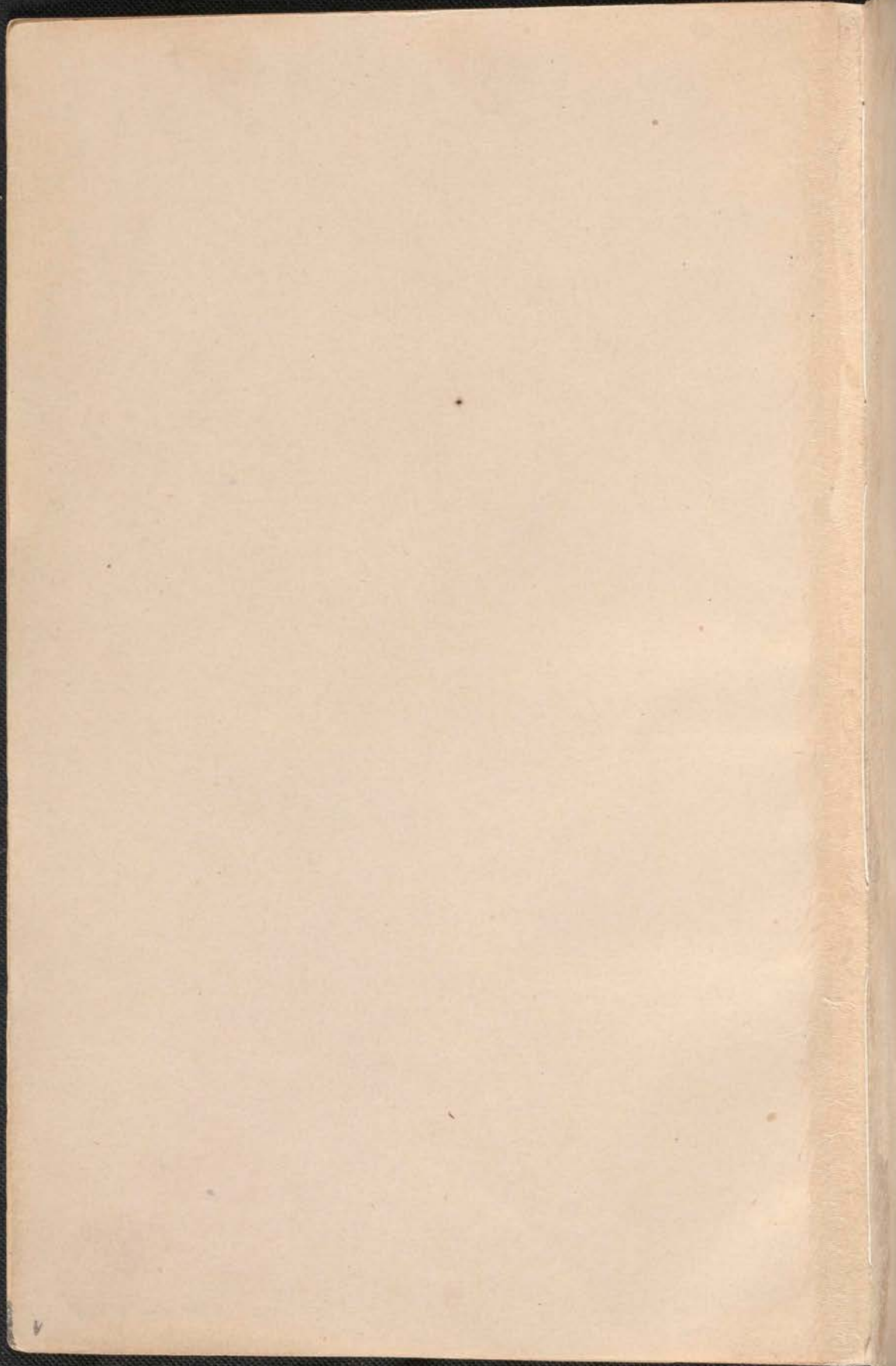
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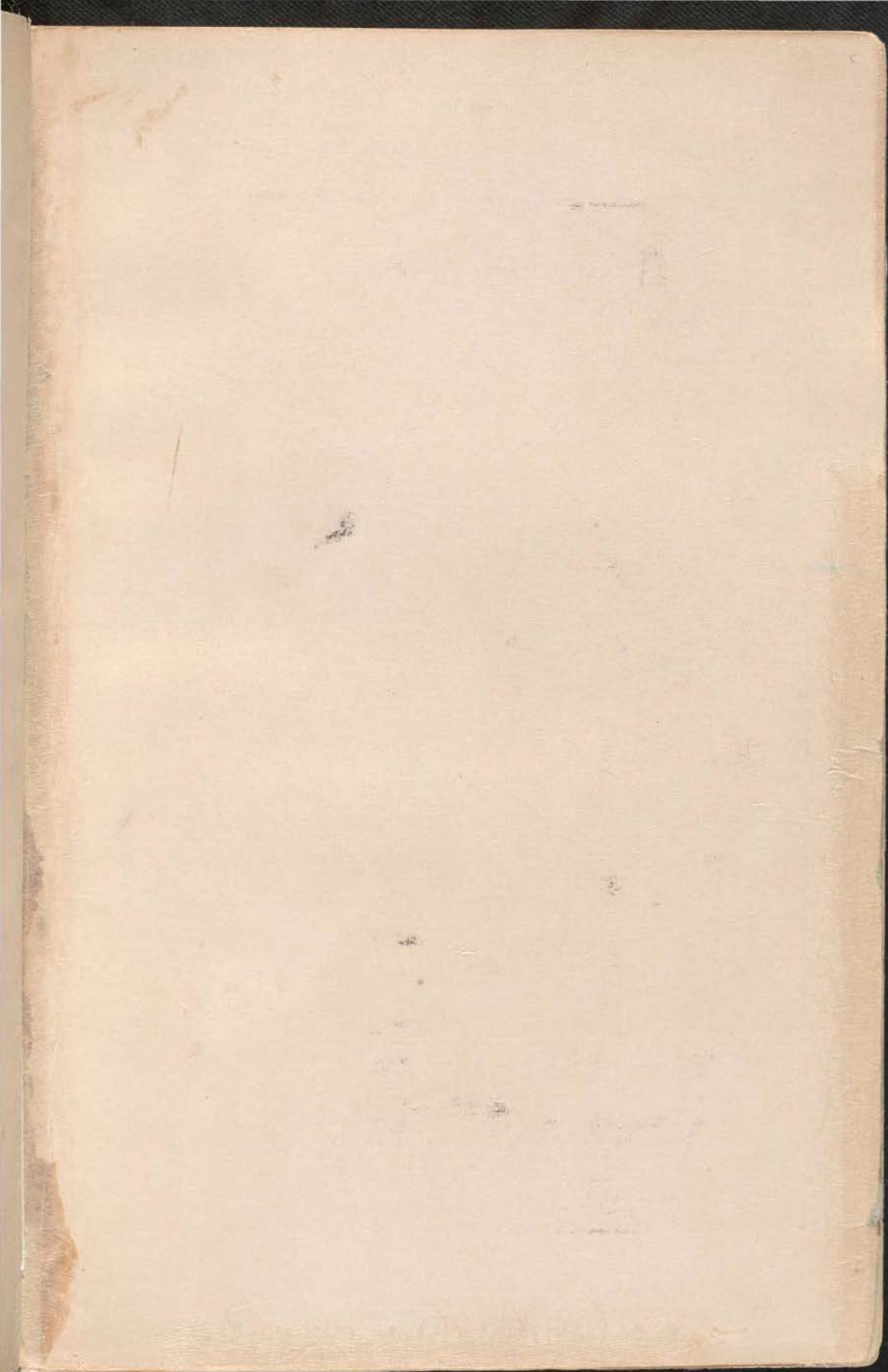
L.C.









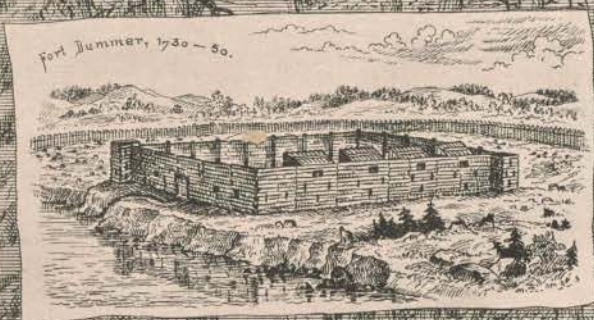




ANCIENT MEETINGHOUSE.



GARRISON HOUSE OF 1900.



Fort Sumner, 1730 - 50.

*Wm. Del.*

ILLUSTRATIVE BUILDINGS 1605-1740.



HISTORY  
OF THE  
TOWN OF LANCASTER,  
MASSACHUSETTS:

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME,  
1643—1879.

BY

REV. ABIJAH P. MARVIN,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF WINCHENDON," AND THE "HISTORY  
OF WORCESTER IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION."

*Volume I. Annotated by H. S. K.*

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The past but lives in words: a thousand ages  
Were blank, if books had not evoked their ghosts."—BULWER.

---

LANCASTER:  
PUBLISHED BY THE TOWN.  
1879.

Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1879, by  
SOLON WILDER, FOR THE TOWN,  
in the office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

43537

Printed by J. E. FARWELL & Co., 45 Pearl Street, Boston.

*Otis Fletcher Clinton*

From the Bindery of ~~H. SANDERSON~~ ~~18~~ Federal Street, Boston.

3

PREFATORY NOTE  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

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THE definite duty of this committee has been to procure the preparation and publication of a History of the town. As related hereafter, the hope of finding the materials for such a history, gathered by that accomplished annalist, the late Joseph Willard, Esq., in a condition for publication, had been disappointed; and although there were natives of the town who were competent to write its History, yet their engagements would have prevented. Indeed, before the vote, under which the committee were appointed, was passed, "the preparation" had been assigned, by very general consent, to the Reverend Mr. Marvin, lately Minister of one of the religious societies of the town, and who, though but for a few years a resident, was accredited with the desired gifts and experience for the work, and was at leisure to undertake it. Aside from the business of "publication," the co-operation of his colleagues with Mr. Marvin has been only advisory; and to him alone belongs any literary merit which may attach to the book that is now presented to subscribers and to the public. The committee do not hold themselves responsible for any statements of opinion which he has made, nor, either in general or in detail, for the manner in which he has executed his task; but they must not omit to say that, in their judgment, he has discharged his obligations to the town with ability and fidelity; that their official association with him has been very pleasant and profitable

to them; and that they confidently believe that his readers will derive in a good degree the satisfaction from his labors which, without doubt, it has been his ambition to deserve. How much time and anxious research such labors involve, is not readily estimated by the inexperienced or superficial observer of the results. The production of this book having been limited to two years, that errors of omission and of commission will be detected in it, the committee and the author take for granted. Notification to him or to them of any such errors, will be esteemed a favor. Though Mr. Remick has been happy in his sketch, yet the committee would have been glad to give another representation of the great Elm, in a photograph direct from nature, and taken, perhaps, in winter; but convenience did not serve, and uniformity in the style of the illustrations seemed to be desirable. Acknowledgments are due to Mr. J. E. Farwell, a native of Lancaster,

x  
 for his friendly zeal in carrying the manuscript through his press at prices hardly remunerative to him. It only remains to be said that this address has been written as if Mr. Marvin were not a member of the committee, and to commend the sentiment of one distinguished as historian and poet, in his own words:—

*Southey.*  
 “Whatever strengthens our local attachments is favourable both to individual and national character.\* \*Show me a man who cares no more for one place than another, and I will show you in that same person one who loves nothing but himself. You have no hold on a human being whose affections are without a taproot.”

*G. M. Bartol.*

x  
*James E. Farwell born in Lancaster  
 June 17, 1818. Member of legislature from  
 Boston in 1855 & in 1863.*

The final report of the History Committee was accepted by the town at the March meeting 1881 - From it the following facts are drawn -

No. of copies of History printed - 700.  
 do. given to Presidents of L. 474.  
 do. " " Press & other Complementary 28.  
 do. Sold 154 - 3 bought in.  
 do given to Library for exchange &c 47

Paid Mr. Marvin	\$1500 for authorship			
do Harold Parker	plan of old burial ground	188.56	1488.56	} Total Cost <u>3842.44</u> \$664.70 recd. from sales
do S. H. Sanborn	for binding	182.72	10.50	
do Otis Fletcher		60.30	197.60	
do H. E. Reimick	for Drawings Maps &c		262.80	
do Helix Printing Co.			1327.98	
do J. E. Farwell Co.	Printing		12.00	
do Russell & Richardson	wood cuts			

INTRODUCTION.

At a town meeting held in the year 1871, Rev. George M. Bartol, Mr. Henry Wilder and Rev. A. P. Marvin were chosen as a committee to obtain from the heirs of the late Joseph Willard, Esq., of Boston, a manuscript history of the town of Lancaster. It was supposed at the time, that such a work was in existence, and from the known character of the writer, it was believed that his history of the town would be full and accurate. It was remembered by one of the committee, that Mr. Willard had mentioned the fact of his having the work in such a state of forwardness, that it could be fitted for the press in six months, and would make a volume of four or five hundred octavo pages. The chairman of the committee made application to the sons of Mr. Willard, but they were unable to discover the manuscript. The committee were thus discharged from their duty.

In 1876 the town at its annual meeting, had before it an article "to see what action should be taken in relation to the preparation and publishing of the History of the town." On the eighth of April the subject was referred to a committee of five, to take such action as they might deem advisable. The committee were George M. Bartol, A. P. Marvin, Jonas M. Damon, Charles T. Fletcher and Charles L. Wilder. The committee engaged the subscriber to write the history, but as the town had made no appropriation to pay for preparing or publishing the work, not much was done that year, except by way of collecting information, and settling upon the plan.

At the annual meeting, March 5, 1877, the committee made a report, with suggestions, to the effect that the town should raise the sum of \$1,500, to pay expenses; print six hundred and fifty copies; and give a copy of the book to every family belonging to the town. The copies remaining were to be sold for \$4.00, each.

These suggestions were put into the form of a vote, and passed unanimously. The committee were also authorized to illustrate the work with maps, pictures of public buildings, and historic scenes.

From this time the work of research was resumed with vigor, and was carried on until all available sources of information had been examined. I then called upon Joseph Willard, Esq., son of the former gentleman of the same name, in search of an ancient paper, and learned that the missing manuscript had been found. The sheets were bound into a volume of nearly a thousand pages of large letter paper, and nearly eight hundred pages were covered with writing. Here were the materials for a history of Lancaster, but not a line had been prepared for the press. I was courteously permitted to examine the volume, and spent nearly a day in turning over the pages, when it appeared that I had spent several months in gathering the same information, from the same sources as Mr. Willard had done. There was nothing which I needed but a few extracts from the Records of Middlesex county, which I was kindly permitted to copy. There is, however, considerable matter in the volume pertaining to Lancaster families, which is valuable, and it would be well, if the town could procure the whole collection for permanent possession in the public library.

In arranging the work I have been guided by the wisdom of the committee of publication. And here I may be permitted to say, in relation to my colleagues, that the town made a judicious selection. Mr. Wilder is a descendant of Thomas Wilder, one of the original settlers, who came in 1659, and was immediately employed in public trusts, as one of the fathers of the town. The ancestor of Mr. Fletcher settled here near the beginning of the last century, or about one hundred and seventy years since. The family of Mr. Damon have been here nearly a century. Besides, and what is of equal importance, they all feel an intelligent interest in family and municipal history. From them all many facts of interest have been gathered. The historic tastes and literary judgment of Mr. Bartol justly gave him the first place on the committee. He has been ever at hand, and ready to advise with on all questions of importance. The plan of the work was approved by the whole committee, after mature deliberation.

The sources from which the materials of the following history have been drawn, are various. I begin by cheerfully acknowledging indebtedness to Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, Rev. Timothy Har-

rington and Joseph Willard, Esq. The latter gave much attention to the history of the town, and wrote the historical article in the Worcester Magazine, of 1826, from which succeeding writers have copied. He also delivered the address at the bi-centennial celebration in 1853, which contained some additions to the facts related in his earlier publication. If he had lived to complete his intended history of Lancaster, the work would have been done with such fulness and elegance, as to have superseded the need of any other.

But owing to the fact already mentioned, I was compelled to go to original sources of information, and therefore am not really indebted to any great extent, to preceding writers. Mrs. Rowlandson's wonderful little book, destined to go down to distant generations, gives the experience of an actual participator in a crisis of the town's history; but this covered only a brief interval of time. Mr. Harrington conveyed to us the traditional knowledge of his time, which he had gathered from the grandchildren of the first settlers. Mr. Willard gave only what was open to all students in the original records.

To these records I have resorted, and have never relied on extracts made by others. The Records of the town have been well kept, with the exception of the period between 1674 and 1717, which is a blank. It is commonly said that a volume was burned, many years since; and Mr. Willard says, that the first volume "unaccountably disappeared" more than ninety years since. It would be more correct to say, that in early times the records of the proprietors, the town and the parish were all kept in the same book. The first book, which is still extant, and has also been copied, comes down to 1674, or three years before the massacre of 1676. There is then a total blank to the year 1717, from which time to 1724, the proceedings of proprietors, town and parish are intermingled. From the last date, the records of proceedings are generally kept separate as far as the proprietors are concerned. From 1724 the Records of the town are in good preservation, and without any hiatus. The Records of the First church are wanting previous to 1708, but are complete from that date.

I have examined the Records of the Town and the Proprietary; the Book of Roads, and the Book of Lands; the Book of Estrays and the Books of the Selectmen. The Records of Births, Marriages and Deaths, in the books of the town, and the Records of the Church, have also been consulted. The Records of School

x 1671 says Willard, & as usual he is correct.  
The last record before the hiatus is Feb. 6. 1670-1 05  
& the next is Feb. 4. 1714 05

Not the first  
but partly a copy

districts, of Library companies and of various associations, have been read with care. The same is true in regard to the Records of churches and societies of comparatively recent origin. Private papers have also been entrusted to my examination.

In proceeding, I have read the warrants for every town meeting on record in the town books. I then looked out the action of the town in regard to every article of general and permanent interest. Sometimes a measure would be before the town for years, by adjournment, or as a new proposition, before final decision. The action has been traced from meeting to meeting, until a result was reached. The same is true of the Records of the churches. The first volume of the Book of Lands has been studied with nearly equal minuteness, to verify the location of the homes of the first settlers. The results will be seen in one of the maps which accompany this volume. The Book of Roads has undergone similar scrutiny.

But the history of an ancient town cannot be made complete from its own records; especially its military and parochial annals must be filled out from other sources. The Historic-Genealogical Society have a manuscript volume pertaining to King Philip's war, which is invaluable. Their materials for family history are rich and abundant. The Massachusetts Historical Society has two large volumes in relation to the conquest of Louisburg, by Sir William Pepperell, which contain the rolls of the Massachusetts regiments in that expedition; but unfortunately the roll of the Lancaster company, and of the whole regiment of Col. Samuel Willard, are wanting. Some items of interest, however, were found, as well as in the files of newspapers printed early in the last century. The courtesy of these associations is gratefully acknowledged.

But for the student of municipal history, the Archives room in the State House is the magazine of facts, which, after local records, must be his main reliance. No one who has not consulted the huge volumes in that room, under the intelligent guidance of Dr. Strong, can have an adequate idea of the treasures of historic facts contained therein. In early times the general court took cognizance of many things which are now left to the management of towns, churches, parishes and individuals. By means of letters, petitions, reports, bills, journals, complaints and orders, all of which are pasted into immense scrap books, much of the life, religious and military, as well as civil and educational, of the towns

A very singular fact is, that the author seems not to have visited the Probate Office or Registry of Deeds of Middlesex Co. He does not mention them, nor is there any internal evidence in his work showing that he ever delved in the stores of information there. Yet there, free for examination, are many wills, & inventories of estates, & copies of the deeds of Lancaster's first Settlers. Had he but briefly studied there he could not have made such glaring mistakes in locating the homes of the early proprietors on the west side Nashaway.



is preserved. In this mass of material, I found proof of the building of a second meeting-house where the first had stood. Here also was the schedule of losses when the houses and barns were burnt by the Indians on the day when the meeting-house was destroyed. Nearly all the facts pertaining to the military history of Lancaster, from 1676 to 1865, were derived from records in the State House. But enough of this. The novice may be appalled at the thought of going through such a mass of papers, written in every conceivable hand, but he ought to be cheered by the fact that the Commonwealth has such vast treasures of historic material for him to explore.

There are readers who will wonder why so much room has been given to the proceedings of town meetings, and in particular, to such long recitals of town action in regard to roads, bridges, schools and parish affairs. The object was twofold. First, because the peculiar use and glory of our towns are herein displayed; and second, to preserve a record of everything important in case the Records should be lost.

There are others who will regret the omission of full genealogical tables, but the committee saw at once, that such an addition to the work would swell it to several large volumes. Besides, all families will, in process of time, have their special book, like those of the Willards, the Wilders, the Lockes, the Fletchers and the Richardsons. It will be found, however, that there is much information in this volume, in relation to the families of the early settlers.

In regard to Illustrations, the committee decided to exclude portraits, and pictures of private residences and buildings. This is so different from the usual way, that a reason may be offered. It is found, in part, in the fact that when local histories are examined, wonder is often expressed because the portraits of some people are admitted, while those of others are omitted. It would be impossible to procure pictures of many who have filled the largest space in our history, in past generations. In their absence, the presence of others would seem out of place, if not impertinent.

With respect to buildings, the committee were positive in their conviction that a town history should not be an advertising medium of any man's real estate or business. Besides, photographs are now so common that there is no danger that our descendants will find any difficulty in learning how the present generation, or their dwellings appeared.

The pictures are heliotypes from sketches in India ink. That of the Indian Camp Pasture was drawn by Mr. Harold Parker. The Survey of the Old Burying Ground was also made by him. The other pictures and the maps were made by Mr. H. E. Remick, of Boston.

The picture of the Great Elm in Lovers' Lane is inserted because the tree is a grand and beautiful object, and is believed to be the largest tree in New England.

The views of the Indian Camp Pasture and of the Site of the Rowlandson Garrison, are given, because both include scenes of historic interest. The first was taken from the spot where the first Trucking House stood on the east side of George hill. The summit rises at the right, and the view extends southerly towards the house of Mr. Parker.

The scene of the garrison was taken from the bridge over Roper's brook where the two figures stand. The garrison was a little to the right of the pine tree, near the encircled view of an ancient garrison. The highest point of the hill is the site of the first two meeting-houses. The garrison-house in the circle is not to be taken as a picture of Mr. Rowlandson's house, but as that of an ancient garrison-house.

The Plan of the Old Burying Ground, which was figured and lettered by Mr. Remick, is explained in the Chapter on Cemeteries.

The views of an ancient meeting-house and ancient garrisons are given, because they show how a certain style of these buildings looked, in the eyes of former generations. No. 1 is known to be like the garrison of Rev. Messrs. Whiting and Gardner, in its general shape, and its flanker or sentry box on the corner. No. 2 answers the description of Fort Dummer, which had four houses on the inside, with their rear against the wall of the fort. No. 3 is a copy of a meeting-house built in Haverhill a little while before the erection of the first meeting-house in this town, and is, without doubt, a very good representation of the house in which the first fathers, with their wives and children, worshipped.

The "Map of Central Lancaster, indicating residences before the massacre," will help the reader to locate each family, as well as the meeting-house, the garrisons and the bridges, before the town was burned in 1676, as is indicated in the third chapter. On this map the present roads are dotted lines, and the old roads are continuous parallel lines.

? 1, 2, 3. Mere Conjectures stated as positive facts, as the first statement is in contradiction with proprietor's record of 1st. division of lots. See description of John Prescott's lot in note to p. 70.

It did not.

2 ?

3 ?

It is reasonable to suppose that the first houses in  
Lancaster were of logs, or hewn timber, since there was  
no near mill, no roads or vehicles & animals for  
transportation of a large amount of lumber. Roofs  
were probably often thatched as was the custom in <sup>France</sup>  
England & in Boston, as records of early fires tell  
us. The first chimneys were built of logs, well  
coated with clay. The frame houses were of very  
heavy timber, usually oak, boarded over and  
covered with clapboards. It would be natural  
to expect that all houses at first would be  
of one story, except the owner was a person  
of property able to pay for more material &  
labor than most pieces. After 1658 when  
- Mrs. Otis's saw mill began its work, it is likely  
that more pretentious structures began to rise.  
The complete destruction of all the dwellings in  
1676 & the entire absence of any hint as to their  
plans & construction of a single building, in the  
records of the day, leave us to pure conjecture.  
All we know about the Rowlandson garrison house is  
that it had one flanker & another in process  
of construction, & no "defence", that is palisades.  
(See Remond) Hubbard indeed mentions "a lantern"  
but all this is meagre description. Neither (notwith-  
standing the positive allusions on pag 10 respecting the  
fanciful frontier piece) is there anything more definite on  
record respecting the church, garrisons, or dwellings  
of the second Lancaster generation. Sawyer's  
garrison had "gates" & was therefore doubtless defended  
with palisades. Gardner's Garrison we learn  
by the stories of his death, had "flankers" a  
watch box above one flanker & a "parade" see  
pp 138-9. If however we examine the <sup>ancient</sup> houses yet standing  
in various parts of the Commonwealth, & the  
representations of many others, that have been  
destroyed, we can from their more uniform  
characteristics, form some reasonable opinion

It is interesting to observe that the first houses in  
the colony were of log or plank timber, which was  
the usual material. The houses of brick & stone  
were not introduced until the latter part of the  
17th century.

\* Note - Shingles & Clapboards, are mentioned  
very early in New England History. They were  
split or "cloven" out of suitable logs. A "Clapboard path"  
is mentioned in <sup>London</sup> records about 1700. Clapboard in  
England meant a "stave", but here the term was  
early applied to house covering materials.

Nails of course were made by the smiths  
wholly by hand. Lime, what little was  
used, was made from oyster & clam shells  
upon the sea coast, until a bed of Lime-  
stone was found at Newbury, in 1697,  
creating a great excitement & filling a great  
need of the colony.

pp 128-9. Of houses we observe the houses of plank  
in various parts of the Commonwealth. The  
appearance of many others that have been  
described, we learn from their more uniform  
and situated from their respective situations  
of the same material. The houses of plank  
are not only the most common, but also the  
most durable. The houses of brick & stone  
are not so common, but are more expensive  
and are not so durable. The houses of  
plank are not only the most common, but also  
the most durable. The houses of brick &  
stone are not so common, but are more  
expensive and are not so durable.

81





1624 Amherst



1703

Amherst



1675 Kingston



1680

Billerica



1666 Dunbar



1700

Rockport



Darrows  
Putnam's  
Birth Place

Common roof outlines of 1620-1720



respecting the common style of architecture in Lancaster in its early history.

Whitefield gives 66 views of old houses in "The Homes of our Forefathers" (1886) & many others are to be found in local histories. In nine tenths of these the roofs are modifications of two forms. When the house was of two stories, in front, it most commonly was but one story at the rear, the rear slope of roof being extended down to within nine or ten feet of the ground. Sometimes the pitch of the <sup>roof</sup> changing at the point opposite the level of front eaves. The kitchen was commonly placed in this rear portion.



Another less common was the gambrel roof, found with both one + two story houses.



Sometimes the upper story projects slightly, over the under. Porches or any irregular features are rare. A single huge chimney passed up through the center of the building. The very old houses, say dating back of 1700, that have roofs like the garrison house of the front piece are rare. In various accounts of old garrison houses we find it was common to line the walls with brick or stone, thus making them bullet proof. The house that stood behind the Moses Sawyer house in South Lancaster, pulled down early in this century, had stone chimneys. The house on George Hill where Ebenezer Dyer lived also had stone chimneys.

reflecting the common type of architecture in  
 America in its early history.  
 It will give us some of the houses in the  
 houses of our forefathers (1700) & many others are  
 to be found in local history. The main feature of  
 these the roof are characteristic of the early  
 houses the basic one of two stories the front of  
 porch doorway was not on level at the rear  
 the rear slope of roof being rather than a  
 within main or two feet of the ground. In  
 the fact of the <sup>roof</sup> the front of the  
 the level of front porch - The kitchen was  
 nearly placed in this part of the house -



character of the houses was the general  
 roof, houses with both one & two story houses.



features the upper two stories slightly more in  
 under - Porches or any recessed features are rare.  
 of simple large chimney placed up through the  
 center of the chimney - The roof was pitched in  
 gable back of 1700, that house roofs like the  
 gable - back of the front porch are rare.  
 the various accounts of old houses built  
 in a part of two stories in to have the walls  
 with brick or stone, this making them  
 brick front - The house that stood behind  
 the house 2 story house in East Cambridge, built in  
 early in the century, had three chimneys. The  
 or three the other chimney was also on the  
 chimney.



At page 366 is a heliotype copy of the town map, made by order of the general court, in 1795. It has been considerably reduced in size, to bring it within the page.

The "Map showing River Changes" at page <sup>185 in this binding.</sup> 442, gives only a part of the changes of the channel in recent times, for the section between the Atherton bridge and the old crossing by the house of Daniel Bemis. In this map the ancient channel and roads are de-



The Old Nourse Homestead,  
DANVERS, MASS.

1692-1884.

Two only availed themselves of the offer. These pictures are executed in a style which makes them ornamental to the volume.

The history has grown to dimensions far beyond the original plan. The reason is that the town is ancient, and has much material for history. The chapter on Cemeteries is much more full than was

...the house was built in 1881  
...the house was built in 1881  
...the house was built in 1881

It did not



The Old Nurse Homestead,  
DANVERS, MASS.  
1892-1881

The house was built in 1881  
...the house was built in 1881  
...the house was built in 1881

At page 366 is a heliotype copy of the town map, made by order of the general court, in 1795. It has been considerably reduced in size, to bring it within the page.

The "Map showing River Changes" at page <sup>185 in this binding</sup> 442, gives only a part of the changes of the channel in recent times, for the section between the Atherton bridge and the old crossing by the house of Daniel Bemis. In this map the ancient channel and roads are denoted by dotted lines.

The "Map of Lancaster" is copied from the map of 1830, made up by James G. Carter from surveys by Major Jacob Fisher, corrected by reference to the map of H. Walling, 1857, and the map of F. W. Beers, 1870, and also from personal observation at the present time. Various improvements and additions have been made. The numbers include all the houses outside of the villages, and they refer to names printed on the opposite page. These names have been collected from former maps, from the present list of voters, and from the memory of elderly citizens. Doubtless many names are omitted, as no mortal can tell where every family lived in former generations.

The names of the old post roads and stage routes are retained to gratify curiosity. Suitable characters indicate the site of churches, school-houses and other localities. The discontinued roads are marked by dotted lines.

The Plan of the Old Burying Ground is explained in the proper place. The beauty of the lines, figures and letters will please every eye.

In the Map of "Villages in Lancaster" will be found the numbers of ~~of~~ the houses, past and present, in each of the four villages. Present roads only are given. Public places are indicated by the characters used in the "Map of Lancaster." The names of residents in each village are placed in separate divisions, and will be easily found.

The picture of Memorial Hall was procured at the expense of the town. The committee offered to all the religious societies the opportunity to insert a picture of their several houses of worship. Two only availed themselves of the offer. These pictures are executed in a style which makes them ornamental to the volume.

The history has grown to dimensions far beyond the original plan. The reason is that the town is ancient, and has much material for history. The chapter on Cemeteries is much more full than was

designed, and the collection of epitaphs is the result of an after-thought. The chapter on the late war covers more space than was anticipated, and the last chapter is an undesigned addition.

x It should be stated, that the town, at the annual meeting, in 1878, voted \$500 additional, to pay the expense of publication.

With these explanations, the History of Lancaster is commended to the kindly consideration of the families who compose the town, and those also whose homes are outside of our bounds, but who are interested in the events which have here taken place. In the thousands of names and dates, there are without doubt many errors. Nothing short of omniscience could keep such a work as this free from mistakes. My intention has been to treat subjects and events according to their relative importance, and to be absolutely fair and impartial towards parties, churches, societies and individuals. Craving indulgence for all deficiencies, I submit the results of much thought and labor to the present citizens of the town, with whom my relations have always been pleasant, and to the myriads of citizens who in coming generations, will be affected by the social, political and religious life which has been imperfectly depicted in these pages.

A. P. MARVIN.

LANCASTER, February 1, 1879.

x "It should be stated" that the 700 copies of the History cost the town finally \$3542.44 of which sum \$664.70 was returned by sales of 157 copies - See note top of p. 5.

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From an unknown authority I derive the information  
that the Latitude of Lancaster is  $42^{\circ} 28' 31''$  and  
the Longitude  $72^{\circ} 0' 41''$  - The Brick Church being the  
point determined. P.S. In 1884 Senator Hoar obtained for use  
from U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Office - the exact L & L

## HISTORY OF LANCASTER.

of Lancaster Church - which is as follows -  $42^{\circ} 27' 19.98''$  North  
Latitude, and  $71^{\circ} 40' 24.67''$  Longitude west of Greenwich, England

### CHAPTER I.

#### BOUNDARIES AT DIFFERENT DATES. DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENERY.

The boundaries of Lancaster have been often and greatly altered since the original purchase and grant. About 1643 Mr. Thomas King, of Watertown, in company with several others, purchased of Sholan, the Indian chief or sagamore, whose home was between East and West Washacum lakes, a tract of land ten miles in length, from north to south, and eight miles in width, in the valley of the Nashua. This purchase was sanctioned by the general court.

For some reason, unknown at the present day, the boundaries of the town were not surveyed and marked previous to the year 1659, though a committee had been chosen, some years before, to perform the work. In that year Thomas Noyes was sent up by the general court, and the selectmen voted that when "Ensign Noyes comes to lay out the bounds, Goodman Prescott go with him to mark the bounds, and Job Whitcomb and young Jacob Farrar to carry the chain, and such others as Ensign Noyes shall desire, if need be." With proper caution it was voted, "that a bargain be made first between him and the selectmen, in behalf of the town, for his art and pains." This was on the seventh of March. The work was speedily done, for on the seventh of April, Noyes made his return as follows. "Beginning at the wading

place ~~X~~ of Nashaway river, [near the bridge at Carter's Mills, so called, in South Lancaster,] thence running a line three miles in length, N. W. one degree west, [to a point marked A on the outline map,] and from that point drawing a perpendicular line five miles, N. N. east, one degree north, and another S. S. west, one degree south." At the north end of the ten miles, a line was run eight miles in the direction E. S. east one degree east; and from the south end of the ten mile line, a line was run parallel to the north line, six and a half miles. The extremities of these two parallel lines were then connected by ~~the~~ lines which formed the eastern boundary. Why the survey was not made eight miles wide on the south, according to the terms of the purchase and grant, we have ~~no~~ means of determining. The plantation, instead of being a square, was an <sup>irregular pentagon</sup> ~~trapezoid~~. The original survey gave the town ~~seventy-two and one-half~~ square miles. The general court accepted the return of Ensign Noyes, with the proviso that a "farm of six hundred and forty acres be laid out within the bounds, for the country's use, in <sup>such</sup> some place <sup>as is</sup> not already appropriated <sup>to any</sup>." This tract was laid out towards the south part of the township, and tradition says that the land was very poor.

In the beginning of the last century a large addition of territory was made on the west side. This was about four <sup>5</sup> miles wide, and <sup>over</sup> ten miles long. This tract was purchased of George Tahanto, an Indian sagamore, and nephew of Sholan, in the year 1701. The next year, the town petitioned the general court for leave to make the purchase; or in other words, to confirm the transaction. The committee to whom the matter was referred, did not make their return till 1711. Two years later, in 1713, the petition was granted, and the <sup>fifty or more</sup> forty additional square miles became a part of Lancaster. The town was now ten miles north and south; the north line was <sup>over 13</sup> twelve miles long, and the south line ten and a half miles. The territory contained not less than one hundred and <sup>twelve</sup> twelve square miles.

A survey of  
this line in 1806  
made it 9 miles &  
95 rods long  
S. 72°, 30' E.

(b)



GREAT ELM — LOVERS LANE.

23 circa. at main height from the ground —  
 the smallest part of the trunk.  
 24.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. at five ft from ground.



The Carter Oak. *Quercus rubra*  
Girth 18 ft 5 in. at five feet from ground  
in 1890.





(a) July 18

The Marvin has closely followed Willard in some of the statements on this page. From careful study of the original survey and subsequent authoritative maps, I am convinced that both historians are largely in error. Noyes' Return alone will prove this. The "Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay" have been carefully edited & published since Willard wrote, and Noyes' Survey may be found in Volume 4, page 505. I copy it in full.

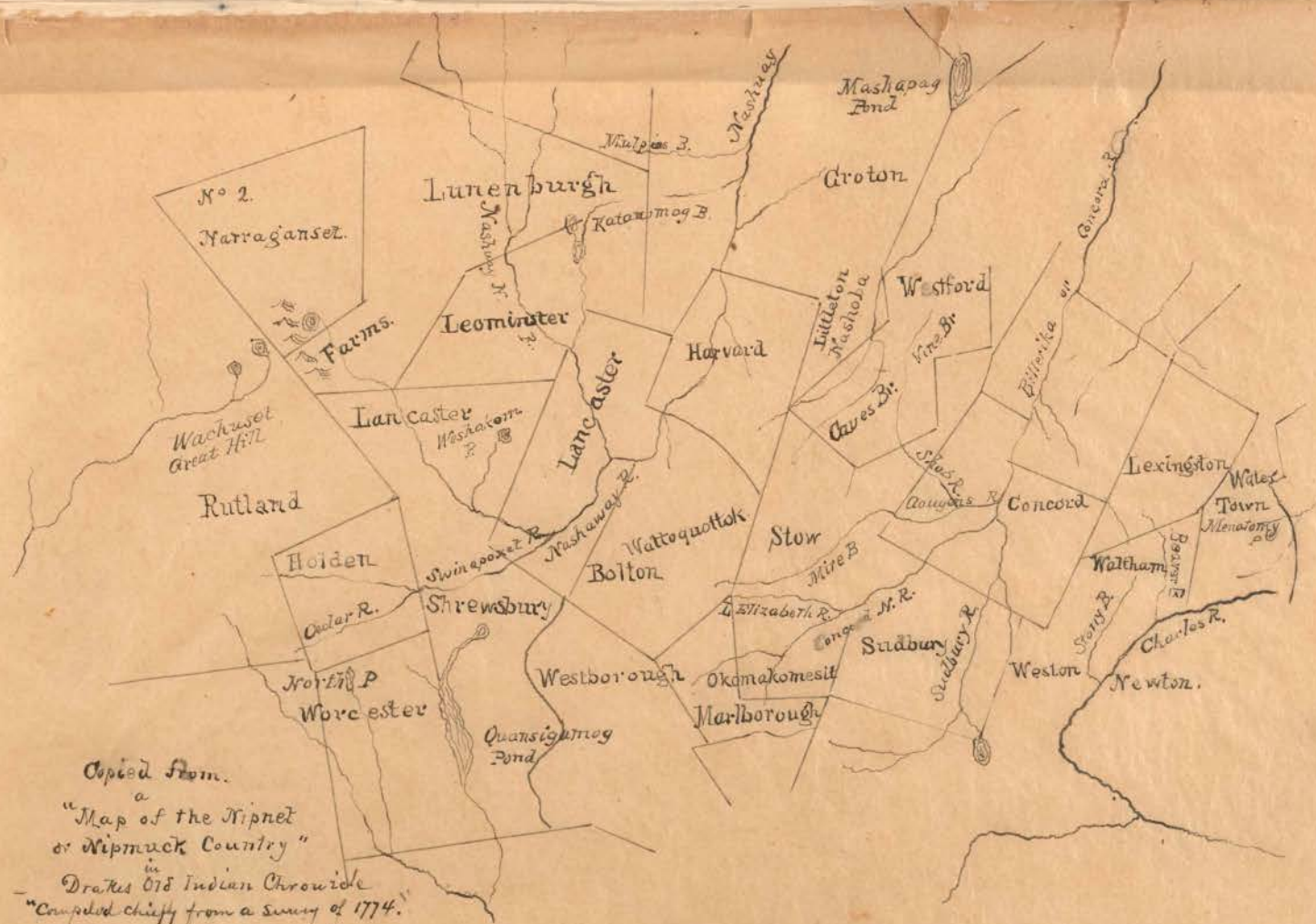
"April 7, 1659. In obedience to the order of the <sup>Prothonotary</sup> Generall Court to the now inhabitants of Lancaster, laid out the bounds of Lancaster according to the said grants. They began at the landing place of <sup>"Massena"</sup> Nashaway River and <sup>runne</sup> <sup>thence</sup> <sup>mill</sup> <sup>runne</sup> a line three miles upon a west north west point one degree westward; and from the end of the three miles were runne two perpendicular lines, <sup>being</sup> <sup>mills</sup> five mile in length each line, the one line running north north east, one degree northerly, the other line running south south west one degree southerly: They made right angles at the end of the <sup>ten</sup> <sup>mills</sup> ten miles line, running two perpendicular lines, <sup>running</sup> both of them upon an east southeast point one degree easterly. One of the said lines being the north line we did <sup>runne</sup> <sup>it</sup> <sup>mill</sup> runne at eight miles in length; the other being the south line, we did <sup>runne</sup> <sup>it</sup> <sup>six</sup> <sup>mill</sup> runne it six miles and a halfe in length, and there meeting with the <sup>middle</sup> middle of the line, which is the line of the plantation granted to the petitioners of Sudbury, whose plantation is called <sup>Whipsuffrage</sup> Whipsuffrage, and so running their line <sup>four</sup> <sup>mills</sup> four mile wanting threescore perches to the end of their line at the <sup>norwest</sup> north west angle of Whipsuffrage plantation: And from the said angle of Whipsuffrage plantation running <sup>six</sup> <sup>mills</sup> six miles and three quarters, there meeting with the aforesaid east end of the eight mile line, and to proceed all the said lines and bounds of Lancaster, w<sup>ch</sup> said grant runnes eighty square miles of land. This by me, Thomas Noyes."

Noyes' Original Return is in Mass. Archives Vol. 11's General page 115 & has been examined & corrected by comparison with the original. To be made from a true copy available at the office. To be made. (Noyes' original above)

"The bond appraised his return, provided that a former of  
 a mile square, or five hundred and forty acres, be laid out  
 by Major Nicolson, Ralph Houghton & John Sweet, within  
 this bound, for the country we, in such place as is not  
 already appropriated to any."  
 This survey is explicit and an accurate plat of it is  
 inserted on preceding leaf. From it we see (1<sup>st</sup>) It was not  
 a "triangle"; (2<sup>d</sup>) It was not made eight miles wide on the  
 north, because of meeting with the middle of the line of the  
 Buffery plantation "a private grant" (See Joseph Allen in his  
 History of New-Hampshire, states that the old Massachusetts law was  
 a straight line of seven miles in length - This was the  
 Buffery plantation; (3<sup>d</sup>) The area was  
 about 80 miles, not 71<sup>1/2</sup>. But the original lines of  
 this survey can be traced in the boundaries of the  
 towns which form this tract of land. The boundary line  
 between Lancaster & Dunbar, which is a portion of  
 the original north eight mile line. The line between  
 Steeple and the towns of Boston & Jamaica, is a portion  
 of the line and three quarters mile line. A part of the  
 Buffery plantation line still exists in the eastern boundary  
 of Berlin & until 1868 formed a part of the north east  
 boundary of Boston. The line of separation between  
 Berlin & Steeple is a part of Woyce line and one  
 half mile line. The boundary line between Dan-  
 chette & Deerfield, shows the northern part of  
 the west line. Maps inserted opposite pages 19 & 20  
 will serve to make this more clear, and will also  
 show that "John Nicolson & young Jacob Nicolson" cannot  
 be shown to be the advantage of the proprietors - since







Harvard was incorporated in 1732, and Bolton, including <sup>nearly all</sup> part of Berlin, in 1738. By these two partitions not far from a third part of the territory of Lancaster was cut off from the east side. Leominster was made a town in 1740, by which measure the old town lost a tract <sup>5</sup>nearly four miles square, or 26 square miles.

On the other hand, Lancaster received an addition in 1768, by the annexation of Shrewsbury Leg, so called. This was quite a tract, <sup>about 3 square miles</sup> though thinly inhabited, lying between Lancaster and Holden. It was the last territorial acquisition of the town (unless perhaps some small parcels obtained by running town lines around farms situated on the Sterling border.)

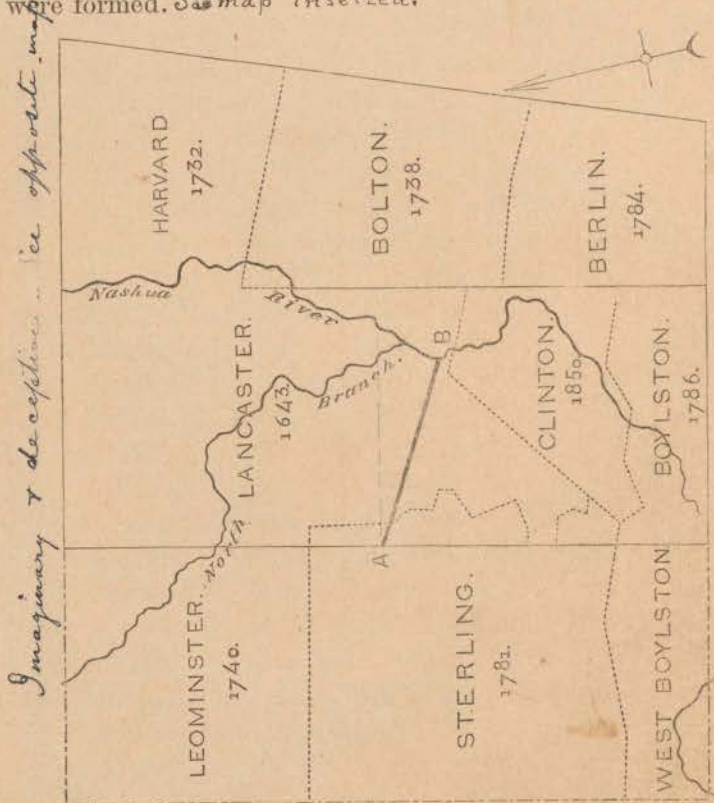
Soon after the process of disintegration was renewed. In 1781 Woonsechauxit, Chocksett, or Sterling, which was See p. 113 made a precinct forty years before, became a town. By this operation all the addition on the west, made in 1713, was severed. Nor was this the whole of the loss, because the east line of Sterling did not follow the original western line of Lancaster. Starting from the southeast corner of Leominster, the north line of Sterling was run half a mile east into Lancaster. Thence by an irregular line, according to the boundaries of farms, the line was run southerly to a point one mile east of the old western line of Lancaster. This tract, half a mile broad at the top, and a mile broad at the bottom, and not far from six miles long, was called "the Mile" in the old Records. Thus not less than twenty square miles were taken from the town, and became part of Sterling. Lancaster now contained about thirty-six square miles, or twenty-three thousand and ninety acres.

When Boylston was incorporated in 1786, it took a large strip from the south part of Lancaster, <sup>not</sup> including <sup>a</sup>the part of the \* not "now" but after Boylston's incorporation.  
So called "Shrewsbury Leg." This strip, more than a mile in width, now constitutes the north end of the towns of Boylston and West Boylston.

The dimensions of Lancaster remained unchanged over

not so.

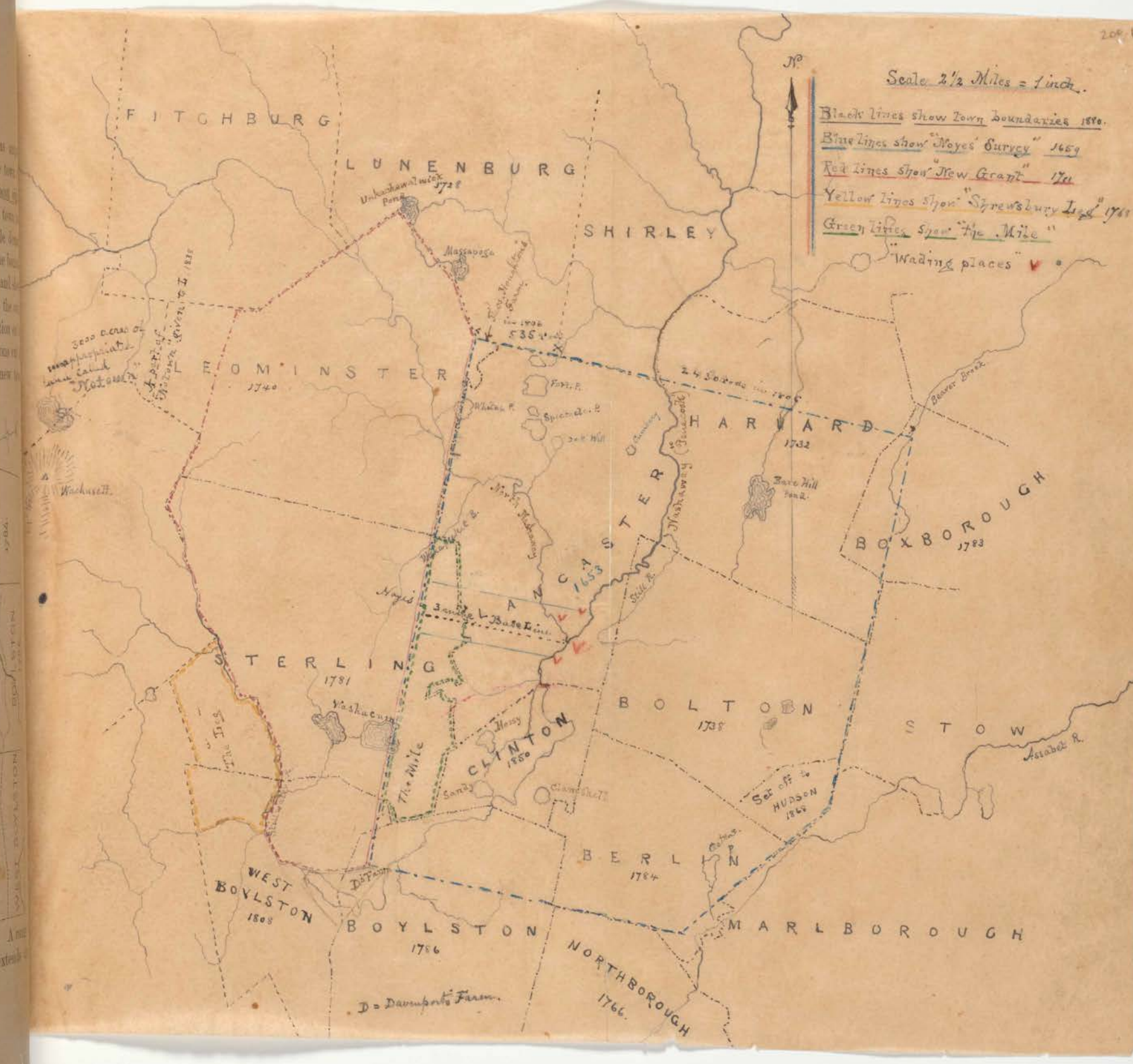
sixty years, until 1850, when the south end was amputated, and the village of Clintonville became the town of Clinton. By this last act of political surgery, about eight square miles were cut off, leaving to the ancient town not far from twenty-four square miles; still an ample domain and a goodly heritage. The outline map gives the boundaries of the town in different periods of its history, and shows its gains and losses. The continuous line marks the original boundary. The broken lines include the addition on the west in 1713. The dotted lines show the portions cut off to form new towns. The dates tell when the new towns were formed. See map inserted.



The surface of the town is much diversified. A range of hills rises near the northwest corner, and extends along

Scale 2 1/2 Miles = 1 inch.

Black lines show Town boundaries 1880.  
 Blue lines show "Moye's Survey" 1669  
 Red lines show "New Grant" 1701  
 Yellow lines show "Sprewbury's Land" 1741  
 Green lines show "The Mile"  
 "Wading places"



D = Davenport's Farm.

Scale 2 1/2 Miles = 1 inch.

Black lines show town boundaries 1870

Blue lines show "Stages" routes

Red lines show "New Grant" lines

Yellow lines show "Springsbury" lines

Green lines show "the Mills"

Wading places



2000 feet above sea level

D = Dammed town

Since every line largely overruns Hayes' measure as returned to the General Court. The 10 miles line, for instance, is over 11 miles long by modern maps. Moreover, Willard's statement (Copied by Mr. Mason) that Hayes' starting point was the wading place near Curtis Mills, & not the one a short distance below the junction of the two rivers is made very doubtful by careful measurements on the best maps. The wading place he favors is  $6\frac{1}{3}$  miles from Lancaster north line, & only  $2\frac{2}{3}$  miles from the west original line; while what he calls the Penecook wading place is very nearly five miles from the north line, & about  $3\frac{1}{3}$  miles from the west line. Willard says the main river was "invariably called Penecook"; but in Colonial records this name is not found except as applied to a tribe of Indians in New Hampshire. The "outline map" on page 20. contains so many imaginary lines, that no exact information can be got from it. Therefore a tracing from an excellent map published by State authority in 1844. is inserted, with the several grants to Lancaster noted upon it by Colored boundary lines. -

(B) Page 18.

The deed of Tahanto will be found on page 150, but as the bounds are not given therein, the report of the surveyors, finds appropriate place here. A copy of it is found on pages 13 & 14 of David Willard's History of Leominster. In Council. The report of the Committee upon the survey of land prayed for by Lancaster November 21 & 22. 1711. Whereas we the subscribers viz: Jonathan Prescott, John Farnsworth & Samuel Jones, are a committee appointed to view a tract of land, petitioned for by the inhabitants of Lancaster, and to make report to The General Court.

See note to page 56.

for their consideration, we have accordingly been upon the spot the days above dated, and proceeded thereupon as follows: In primis, we began at the proper bounds of Lancaster Plantation & thence run our line upon a northwest point or thereabouts along by the Southwest Side of Massapung and Unkuchewalwick Ponds, extending said line three miles; from thence we made an angle running near upon a southwest point, crossing a river called the North River, running over hills called Monnoosuc Hills, said line being about six miles in length till it meets with the middle branch of Lancaster River at or near a little hill on which the Indians had marked a tree for a corner of said land, being nearly five miles wide. At the southward end bounded partly by Captain Davenport's farm to the southwest corner of Lancaster Old bounds. The land included within these bounds is rocky and mountainous and very poorly accommodated with meadows. "

Samuel Jones.

Jonathan Prescott  
John Farnsworth.

Read & ordered that the tract of land above described, be added & confirmed to the town of Lancaster as a part of the township, not prejudicing any former grant.

Isaac Addington. "

Concurred by the Representatives

Secy.

Joseph Dudley

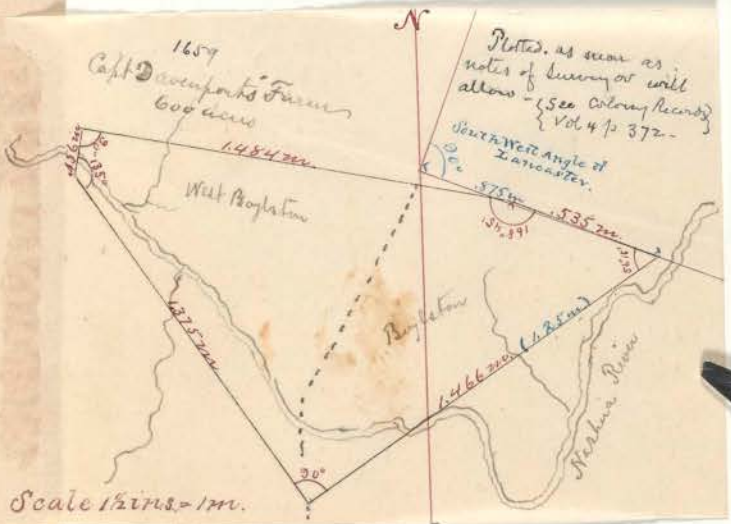
As the map shows, this tract covers almost all of Leominster (26 miles), the larger part of Sterling, and small portions of Boylston & West Boylston, probably about 50 square miles in all.



1657  
Capt. [unclear] Farm  
600 acres

Plotted, as seen as  
notes of survey or will  
allow - { See Colony Records }  
Vol. 4 p 372 -

South West Angle of  
Lancaster.



Scale 1/2 in = 1 mi.





near the western border, about six miles. It is divided by the north branch of the Nashua, which flows in from Leominster, and makes a considerable valley between the northern and southern sections of the main hill. It then rises gradually to a considerable height, taking the name of Ballard hill where the great road crosses, from the fact that several families of the name of Ballard formerly lived there. From this point the range extends some three miles, and ends in the bold, round-top eminence which is specifically George hill, though the name, in common usage, is applied to the whole except the Ballard locality. George hill sinks by a gentle declivity into the Deers Horns plateau, with its plains and ponds; and this into the South Meadows, as they are styled in old records, but now <sup>in part</sup> covered by the waters of Mossy pond.<sup>a</sup> The western part of the town is divided from the central section by the north branch of the Nashua and its northern affluents, and slopes gradually towards the south, as far as the junction of the north and south branches, about sixty rods southeast of the railroad station, where the main stream is formed, and flows northerly, giving to the east side of the town a gentle decline towards the north. The main river was called the Penacook by the natives, and also by the early settlers. The easterly section of Lancaster is therefore a long intervalle, extending from near Carter's Mills to the northern boundary of the town, a distance not far from six miles.

The north part of the town, with the exception of the narrow intervalle on the east, is an elevated plateau. This comprises a large tract of nearly level surface, but varied by high land on the west, and also on the north. These more elevated portions gather moisture from the clouds, and by subaqueous springs, supply the cluster of lakes which beautify the region with pure and delicious water. This plateau, more than two miles wide from north to south, suddenly drops to a lower level, by an irregular line, whose general direction is east and west.

The level to which we have now descended, extends from Canoe brook easterly to Ponakin hill, and southerly, through Greenbush to the North Village. Much of it is even, with a light, sandy soil, but easily cultivated, and the products of the soil compare favorably with those raised in other parts of the town.

On the north of this central section, rises Babel hill, which is cut off from the northern plateau by a deep valley and swamp. This hill commands a pleasant prospect. Tradition says that in old times there was an observatory or place of outlook on the summit, from which signals could be given, in case of danger from hostile natives; and that another station was on Ponakin hill. The land on both hills was then owned by members of the Phelps family.

Ponakin—sometimes called Whittimore—hill, lies on the east of the level above described, and extends a mile or more from south to the northeast, where it descends into the sandy plain west of Still river bridge. The view from the southern summit of Ponakin hill is extensive in every direction. On the north are the mountains of New Hampshire. On the east lies the valley of the Nashua, visible far to the north and south. Beyond are the hills of Harvard and Bolton. Four or five pleasant villages, including Clinton, bestud the southern landscape, backed by the highlands in the center of the county. On the west and beyond the verdant hills of Sterling, rises the lofty dome of the Wachusett; while far to the northwest, beyond Leominster and Fitchburg; beyond the Little and the Great Watatic, towers the lion-like brow of the Grand Monadnock.

From the southern base of Ponakin hill the land descends by slight gradations to the "meeting of the waters," the point where the north and south branches join and form the main stream of the Nashua. The distance is about two miles, and the whole tract has been called "The Neck" from the days of the first settlers.<sup>1653</sup> On the Neck is the pleasant Center of "beautiful Lancaster," where are collected the

Wachusett from "Wadchi" a hill, ?

"George Hill"

x A George Adams laid claim to land here and seems to have been the earliest settler (squatter?) in this locality. Perhaps the name was derived from his claim.

C Page 21.

The name George Hill is first found in the Proprietors Records, Willard says, in February 1671. [1667] Tradition attributes this designation, generally given to the Southern & most elevated Summit to the fact that an Indian of that name <sup>George Pahnant</sup> had his wigwam there. (H.B.) I find the name in transcript of Proprietors Records, Vol. 111, our date 1664, part of Daniel Gairns' allotment being "ten acres lying on the top of George Hill." - see above x

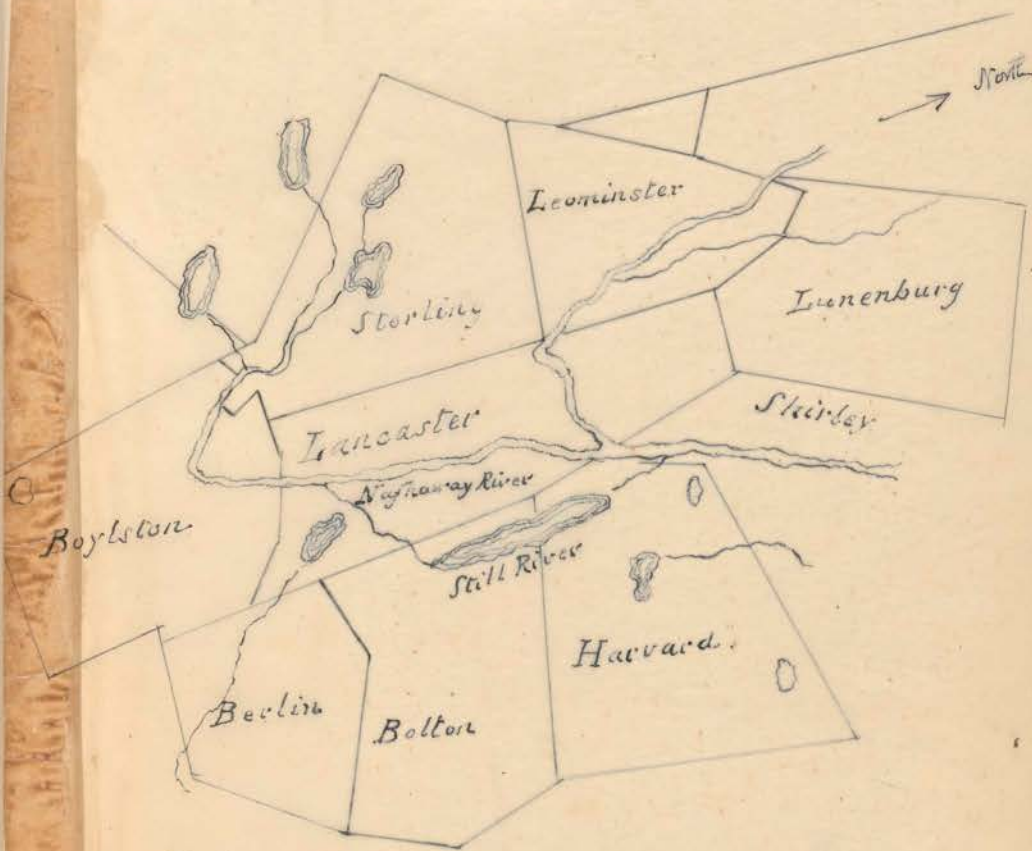
d. Page 21. Willard, spells this Penecook, and claims that it was used in town records as late as 1736. Whittier the poet, spells it Pennacook. The Indian tribe of this name were of the region about Concord N.H. (The river that now bears this name is a small stream that joins the Merrimac five or six miles above the mouth of the Nashua, sometimes called "Penichook") This word in the earliest records of the town is usually written "Penecuck", as in the first assignment of lots in 1653 - 30<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> month. "The lots of this plantation are laid out partly on the west side of the River of Nashaway and the North River and partly on a parcel of land called the Neck lying between the North River and that which hath bin named and hereby is named Penecuck River which taketh his name and beginneth at the meeting of Nashaway and the North Rivers." One of the earliest town Clerks spelled this name "Penicooke" (1658). The author must be "his own authority" for spelling it Penacook as he is for "Ponakin", "Clockset", "Wattoquaddock" &c. It is unfortunate that the modern Nashua has crowded out the original spelling Nashaway, but fashion is irresistible.

"Penacook" is in the Algonquin language said by best authorities to mean "Crooked place" from "penaquin" or "penagi" "Crooked, & "auke" place. Rabbie says however that "Penak" means potato or ground nut - Perhaps the name which Lancaster pinner spelled Penecook or Penicook had a different origin?

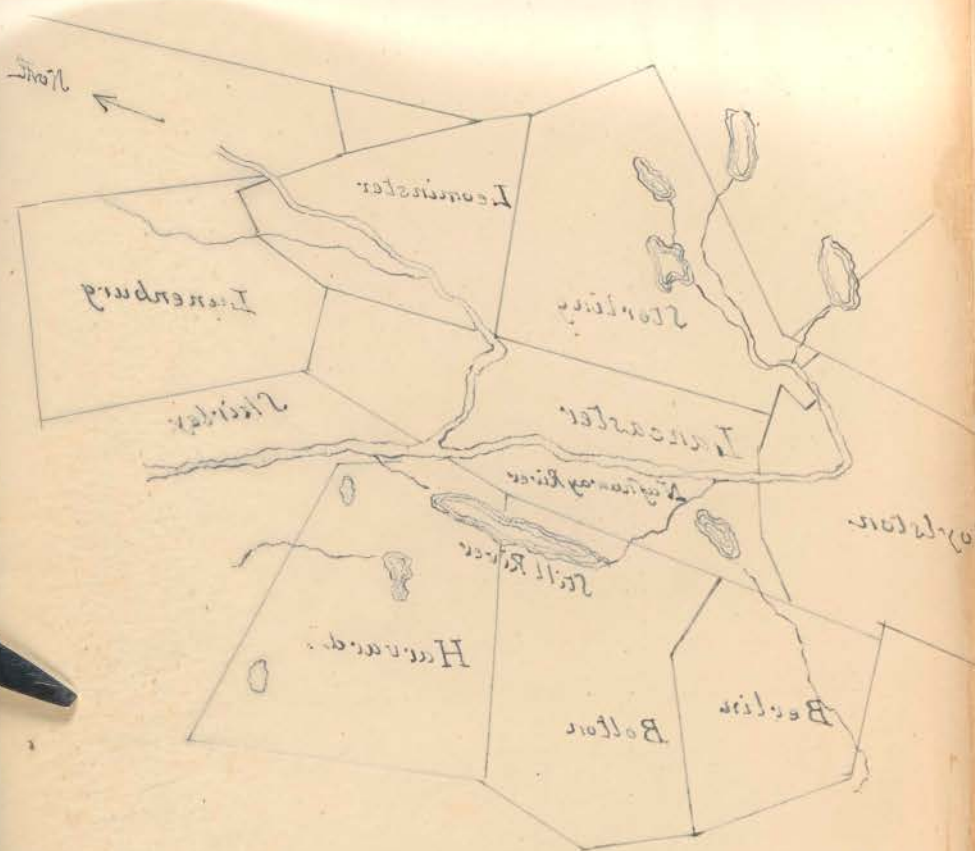
a Pine Hill was so named from about 1700 -

b These broad & fertile Intervals doubtless formed a chief inducement to the early settlement, the rank growth of natural grasses upon them furnishing abundant fodder for the winter's supply to the cattle - a matter of great importance in those days, when starvation often threatened the farmer's stock if the deep snow belated the Springtime. "Zuasaponikin" is perhaps another form of the "Zuasaponaqui" of Leroy - "Zuasacapanagen" according to a writer in the N.H. Hist. Soc. Coll. means "entirely full of water".

c This map has no claim to accuracy of outline. The body of water is named "Still River" and lies wholly in Bolton & Harvard. Whitney in his description of Bolton & Harvard speaks of it as "Still River, Lake, or Long Pond" - but in town records we nowhere find the last named; but "Still River" & "Swan Swamp"; from the earliest days of settlement, are frequently mentioned.



Tracing of part of map in *Wibaux's History*. 1793.



Drawing of part of map in Middleton's History. 1793.



various churches, the town hall, the high school, the hotel, and the memorial hall with its extensive and well-selected library.

Pine hill is a formation by itself. It stands on the east border of the town, and extends about two miles along the river, with a breadth of a half mile or more, on the average. It is oval in form, and in reality an island. The Nashua washes its eastern base, while a swamp on its western side sends a brook north and another south; both of which empty into the main river. The hill rises perhaps seventy feet from the river, and is an immense accumulation of sand, gravel and clay in regular strata. The surface, as a general thing, is as level as water-laid deposits can be arranged. Appearances indicate that the island-hill was formed when the water ran to the south, or directly opposite to the course of the river.

The Intervales are a prominent feature in the landscape of Lancaster. The first is on the north branch of the river soon after it enters the town. The second is the broad and fertile valley of Ponakin. The third extends from the bridge in the North Village to the meeting of the rivers, nearly two miles; and the fourth reaches from just below Carter's Mills to the northern boundary of the town. This is a magnificent valley, over which the eye roves with delight. The valley of the Nashua is the valley of the Connecticut in miniature, and like it is dotted with trees of various kinds, and in summer time, covered with all the products of the farmer in rich abundance.

In former times the whole surface was covered by the annual freshets of the spring, and often by those in the fall of the year. By degrees the intervale lands have been raised by the yearly deposits, and there are parts which are submerged only in exceptional years. The map which goes with Whitney's History of Worcester County, gives a large body of water, reaching from Still river almost up to the Old Common. Most of this was in Bolton and Harvard, or on  
Au.

the east side of the intervale, ~~but it covered some land in Lancaster.~~ It was called the <sup>"Still River,"</sup> ~~the "long lake,"~~ or the "long pond," the upper or southern end of which was styled in ancient Records, the "Swan<sup>d</sup> Swamp." In early times the road to Bolton and Concord crossed this swamp ~~on a causeway which has sunk out of sight.~~ This road is indicated on the "Sectional Map." By frequent inundations the land has been raised so that it is now cultivated through the whole extent of the "Swan<sup>d</sup> Swamp," and the "Long Lake."

The whole intervale is the work of the river, in the ages past, and the process is still seen, every year, as the banks of the river are torn away on one side, and built up on the other by the rushing stream. It is a common saying of old men, who are familiar with the intervalles, that the river has been all over them, and has run, in different periods, everywhere, from side to side.

The changes can be seen by comparing the old map of 1795 with the map of 1830, with its recent corrections. Many of the great bends are now "dead rivers," while the river has taken a more direct course. In several cases the hand of man has opened a shorter passage for the water, as above the Sprague bridge; between Atherton and Center bridges; and below the "Great Scar," on Pine hill. The interest and the effort of landholders is to confine the river to its bed, except in freshet time, and thus preserve their land, which else might take—not wings—but water passage, and thus pass away. The floods enrich the intervalles with all kinds of plant food, and help to clothe them with fertility and beauty. The fields are covered over with corn; the cattle revel in rich pastures.

Lancaster is well watered by springs, lakes, brooks and rivers. The springs well up from the side of George hill, from end to end. The water is conducted by pipes to South Lancaster, and supplies many families. There is enough to supply the Center if means for distributing it were provided. Ponakin hill is another reservoir which

Not so.

a

b

Not so

?

b. The "Calf Pasture"

Jonathan Prescott of Concord, blacksmith, sold to Jas. Houghton 1 acre - "near the meeting of the rivers, the sd land lying in the W. side of the river almost running round the said land, which is known by the name of the "Calf Pasture" - it being part of the lot of my honored father, John Prescott" July 9, 1686 - Middlesex Records xxiv. 38 - William Houghton sold to Jonathan Houghton Feb'y 12. 1729/30 "2 1/2 a of intervale E side Nashua river" though one acre of it formerly lay on the W side of said river in a nook of it & it was called the Calf Pasture, but said nook being dug across the river now runneth there W on river. S on highway that goeth from the meeting house to the W side of Nashua river. E on highway that goeth from said meeting house to that part of the town called the neck, X by intervale called Rays Middlesex Registry xxx - 345.

a In all the Town Records this is written Swan Swamp.

never Swans - except in later copies of Records. It appears often in the earliest records (1656) - The same spelling is found in the early records of Exeter - 1673 &c. Though of course not proof positive that this noble species of bird frequented the waters of Lancaster in older times - the name is quite good evidence that Swans were seen here at least occasionally. Morton in his "New English Canaan" says "And first of the Swanne because shee is the biggest of all the fowles of that Country. There are of them in Merrimack River and in other parts of the Country great store at the seasons of the yeare. The flesh is not much desired of the inhabitants but the skinned may be accounted a Commoditie fitt for divers uses both for feathers and quills"

Hundreds of acres yet remain untilled & water soaked. In a wet season almost impassable. The author evidently never visited the locality. The old roadway very seldom required "a causeway" and there is no reason to suppose a road of it had "sunk out of sight."

\* "New Boston Aqueduct Co." established. 1826. See p. 612 note.

Water had been brought from the same locality in logs as early as 1798. as can be ascertained from old advertisements of houses for sale in this part of the town - see Columbian Centinel &c. passages of the organization, records, & leases. speak of this earlier aqueduct as that of "Sam'l. Ward & associates. So Lancaster Street averages about 100 ft lower than the main spring from which the water flows. or about 60 ft below the junction reservoir on the old Tomb's estate. The Company's leases of Springs are for 999 years -

(a) - Feb. 14 1797. Eli Stearns, Joseph White, Jonas Lane & Samuel Jones & Abijah Phelps obtained an act of incorporation for the purpose of utilizing the Springs of "Massaponetkin Hill" to furnish water to the inhabitants "in a Part of the Town called the Neck". The bored logs of this aqueduct Co. are occasionally ploughed up.

b Brooks of far more interest, historically, & as manufacturing powers, are what go by the name of Goodridge & So. Meadow Brooks. On the last were the first Coon & Saw mills & the first Cotton factory of Lancaster. On the first, the second or Sawyer's Saw mill, and the various industries at the site now covered by E. S. Fuller's Mill. This was originally styled "Dane's" or "Dean's" Brook, perhaps a reminiscence of early proprietors Samuel Dean. A later owner Goodridge? Sometimes written "Gutteridge" gave it the present title "Gannox Brook" 1718 in Records.

c Fernald gives Indian words, "Wicac" "wicca" "Wiqua" as meaning "as far as" or "limit"

I find "Claw shel Pond" in Town Records as early as 1697.

(aa) The Spellingshere given do not exhaust the varieties -  
Whitney & (1792) wrote "Wanshacum".  
Harrington (1753) wrote "Wanshacum" & "Washacum".  
Willard 1826 - - - "Wanshacum" & "Washacum".  
" 1853 - - - "Washacum".  
Govkin 1674 - - - "Weshakim" & "Washakim".  
Roger Williams gives the word "Wechicum" as meaning Sea  
Hubbard 1677 "Weshacom".  
Mass. Colony Records 1658 - - - "Washakam" do. 1666. "Washacome".  
Goodwin 1826 - - - "Washacum".

"Wichacombe" p. 25 & "Weshacomb" p. 27 seem to be the author's invention. He appears often unwilling to accept the authority of the early and intelligent annalists etc!

would yield an abundance for all the families on both sides <sup>a</sup> of the Neck. The water is pure, soft and sweet.

Springs impregnated with iron are found in several places. One is on the road to Pine hill, on the border of the brook. Formerly iron water was bottled at a spring on the steep bank south and west of Ponakin bridge, and sent to distant parts. The "Red spring" figures in the old "Book of Lands." *in 1717.*

The brooks which are numerous are partly indicated on the map. Some have been traced farther up into the hills than on any former map. In some cases corrections have been made. For example, one or more maps have a brook called Cumbery, which is right, but they represent it as flowing from Cumbery pond, which has no outlet. The brook probably takes its name from Cumbery hill at the southwest of the pond. One branch of it flows from a large swamp lying west of the Shaker settlement. The real name of the trout brook that flows from Spectacle pond to the Nashua, is Canoe brook, and it is so styled in ancient papers. Formerly there were two or three mill-sites upon it. One was the "old Sam Rugg mill," so called, not far from the Samuel Rugg place, now owned by Mr. Colburn, of Gardner. Another was between the road and the river, where was a fulling mill. This is a never-failing brook of pure water. Wikapekit brook comes into the town from <sup>c</sup> Sterling, and seems to be fed by unfailing springs. The other brooks are numerous, but need not be specified. They serve for use and beauty, and add new charms to scenery otherwise charming.

Lancaster was originally rich in ponds and lakes. On the east were Barehill, Gates and other ponds in what is now <sup>aa</sup> Harvard, Bolton and Berlin. At the south were Clamshell, Sandy and Mossy ponds. The East and West Washacum, ~~or~~ <sup>↗</sup> ~~Weshacombe~~ lakes in the south of Sterling are unsurpassed in the combination of lovely features.

But after losing all these fair mirrors of the sky, the old town still surpasses all her daughters in her wealth of ponds, with their pebbly margins and sandy bottoms, and transparent depths, and shores lined with trees. There are seven of these little lakes in the northern section of the town. Turner's pond is on the upper border, and extends into Shirley. White's pond is towards the northwest, with some eighty acres in this town, and a few beyond the Léominster line. Cumbery pond which is said to cover ~~thirteen~~ thirteen acres, lies at the eastern base of the plateau, and with no visible inlet or outlet, maintains its depth with scarcely a change from winter to summer, and from year to year. Strange notions are abroad in regard to this pond, as the love of the marvelous leads people to magnify every unusual appearance. It has been said and believed that the pond is deeper in summer than in the wet seasons of the year; that it rises "two feet just before a storm;" and that great rains have no effect upon its rise and fall. The fact is that the pond is but slightly affected by ordinary storms, or by the change of the seasons. But it is stated by Mr. Levi<sup>S</sup> Burbank, a close observer, and a man of scientific tastes and knowledge, that the pond does undergo considerable change in a series of years. For example, some years since, the surface began to settle and the margin to widen until the distance between the water and high water-mark was several feet. This space was soon covered with bushes, which continued to grow, from year to year. When several feet in height, the water began to rise, and so continued, till the shrubbery was killed, and the dead stalks stood in the water. It is his suggestion that the rise and fall of the water marks a succession of comparatively dry and rainy periods reaching over several years. If so, the pond is a sort of rain gauge. However we may account for it, the phenomenon is singular. The water is deep, pure and sweet, with no affluent, and no visible outlet, though some believe that a distant spring is fed from this fountain.

\* Whitney

I find "Camberie" Pond + Brook in Proprietor's Records  
as early as 1718.

<sup>Bushes</sup>  
\* The "shrubbery" was a dense growth of Pitch Pine.  
"stalks" of bushes? or trees? Not an appropriate  
word. — Stems or trunks

\* "Oak Hill" + "Oak Hill Pond". I find in Proprietors  
Records as early as 1721 -

\* The same name appears again in Records  
as "Spectacle meadow" which was situated  
some where not far from "Hag Swamp" on  
the "Marlborough Path". I find the name  
"Spectacle Pond" about 1700 in Town Records.  
The name is very commonly found attached to a pair  
of lakelets closely connected -

\* What is meant by "a partial observation"? Probably  
a careful observation is what the author intended.



We now come to a cluster of ponds, four in number, on the east side of the Lunenburg road, and lying in a north and south direction, relative to each other, with the exception of the smallest, which is called Oak Hill pond, and is southeasterly from the others. It partly fills a deep bowl, and was probably somewhat larger and much deeper in former times. The map gives it a surface of fifteen acres. It is so completely secluded that none but hunters and fishermen have known of its existence except by report. Recently however, wood has been cut in its vicinity, and a rough road has been opened on its western margin, by which teams can reach the southeastern corner of Spectacle pond. It is a lovely little gem in a fine setting of emerald.

But among our lakelets, Spectacle pond is queen. The old surveyors give it one hundred and thirteen acres of surface; but as they have utterly failed to represent its shape, so it is believed that they have understated its size. The outlines of the pond as given on the map of 1795, differ much from the present. On the map of 1831, the pond seems to be turned over from north to south, with a regular curve on the northern border, and an indentation reaching from the southern side far into the middle. Several town and county maps multiply the error. The outline on the map in this volume, though not accurate, is a great improvement on all that have preceded it. It was drawn by an experienced draughtsman, Mr. H. E. Remick, of Boston, after a partial observation, but without the use of instruments.

What led the earlier surveyors, who have been followed by the later, with immaterial variations, to give the lake such an outline, is a mystery. My theory was this: that in former times, the two bays, one on the northeast and the other on the northwest of the pond, which form the two glasses of the spectacles, were shallow, and mostly bare in the dry season, thus giving a gentle curve to the northern side of the pond; and that Loon island, as the narrow cape on the south side

is called, formerly extended far towards the middle of the pond. But soundings show that there are no shallows to justify this conjecture. The pond is a bowl with a suddenly shelving bank on all sides. In the northern extensions of the pond, the water is full twenty feet except near the shore. A little off from Loon island a line of thirty feet is needed to reach the bottom. It is hard to believe that the surveyors in 1795 and 1831 had no reason for giving the form to the pond which they have left us on their maps; yet it takes but half an eye to see that their outlines are almost exactly opposite to the facts as they now exist.

But leaving these questions which have delayed us too long, this little lake is a marvel of nature. The far-famed Walden pond in Concord does not combine more elements of natural beauty. Its singular curves and bays which give it a name; the little coves that break the line of its southern side; the pebbly shore and sandy bottom, and lucent depths, settling sharply from the margin; its transparent water and its rim of living green, all unite to please the eye and gratify the taste of the lover of nature.

Little Spectacle of about thirteen acres,\* separated by a few rods on the north, has similar features. When the water is high it flows into the larger pond, which is on the same level. The water is said to be deep in the middle, and has the translucent purity which gives a charm to the whole cluster of lakes. Passing north, and over the Harvard road, and into the woods a few rods, the gleaming surface of Fort pond comes into view. It is credited with a hundred acres. The old turnpike touched the southwest corner, and gave the traveler a bit of scenery, made up of water, woods and reflected sky, such as is rarely seen in a summer's journey. These four lakelets in a row, with Cumbery a mile or two distant,—such contrasts to the ordinary mud-margined ponds and reservoirs—are among the masterpieces of nature. If a railway ran near them they would be thronged by visitors from near and far every season. As it is, their

\* See Note at the end of the chapter.

x. Then why was "this conjecture" printed if unjustified?

The boys did not give it name, but the fact that  
there were two ponds adjacent, resembling the two  
glasses of a pair of spectacles -

e. Page 29. (A peculiarly undescriptive and involved sentence!)  
The south branch doesn't "make the main river" any more  
than the north. The interval is not continuous as stated.  
The South Branch springs from the foot of

Wachusett in Princeton. Rocky Pond. Its principal  
branch is the Quinepocket which takes its rise in a  
pond of the same name in Holden.

The Indian name "Nashaway" meant  
"the land between," describing the territory between  
the branches of the river - but was applied to the  
river itself by the white settlers.

See Collections Connecticut Hist. Soc. 11. 33.

In New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Coll. however "Nashua" is defined  
as "Place where water runs over stones" - The first is the definition  
of Trumbull probably the best living authority upon the Indian  
language - "Nashaway" or "Nashaway" "Place between" or "Crotch of a river"

The average depth of the river was greater in  
Willard's day than at present, because of the  
wantonly destruction of the forests and the  
thickets that shaded the fountain heads. In the  
days of the pioneers doubtless all the streams  
in Lancaster, carried seaward a much less  
variable volume of water ~~than~~ perhaps fifty  
per cent greater in amount, at least during  
the dry seasons. Men now living have  
conversed with those who have <sup>been</sup> ~~been~~  
trout in streams which now are dry  
gravel beds except in the winter & spring  
months - A notable case is that of the  
brook that once came down beside the  
road from Ballard Hill - Hence "wading  
places" even for horsemen & cattle were  
less frequent & are prominent localities  
in the early history of the town. Now  
places that cannot be forded are exceptional.





Meeting of the waters.

deep seclusion gives them a heightened grace to those who search for the amenities of nature in their secret haunts.

If these ponds are jewels on the bosom of Lancaster, the Nashua is a silver girdle, reaching from shoulder to shoulder and circling her waist. The north branch rushes from the hills of Ashburnham and Westminster, through Fitchburg, between high banks and over a rocky channel. In Leominster the valley spreads into a long intervalle, and this feature is preserved as the stream rolls on to the meeting of the waters, where the south branch comes in and makes the main river, and thence to the northern boundary. But the rush and momentum of the branches in their upper channels, crowd the river along the lower and smoother level with a steady force.

The average depth of the main river is stated by the historian Willard, to be about twelve feet. But this must refer to the river when filling the bed to the brim without overflowing. In the summer season the average depth between the Center bridge and Still river is not above three feet. Standing in a boat, when the water is at this stage, a full-grown man can see over the bank, in many places, and look across the intervalle. The river, even then, though placid on the surface, moves rapidly, as those will find who attempt to row up stream. When the river is brimming full, the movement is grand; and when the high freshet, in spring or autumn, swirls along over all the wide intervalle, the view is magnificent. Sometimes masses of ice and broken timbers, the debris of mills, dams and bridges, add to the wildness of the scene. But the contents of the swollen river give fatness to the farm-lands, and make the fertile intervalle like "the garden of the Lord."

Some value the river for its enriching qualities, and some for its abundant water power, and some because they can idle away their time in catching pout and pickerel. There are some also who delight in it as a "thing of beauty" and a "joy forever." They love to wander on its banks, to

of Lancaster  
^

plunge into its depths and float upon its surface. They return again and again to gaze on its flow when it shimmers in the sun, or is mottled by the rain-drops, or ruffled by the breeze. They are never tired of watching it from some high bank; mayhap from the summit of the *Scars*, or crumbling bluffs, and see it winding back and forth in the broad valley, like the convolutions of a mighty serpent, gleaming in the light with silvery scales.

This description of the scenery of Lancaster may seem extravagant to the stranger, but to one who has followed the eastern slope of George hill, and noticed the changing view given by every succeeding step; who has stood on the rounded tops of George or Ponakin or Wheeler<sup>ock</sup> hill, and taken in the entrancing prospect; who has traced the almost innumerable roads and bridle-paths, and hunters' tracks through the woods of Pine hill and the great northern plateau; who has reveled in the beauty of the ponds and rivers, and has been delighted with the added charm of cultivated fields, and tasteful grounds and gardens, the words will seem tame and inadequate. Let all be summed up in the words of Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, a former resident: this is "beautiful Lancaster."

A word must be said regarding the trees which, according to Prof. Silliman, "conceal defects and heighten beauties." The uplands bear the oak, chestnut, pine, birch, beech, maple and other trees common to the region. Wild cherry grows in different places. In the intervalles and the uplands  
 \* are great numbers of stately walnuts of the shag-bark variety. Formerly the "walnut swamp" extended from the intervalle opposite the Center, north and west by the ancient place of Daniel Stearns, and over the top of Ballard hill. But the elm is the monarch of upland and valley. Some are tall, with limbs expanding at the top like a graceful vase. Others branch out, bold and rugged, like the white oak, and spread their shadow broadly on the green sward. Still others rise majestically from the base, with a mighty bole which curves



“ Within the borders of New England, there is no more attractive spot than the site of the town of Lancaster. It lies thirty-five miles west from Boston, where in an alluvial valley, the beautiful river Nashua receives a large tributary stream before it proceeds on its tranquil way to the Merrimac. The richness of the interval soil, and the picturesque charm of the surrounding hills, crowned with primitive forests of walnut, chestnut, maple, and evergreens, invited the attention of one of the earliest companies that looked for an inland home” x x x

Falvey Hist. of N.E. Vol 3 p 1821.

\* The walnuts are not restricted to “the shag-bark variety.”  
Pignuts abound, also:

Carya alba; - tomentosa + glabra.

Launcester owes much of its rare beauty of landscape to the gracefully rounded curves of its hills. & these are characteristic of its geological formation. The town is founded upon argillaceous slate, which occasionally thrusts itself into view in the form of a ledge, but is chiefly visible in the boulders piled into farm walls. The strike of the formation is North <sup>(average 15°)</sup> depress East; its dip 45° to 90° westerly.

Hitchcock in his Report, 1841, pp. 556, 557, says: "The most interesting mineral in this rock is the Chiasolite or made, which is found in Sterling and Launcester. There is a great variety in the manner in which the crystals are disposed & &. This mineral is quite abundant in the clay slate in these towns near the place where the rock passes into mica slate. It changes insensibly into the mineral which has been generally called Andalusite & which is doubtless the same species."

The popular name of this mineral, "made" is from the Latin macula-a spot. Chiasolite is derived from the Greek letter  $\chi$  (chi), which a common form of the mineral resembles. The name Andalusite is from the name of the country where the mineral was first found. It is a subsilicate of alumina.

Two analyses of Launcester specimens, the first by Bunsen, the second by Jackson, yield as follows:

Silica,	Alumina,	Protox. of Iron,	Sesqui ox. of Manganese,	Lime,	Water
39.09	58.56	0	0.53	0.21	0.99 = 99.38
33.1	64	4	0	0	1.5 = 99.50

Why did the author quote the older writer Robinson 1825, instead of the modern scientists?

outwardly in thousand greater and lesser limbs,—their leafy tips pendent to the earth — and wave grandly in the breeze. Another variety is covered from base to summit with a growth of twigs, as if made on purpose to adorn the rugged branches. These serve, with the leaves on the branches, to make the tree a mass of foliage and verdure.

*Called "Dog-ears."*

The minerals of the town are more numerous than valuable. None of the "precious metals" are found here. There is an iron mine within our ancient bounds, but now in Sterling, a little north of East Washacum lake. The ore was good, but it long since ceased to be worked. It is now only visited by the curious. In a "Catalogue of American Minerals, by Samuel Robinson, M. D., Boston, 1825," the following facts are given: "Andalusite, reddish brown, in a rolled mass of white quartz, and on George hill in transition mica slate. Marl, abundant on George hill, and elsewhere. Earthy marl, an extensive bed, in New Boston, so called. Pinite, in clay slate; also green and purple pinite, fine specimens on George hill in granite. Spodumene, fine specimens in various parts of the town. Fibrolite, abundant in mica slate. Phosphate of lime, on George hill, in small hexahedral prisms, in a spodumene rock, of about two tons in weight. Peat, in the swamps and lowlands in the southwest part of the town." This is now covered in part at least, by the water of Mossy pond.

?

The Andalusite mentioned above, is a singular mineral, in its appearance. There is quite a variety in form and color. The mineral is intensely hard, and susceptible of a fine polish. Buttons, studs and other ornaments are wrought from it. The author has a specimen, presented by the late Prof. William Russell, which has a regular cross at the end, and is precious for the sake of the giver, for its beauty, and for the sacred emblem which it bears. And here an anecdote finds its place. Mrs. Mary G. Ware had specimens, one of which was specially fine. After a visit from a friend it was missing; but in time that friend, Mr. George B. Emer-

f

\* Mrs. Ware says he asked permission to take it for a little while.  
The language used above would imply that he took it secretly.

(1) son, returned it as the chief part of a ring set in gold, with this inscription, "Qui saxum <sup>made</sup> hore the cross.

a. It was a common thing in former years, for students in mineralogy to come hither from great distances in search of minerals, and especially the Andalusite, of which tons have been carried away. The principal of the high school, Mr. LeRoy Z. Collins, has made a large collection, and supplied many applicants for specimens. According to him, the mineral is found here, not merely in boulders but in the ledge, on the west side of George hill, and in Sterling. A large stone at the side door of the writer's house is supposed to be full of the Andalusite forms. *! So is every stone wall on George Hill.*

(b) More than a century since, a Mr. Flagg found a slate quarry in the northeast part of the town. "The slates were in use as early as 1752 or 1753," says Willard, and "after the revolutionary war, were sent in great numbers to Boston, and the Atlantic states, and formed quite an article of commerce." It was sometimes called the Shaker quarry, though never a part of their property. Perhaps the name was given because the Shakers, in the latter part of the century, were employed to take them to Boston with great ox teams. The Hancock house, on Beacon street, and occupied by Gov. Hancock, which was taken down a few years since, was shingled with slates from this quarry. So was the Old State house, and many another building in Boston.

c The quarry was worked more or less for fifty years. Mr. Whitney, author of the History of Worcester County said in 1793, "great numbers of them — the slates — are used in Boston every year." Facilities of transportation enabled other quarrymen to undersell the owners, and the work ceased more than fifty years since. The mine filled with water and so remained till the past year, 1877, when a Welshman, Mr. Griffith, reopened it, and found it to be one of the best slate quarries in the world. The quality is superior, the color good and durable, and the supply abundant. It is

A slate company was formed Dec. 1879 of which Geo. F. Dickson was general manager & Wm. H. Allen was treasurer, authorized capital \$100,000. — 20 acres of land bought. After working two or three years, & spending several thousand dollars the enterprise was abandoned. See article in Clinton Courant July 3, 1880.

(1) There is no authority for translating feat - "bore".

(a) Illustrations of the numerous forms of the Chialtoleite Crystals, as found in Lancaster, are upon page 372 of Dana's Mineralogy 5<sup>th</sup> ed. 1868.

See also article IV, p. 55 of 1<sup>st</sup> Vol. Boston Journal of Natural History - 1837 by Chas. T. Jackson. If the author had quoted certain scientific facts from the above named volumes, and omitted Collins, and his own suppositions and sentiments, historical facts as well as accuracy would be better satisfied.

b. This was Gershom Flagg, <sup>great</sup> uncle of Josiah the famous town Clerk - of Lancaster. <sup>His</sup> <sup>daughter</sup> <sup>Mary</sup> a daughter of Aaron Willard, & owned the Slate Rock farm. While slating a house in Boston he fell & was killed - <sup>December</sup> 1758 (See Boston Post Bay & Adventure Jan. 1, 1759 also Boston News Letter July 4, 1759) Timothy Dwight (Travels Vol 2. p 205) said (1797) (c)

"In the North-Eastern part of this township a quarry of slate the first I believe, wrought in the United States, and supposed to be inferior to none of those which have since been discovered, furnishes a plentiful supply of this valuable material, not only for the neighbourhood but also for other parts of the Country."

In 1802, Joseph Wales advertises to deliver Lancaster Slate at rate of "fifteen or twenty squares every week so long as the season will allow of procuring them" He adds, "It is presumed the inhabitants of Boston will give preference to these slates when they view the many houses &c which are covered with those from the same quarry - and are informed that they have repeatedly been sold at New York for 15 dollars per square while those from Vermont would bring only ~~ten to eleven dollars~~" - <sup>City of 22 1802, Columbian year Central</sup> In connection with the mention ~~made~~ of the iron mine made on page 31. it may be noted here, that Oct. 11. 1657. the General Court x x x "doe grant to the inhabitants of Concord & Lancaster and such as they shall associate unto them, according to the tenor of their petition, liberty to erect one or more iron works w<sup>th</sup> in the limits of their own towns bounds, or in any common place neere thereunto, any law order or grant to the contrary notwithstanding x x x -" Works of some kind were established at Concord within a year or two after. We have no record of any in L: until the days of the trip hammer at Powiskin, 1790 (about). The earliest forged used "bog ore" exclusively & that may have been found in some of the swamps & ponds of Lancaster, but in small quantity. - There is however

In 1806 Leonard Farwell advertises Lancaster Slate in Central.



hoped that the quarry will now be worked, as two railroads within two miles, or less, of the site, furnish ready communication with Boston, New York, and other cities less remote.

Of birds little need be said. The kinds common to this latitude are numerous, and fill the shade trees, orchards and forests with their songs. Dr. J. L. S. Thompson, a skillful taxidermist, has a large and beautiful collection. In gathering them he has had the aid of the gun and the knife of a young <sup>apprentice</sup> adept in hunting and taxidermy, Albert Harriman.

The wild animals with which the woods once were filled, and which preyed upon the flocks of the early settlers, have long since disappeared. During the first century premiums were paid for the destruction of beasts and birds of prey. Now a fee is willingly paid to get a sight of them in some traveling menagerie, or natural history collection.

*Alcivies* Shad and salmon formerly came up the Nashua, but none of the living remember the time. The dams at Nashua and Pepperell are an effectual bar, or the pollutions from the factories fill all decent fishes with disgust. Efforts have been made, of late years, to stock the river and some of the ponds with black bass, trout and other desirable fish, with partial success. Perhaps it will be found quite as easy to raise the fish as to guard them from the hooks of depredators.

Such is a brief and imperfect description of Lancaster as a township. The first settlers valued it as a goodly possession. They stopped not on the eastern hills, but hastened into the broad and fertile valley with its uplands and plateaus, on either bank of the Nashua. They found here the wild loveliness of nature, and they made it more desirable for their children. The soil was naturally good. In some places they exhausted it, but the overflowing of the river has kept up the fruitfulness of the intervale lands, and a better cultivation has enriched the uplands. Though the north part of the town has been made poor, except in spots, by unthrifty

farming, yet the lands there might be speedily restored. The hand of skilled industry would soon cover the fields with lush grass and heavy crops, and the happy farmers would reclaim the waste places where once were happy homes. Let the sons of the soil improve their goodly heritage; then the fields all over the town would smile with rich harvests.

In closing this chapter a brief reference will be made to some of the big elms of the past and the present. Willard speaks of several which are now dead, though the stumps of two of them remain. The one he mentions as standing west of Atherton bridge, measured twenty-six feet at the roots. This was stript of its last limbs by a furious tempest on the twenty-first of July, of the present year. He refers to another near to the Old Common cemetery

Broken down  
by wind & ice  
Dec. 27, 1861.

Fell Sept. 4  
1858.

which was twenty-five feet five inches at the roots, eighteen feet at two feet from the ground, and fourteen feet ten inches at four feet from the ground. The diameter of the area covered by its branches was ninety-eight feet. A third stood between the road and the barn of Caleb T. Symmes, and was twenty-four feet at the roots, and fifteen feet at four feet from the ground. The stumps of these last two trees still remain. The last mentioned is covered by a <sup>woodbine</sup> creeper.

It is said that Col. Abijah Willard, in his boyhood, nearly one hundred and fifty years since, took it up and planted it here. Another tree, southeast from Center bridge, and near the old Neck bridge, was twenty-six feet six inches at the roots, and twenty feet at four feet from the ground. This ~~has left no vestige.~~ *is yet vigorous -*

[But an elm standing near the same spot, a view of which is here presented, equals if it does not surpass all the above-mentioned.] Measured on the twelfth of July, 1878, its girth was as follows. Two feet from the base, twenty-seven feet, eight feet above the base, twenty-five feet. Below the point of measurement, the roots spread fast, and above eight feet high, the bole begins to branch. The diameter of



Josselyn in "New England Rarities" p. 9 says, 1672. that wild turkeys were formerly very abundant - "but this was thirty years since, the English & the Indians having now so destroyed the breed so that 'tis very rare to meet with a Turkie in the Woods - but some of the English bring up great store of the wild kind which remain about their Houses as tame as ours in England". At the date of the first settlement at Nashaway therefore, flocks of wild turkeys were to be found in the woods -

Hence "Turkey Hills" near Dunbury

Francis Higginson says of them. "There are likewise abundance of turkeys often killed in the woods, far greater than our English turkey, & exceeding fat, sweet & fleshy, for here they have abundance of feeding all the year long as strawberries (in summer all places are full of them) and all manner of berries and fruits -"

H. W. S. Cleveland informs me that he and a school mate killed a Lynx at the Old Rock somewhere about 1828. This was probably the last of the animal. That time, he says, in this Commonwealth

In my boyhood  
Ponds, and even  
being seen in the

#### THE DEER IN LANCASTER.

August 31 — 1895.  
Calvin Maynard Saw the Animal on His Farm Yesterday.

Calvin Maynard of Lancaster saw the deer which has made its appearance in this vicinity at occasional periods during the past month or more, at his farm, Wednesday morning.

When first sighted the animal was less than three rods from him. As soon as the deer heard Mr. Maynard approaching he leaped away, running twelve rods or more, when he suddenly stopped, turned, and for more than a minute gazed at Mr. Maynard. Then he ran into the woods and disappeared. Mr. Maynard says the deer is a handsome animal, having a fine white breast; when he first saw him he thought it was a calf. He says the temptation to catch or shoot him was great.

He is confident that the deer has been in the vicinity of his house for several days past, as one of his hunting dogs has made trips toward the mountain nearly every morning and Mr. Maynard is sure that he did not chase foxes as there are no fox trails in the direction he pursued, and up to within a few days he has never set out in that direction.

was at  
animal.

Bare hill

at of one  
? notes.

Amory of the Lancaster Mills to Agent Geo. W. Weeks of the same corporation, reference to which we have elsewhere made.

When asked for the use of the letter Mr. Weeks declined to give it out, but promised to write to Treasurer Amory asking if

perhaps in "New England Quarterly" p. 9 says, 1672. "but that under Turkey were formerly very abundant." This was thirty years since, the English & the Indians having now so destroyed the land so that it is very near to meet with a Turkey in the Woods - but some of the English bring up great store of the willow bark which remains about their houses as towns as seen in England." At the date of the first settlement at Waltham, therefore, blocks of willow Turkey were to be found in the woods -

*These "Turkey" were burning*

"There are thousands of them." There are thousands of Turkey often better in the woods, far greater than our English Turkey. I exceeding fat, sweet & juicy, for here they have abundance of feeding all the year long as the Indians (in summer all places are full of them) and all manner of berries and fruits -

J. G. & C. Leonard informs me that he and a schoolmate killed a dozen of the Old Red Turkey somewhere about 1818. This was probably the last of that species in this vicinity, and was at that time he says, considered an exceedingly rare animal in this Commonwealth -

In my boyhood an Otter was killed at Haverhill Falls, and soon more (1890) occasionally heard of one being seen in the river between Lancaster & Shelburne.

The author omits mention of the Carter oak, the largest red oak known in Massachusetts, and gives but a line to the Beaman oak near the North Village! But, it being history too valuable to lose that Mrs Thayer "placed sticks around" a sprout to keep it from harm, there was hardly room for oaks, I suppose, planted by the pioneers of the town.

—The gale of last Sunday afternoon was very severe, although but little hail fell; the wind prostrated several large elms, including two in the interval west of the road and near the Sprague bridge, and one east of the road; also two on the east of the way on C. T. Symmes' land, all being torn up by the roots; the streets were filled with branches and twigs, and much damage was done to fruit trees and the crops. July 27 1876

On Monday, E. S. Fuller at his steam mill, sawed 1562 feet of boards from a cherry tree log, grown on the spot where the Lancaster Swedenborgian chapel is to be erected, and valued at nearly \$100; it will be used in the interior finish of the chapel.

\* This cherry was cut down April 1881 to make room for the New Jerusalem Chapel. It proved quite sound. Its trunk measured 58 1/2" in diameter just above the swell of the roots, & at a height of four feet above this point measured 4 ft through. Over 110 distinct rings could be counted, and the indistinct lines of growth of its later years, probably numbered fifteen or twenty more.

—A large apple tree in the north part of Lancaster, on land of the Shirley Shakers, was recently measured by Joseph Collins, civil engineer, auctioneer, and real estate agent, and the following measurements were obtained: Girth around the trunk, four feet from the ground, thirteen feet; height, 46 feet; width of branches, 57 feet; girth of one limb, eight feet. The tree is supposed to be 200 years old and has been known to produce 90 bushels of apples.

the branches is fully ninety feet. The symmetry of its proportions is seen in the sketch. This tree stands close by "Lovers' Lane" on the land of Charles L. Wilder. Another nearly as large is a few rods west of his barn. The elms that formerly arched the path of Dr. Thayer, and before him, of Mr. Harrington, still wave their stately branches. An immense elm, of faultless shape, towers over the interval of Frederick Johnson, near the river.

The great elm on the south side of the house of Mrs. Nancy K. Carleton was set out between eighty and ninety years ago. When the late Dr. Thayer was married he did not immediately move into the house where most of his life in Lancaster was spent, as Mr. Harrington was then alive; but took his wife to the house now owned by Mrs. Carleton. When walking out one day Mrs. Thayer pulled up an elm sprout, brought it home, and with her own hands set it where it now stands. To guard it from harm she placed sticks around it. *!!!! Did she?*  
 What a graceful monument! To preserve the now stately tree, Mrs. Carleton has recently bound the great branches together with iron bands. *What these sticks?*

The large trees of Lancaster are not confined to the elm variety. Near the Central Station is an immense wild cherry, that has few equals in the country. At the old Barnes place, where Mr. Jewett now lives, is a huge white oak. *x*  
 On the farm of the country home of J. E. Farwell, Esq., of Boston, on the top of Ponakin hill, is an oak tree *The Beacon Oak.* which, at eighteen inches from the ground, is fifteen feet and a half in circumference; and at three feet from the ground, fifteen feet in girth.

The trees above-mentioned are some of the most conspicuous among hundreds which line the road sides and adorn the lowlands of Lancaster.

NOTE TO PAGE 28.—On the map made in 1831, the Little Spectacle pond is marked "twenty-seven acres." An accurate survey made in July of 1878, gives 13.13 acres,

—It appears by surveys made last week by J. Thissell of Clinton, that Little Spectacle pond is not of "leasable" area; the maps credit it with 27 acres, but by actual survey it has only 13 1-10 acres. *Aug. 1878*

or thirteen acres and twelve rods. How can the discrepancy be accounted for? It is not credible that the senior Capt. Fisher, who made the earlier survey, more than doubled the surface of the water. The following statement will partly if not wholly explain the matter. In former times the brook which is west of the Lunenburg road, and runs southerly into the North branch of the Nashua, was turned into Little Spectacle. At the same time, the outlet of the larger pond was closed by a dam which raised the water four or five feet. The water thus raised, flowed back from Spectacle to Little Spectacle pond, and raised its surface above the present margin. The writer has recently circumnavigated the pond, and found, in some parts, broad spaces which a moderate rise of the water would cover. It was estimated by two men with him in the boat, that ten or twelve acres would thus be added to the size of the pond.

The greatest length of Spectacle pond is about one hundred and seventy rods, and the greatest breadth not far from one hundred and fifty rods. Recent soundings show a depth of fifty-five feet. Probably the water is deeper in some places.

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2 Page 37. Inaccurately quoted from Winthrop's History of New England. 2<sup>d</sup> vol. p. 152. Edition of 1826. The editor James Savage, appends a note in which is this passage: "Watertown was a hive from which swarmed many new towns."

Sholan was called "Shawanon" by the Apostle Eliot. He was a "gentle savage." He died 1654. He had received Christianity & was on the friendliest terms with Eliot. Through this Christian's influence many of the tribe were, outwardly, at least listening to religious instruction, with <sup>favorable</sup> interest. Willard seemed to think King's partner. Symonds may have been Samuel, for several years one of the "assistants" - May it not have been Henry? I find in Colony Records 1645 May 14. that "Deauch Walker" being husband of late wife of Henry Symonds" etc x x This Henry was, Savage says, of Boston, "a man of enterprise" & undertook the work of making the mill creek for a mill power with Samary associates. <sup>One of these associates was John Hill a Lancaster proprietor.</sup> He died in September 1643. If he was the Lancaster trader, Walker was naturally caring for his wife's inherited rights in the grant & hence the appearance of his name among the petitioners of Oct. 1645. King died Dec 3 1644 & his widow Mary married James Cutler in the following March. See Bond's Watertown p. 326.

Savage declares Henry Symonds the Lancaster Proprietor.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE PURCHASE AND SETTLEMENT OF LANCASTER.

ACCORDING to Gov. Winthrop, the first movement towards the settlement of Lancaster by white men, was made in 1643. Watertown seems to have been a hive from which successive swarms went out to form new homes. Referring to a case of this kind, he says: "<sup>others</sup> some of the same town began <sup>also</sup> a plantation at Nashaway, some fifteen miles N. W. from Sudbury." At this time the whole territory in this region, as far west as the Wachusett, and perhaps farther, was ruled over by Sholan or Shaumauw, sachem of the Nashaways or Nashawogs, whose capital—a wigwam, or cluster of wigwams,—was near the Washacum, <sup>See p 25. Antilaa</sup> or Weshacomb lake. Sholan sometimes went down to Watertown, probably for the sake of barter, where he "became acquainted with a trader, Mr. Thomas King." Perhaps he thought it would be a convenience to have the place of trade in his own neighborhood. In that way, he and his tribe would be freed from the necessity of making long journeys to exchange their peltries for the trinkets and the more useful articles kept in a country store. Whatever was his motive, the Indian chief recommended his valley, with its streams, lakes, hills and plains, as suitable for a plantation, and invited the English to become his neighbors.

In consequence, King was induced, probably after personal inspection, to unite with others in purchasing the land of Sholan. The tract was eighty square miles, or ten miles



1643

Rob<sup>t</sup> Child  
John Fisher

by eight. The English agreed not to molest the natives in their fishing, hunting or planting places. This deed was sanctioned by the general court.

1645

John Cowdall  
Joseph Jenkins  
Nathl. Norcross

Hill

James Cutler  
Saml B. Stiles  
Mathew Barnes

It is not certain that any of the associates, viz. Thomas King, John Prescott, Harmon Garrett, Thomas Skidmore, Stephen Day, Mr. <sup>Henry</sup> Symonds, and perhaps Jonathan Chandler and goodmen ~~Smith~~, Walker and Davies, came to Nashaway in the year 1643. But probably some persons under the authority of King were on the ground before the season closed. "The first building was a trucking house, erected by Symonds and King," on the southeast side of George hill. Mr. Willard, in his History of Lancaster, [Worcester Magazine, Vol. II, No. 5,] places this trucking house about a mile southwest of the meeting house of the first parish, and near the corner of the roads southwest of the house of the late Col. Francis B. Fay. But there is an unbroken tradition that the first trading place was on the side of George hill towards the southeast. Jonas Goss, who has long lived at the foot of the hill, informs the author, that on land formerly owned by him, which he sold to George A. Parker, is a place called in his boyhood the "Indian Camp Pasture." He further states that there was formerly a stake which marked the site of an ancient building. This spot, [A on the map,] is perhaps, in its own amenities, and in the prospect, near and remote, which it commands, the most beautiful in the whole region.

King never became a settler, notwithstanding the pleasant fact stated by Rev. Mr. Harrington, that Sholan "had a considerable friendship for him." He "sold his interest to the other proprietors, who covenanted with each other to begin the plantation at a certain time." In pursuance of this covenant, and to make their purchase sure, they sent up three men, Richard Linton, Lawrence Waters and John Ball, to whom lots were given. These pioneers were directed to begin the settlement without delay, and "make preparations for the general coming of the proprietors." Winthrop,

?  
Willard does not seem to have heard this tradition. The name "Indian Camp pasture" doesn't suggest to the collector mind "trucking house"!

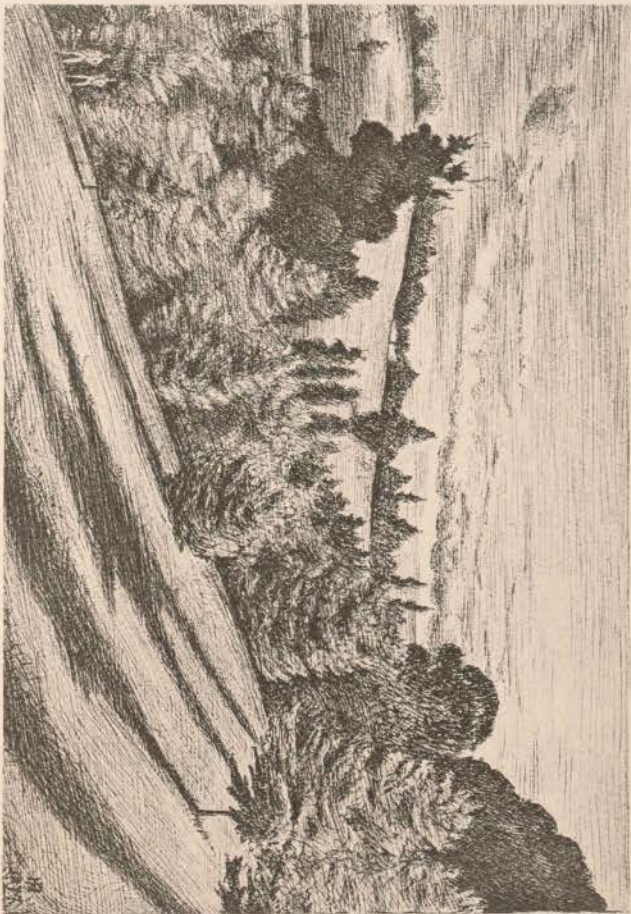
See note of

The title of most States is less than twenty years!

See note  
gh.

perhaps }  
more }

Willard  
Hist-p 20



*Hilltop Printing Co.*

*View of road to*

SITE OF THE FIRST TRUCKING HOUSE—GEORGE HILL.

*but a ruin of George's & Parker's farm.*

220 Devonshire Street, Boston.

" If an Indian did give name to the Hill, which  
I doubt.

99. There is a tradition, to which Mrs Rowlandson's narrative gives some plausibility, that the first camp, the night of the massacre, was upon George Hill. & the rent rock of granite prominent at the summit, has always been pointed out to the generations now living, as the locality, whence, surrounded by her savage guards, Mrs Rowlandson looked down upon the smoking ruins of her home, and the fearful orgies of the blood-maddened barbarians, through that night of sleepless horror - The name "Indian Camp Pasture" may have originated from this event - or the Indian who gave his name to the Hill, may have had his wigwam on this sunny slope near the living spring of pure water. At least the name bears no evidence that a trading house stood here. The scanty facts which can be gleaned from history, seem to favor Willard's conclusion that Prescott's "Crowdall purchase" was the site of Symonds & King's store house; & the records of the Proprietors' first division of lots seems absolute proof of this. (Did the author ever read that record! - See p. 70 note, for a copy of original record - also note to p. 66.) But the exact location cannot be fixed

(7) Page 39 - See Winthrop's History of New England.  
2<sup>d</sup> Vol. p. 161 edition of 1826.. The Court's answer (p 40) to Norcross  
is - "The petition of Mr Natha: Norcross, Rob<sup>t</sup>: Child,  
Stephen Day, John Fisher &c. for a plantation at  
Nashawake, is granted: provided that there shall not  
be more land allotted to the towne or particular  
men (notwithstanding their purchase of land of the  
Indians) than the Gen<sup>l</sup>l Co<sup>t</sup> shall allowe."

For genealogical notes upon above names see pp. 64. 61. 59 & 58.

The Seven. it would therefore seem were

Robert Child

Stephen Day

John Fisher

John Prescott

Hearman Lauret

Thomas Skidmore?

John Cowdall. ?

or Joseph Parker ?

or John Hill ?

or John Shawe?

in place of 2 of above ?

under date of May, 1644, gives the following item in relation to the settlement. "Many of Watertown, and other towns, joined in the plantation at Nashaway, and having called a young man, <sup>an</sup> universal [University,] scholar, one Mr. Noycroft, [Norcross] to be their minister, seven of them, who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the Magistrates and elders advised them first to go and build them habitations, <sup>for</sup> (for there was yet no house there,) and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as <sup>had</sup> formerly been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation, being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very slowly, so that in two years they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister, left them for their delays."

The account of the same event, by Rev. Mr. Harrington, differs in some respects, but need not be understood as irreconcilable with it. Referring to the act of the proprietors in sending up three men to prepare the way for the rest, he says: "before the time for their general appearance, their minister, to whom they had committed their mutual obligation, (whether by reason of his own aversion to the place, or by the instigation of such of the proprietors as were unwilling to come up themselves, is uncertain,) forsook them, carrying with him said mutual obligation. And in consequence of this all the associates, except Mr. Prescott, refused to fulfill the contract, but yet held their interest. So that for the space of seven years very little was done to forward the plantation."

It is quite credible that Mr. Norcross was led by more than one motive to leave them. Their "delays" was one. Some of those who refused to come, might have "instigated him," to take the same course. There is evidence that he was willing to come, at one time, for in the Colonial

"The petition of Mr Natha: Norcross, Rob<sup>t</sup>. Child, Stephen Day, John Fisher &c for a plantation at Nashaway is granted.

Records, (Vol. II, <sup>p. 75</sup> 57, <sup>May 29 1644</sup> ~~57~~) a petition of his is preserved, which was granted, <sup>^</sup> provided <sup>^</sup> there shall not be more land allotted to the town, or particular men, (notwithstanding their purchase of the land ~~from~~ the Indians,) than the General Court shall allowe;

At the end of two years, 1643-4, "there were not three houses in the place." That is, we may infer that there were two houses, set up by Linton, Waters and Ball. Besides these, was the trucking house of Symonds and King on George hill. Probably one of the two houses belonged to Linton, and the other to Waters, as they both became residents, while Ball disappears from view. The lot of Waters, as arranged afterwards, was east and <sup>north</sup> ~~west~~ of the Sprague bridge, while that of Linton was on the north side of the road, and <sup>west</sup> ~~east~~ of the house of Charles L. Wilder.

The subject was before the general court, in October, 1645, [Records, 1, 8, 45] when it was voted, that "upon the petition of the <sup>ye</sup> undertakers <sup>of</sup> the <sup>ye</sup> plantation at Nashaway, the Court is willing that <sup>ye</sup> John Hill, Sergeant John Davies, John Chandler, <sup>ack</sup> Isaac Walker and Matthew Barnes, or any three of them, shall have power to set out lots to all the planters belonging to the said plantation, provided that they set not their houses too far asunder; and the great lots <sup>ye</sup> be proportionable to men's estates and charges; and that no man shall have his lot confirmed to him before he <sup>ye</sup> has taken the oath of fidelity, <sup>ye</sup> before some magistrate."

*Wilder's.* The men named above never became inhabitants of Lancaster, and "did nothing to forward the plantation." Like the original proprietors, except Prescott, they abandoned the enterprise so far as becoming actual settlers is concerned. It is supposed that Mr. Norcross returned to England, as his name disappears from our annals; and about the time under review, there was a great demand for "learned and godly ministers" in the old country.

The people of Lancaster need not be troubled by what Winthrop says of the original proprietors. That they were

\* See p. 70 of Willard's Address of 1853 for a petition of proprietors dated June 1645 complaining of the want of a bridge over Sudbury River, the names of petitioners being Norcross, Prescott, Day, Garrett Skidmore, Hill, Walker, Cowdall & Joseph Jenkes.

Mass. Archives Vol 121 page 56

"The humble petition of the Company Intended to plant at  
Nashaway - 12 June 1645 -"

To the right wor<sup>sh</sup>ps<sup>ts</sup> Tho. Dudley Esq. Governour and the  
rest of the Magistrates + deputies now Assembled in the  
Generall Court at Boston.

Yo<sup>r</sup> petitioners, whose names are Underwritten Humbly  
sheweth unto yo<sup>r</sup> wor<sup>sh</sup>ps<sup>ts</sup> yt whereas we have formerly  
received favour from this Court in having liberty  
granted us to plant att a place called Nashaway some  
16 miles beyond Sudbery - Wee the sayd petitioners doe  
find itt an utter impossibilitie to proceede forwards to plant  
at the place above sayd except wee have a convenient  
way made for the transportation of our cattell and goods  
over Sudbery River and Marsh - Now although Sudbery  
men have began to set up a Bridge over the River yett  
the worke is no decieded, and the bridge left altogether  
unusefull, and the marsh now way mended, soe that  
that we cannot passe to the plantation above<sup>d</sup> - without  
exposing our persons to perill and our Cattell and goods  
to lorde and spoyle: as yo<sup>r</sup> petitioners are able to make  
prooffe of by sad experiences of what we suffered there  
within these few dayes yo<sup>r</sup> petitioners have bene & are  
much damaged by the badnesse of the way at this place,  
for many of us have bene dependant on this  
worke above three two years past: much tyme and  
means have bene spent in discovering the plantation  
and providing for our settlinge there: And now the  
Lord by his providence hath gone on thus farre with  
the worke that divers of us have covenanted to sett  
downe together and to improve ourselves there this  
summer that wee may live there the wynter  
next Insueing if God permit - But unless some  
speedy course be taken yt wee have a way  
made for the transplanting ourselves, cattell & goods  
we may perish there for want of Reliefe, not being  
able to provide for our subsistence there this wynter -  
Unless we expose ourselves and goods to the perill  
& spoyle as abovesayd, yo<sup>r</sup> petitioners doe therefore  
humbly Beseech yo<sup>r</sup> wor<sup>sh</sup>ps<sup>ts</sup> that as you have bene  
pleasid to countenance our beginnings, soe you would  
please to order that a convenient way be made



at the place aforesaid for transporting our persons,  
Cattell & goods, that the worke of God there begun  
may further proceede and we have encouragement  
to carry on the worke, else our tymes meanes  
and labour hitherto expended will be lost. But  
if god w<sup>ill</sup> please to further our proceedings  
herein yo<sup>r</sup> petitioners shall ever pray &c.

Nathaniel Norcrosse

John Prescot

Stephen Deye

Starman Garrett

Thomas Scidmore

John Still

Isaack Waker

John Cowdall

Joseph Jenkes

The magistrat think fitt that so<sup>th</sup>  
should be allowed to the towns of Sudbury towards  
the finishing of their bridge & waye at the end of it to  
be payd them when they shall have made the  
way passable for loaden horse - & desire the  
Concurrence of the deputies herein -

To: Winthrop D. Gov

The house of Deputies doe Concurr with our  
honoured magistrat herein so it be done within  
a twelue monthes -

Edward Rawson 11

(100 years later this bridge & causeway "half a mile  
long" were represented as dangerous when the  
waters rose & "unpassable" in floods -)

(i) Page 40. This action of the General Court is to be found in the Colonial Records, Vol. 2<sup>d</sup>. Page 136. edition of 1854. It seems to me a grave mistake that the author has not followed the antique spelling in his quotations from old papers. It accords with the quaintness of expressing and, what is of more importance, is a part of the history of the times - The author seems here to have taken the reading of Willard, instead of consulting the original, for the copies two errors in names, made by Willard in his historical sketch of 1826. but which were corrected by that author in his Address of 1853.

"Ball disappears from view" - not until 1776. when he was killed by the Indians: see page 104, also note to page 69 of Willard's Address 1853.

In Vol. 3<sup>d</sup> p 45 of the Colonial Records, there is an independent record of the action of the deputies, which is here copied as an illustration of orthography of the time, & for comparison with that given here.

"Oct. 2. 1645" In ans. to ye petition of Jo: Hill. Sgtt Jo: Davis, Jo: Chandler, Isaacke Walker & Mathus Barnes James Cutler, &c. in relaçon to Mashaway plantaçon itt is ordered yt Jo: Hill Sgtt Davis, Jo: Chandler, Isaack Walker & Mathus Barnes or any three of them, shall have pow: to sett out lotts to all ye planters provided they sett not their houses to farr asunder; & ye greater lotts to be proportionable to mens estates & charges; & yt no man shall have his lott confirmed to him before he hath taken ye oath of fidelitty before some magist."

x Matthew Barnes was of Arrantue 1649. of Boston 1652 &c

The petition is in Mass. Archives.

The James Cutler here mentioned was of Watertown. He married the widow of Thomas King March 9. 1644. 5 -

The only names included in the "V" are Thomas Skidmore & Samuel Ditchfield, a constable in Boston 1657 of Mr. Wollaston 1639

(j) Page 42. - See Colonial Records Vol. 2<sup>d</sup>. p. 212.

The errors & omissions on page 42, are copied from Willard's Historical Sketch, with the exception of the error on line 13. One of them, that author, however, corrected in his "errata". & another in his address. Mr Willard wrote to a friend in Lancaster Sept. 25. 1847 respecting this work of his early manhood. "I have never been satisfied with the work. It was written against time, & all the collections were made in the course of a few months. & consequently it is marred with errors of the press if nothing worse."

(k) Page 42. Harrington's date is incorrect. A petition was received and an order of the Court made in May 1652 (as will be seen by the closing paragraph of an independent record of this order of which a copy will follow. The petition & order of 1653 appear to have been amendments to earlier actions of the planter's & General Court.

(l) The order of Court here given is in Vol 4 of Colonial Records p. 139. May 18. 1653. Pages 43 & 44 may be received in proof to some degree, of the statement made on page 7. line 19. The critical labors of the experts who wrought upon the Records, carefully published by State direction in 1884, should have spared us this version of one apparently little skilled in deciphering blind manuscripts. In volume 3<sup>d</sup> pp. 302 & 303 is recorded, out of its proper place, as a parenthesis in the last amendment shows, the original order of the Court, with subsequent amendments of great interest not noticed in this later copy - It is as follows!

"poor men" can easily be believed, since not many men of large property would care to encounter the privations of the wilderness, while having comfortable homes in the lower towns. Others were "profane;" but they, for some reason, remained below, where, we may hope, they were under good influence. Some again, were "corrupt in judgment." x  
 But none of this class came except Prescott. This corruption in judgment was simply a mistaken opinion, (if it was mistaken) in regard to the right of suffrage, and the extent to which the power of the state should reach in matters of religion. He was a follower of Dr. Child, who gave some trouble to the general court, and whose views, if his party had been numerous enough, would have produced a revolution in the colony, and probably led to its destruction. ?

*Child was one of first advocates. See note top, p. 40.*

*"Destruction!" Similar view did not do this in Rhode Island & did not here, which supported by royal authority years later.*

In regard to the question, who was the first permanent inhabitant of Lancaster, Mr. Willard decides in favor of Prescott. But this is not absolutely certain. Linton, Waters and Ball were here in 1643 and 1644. They built two houses. It is true that Linton and Waters were in Watertown in 1646; but they were in Lancaster in 1647. Between these two dates Prescott took up his abode here. But there is no evidence that Linton and Waters had left, except for a temporary purpose. However this may be, Prescott deserves the honor, among all the original associates, of adhering to the enterprise, and of coming up to put in his lot with the hardy settlers. The others, while clinging to their interest, declined to aid in laying the foundations by personal toils and perils. It was probably fortunate for the town, in all its future history, that these men kept away, since in a "small company" there were seven, (the necessary number to form a church, according to a then prevalent notion,) who, not being members of a church, were willing to be organized into one, for the occasion!

*See E. 22 of History 1836. In A. O. 1853 He does not. See 269 Centennial Address where he expressly says. Linton, Waters & Ball were the first inhabitants." See p. 73. edmore*

*They seem to have been hired by the more correctly practitioners, however to prepare shelter*

The general court seems to have been interested in the enterprise of planting a new town, on the frontier, and notwithstanding the failure of the associates, took the following

\* *Witherup, no doubt, included Lawrence Waters among the profane. for his wife — at Watertown in 1638 "was warned for having danced," see Savage. Prescott seems to have "improved upon acquaintance" even in the opinion of the General Court. see note p. 85.* (See Colony Records, 1636 5<sup>th</sup> day 4 mo.

name omitted  
"Isa: Walker, Jno. Davies, Jno. Hill, & Math: Barnes"

11th of November

action on the (twenty-seventh of October) 1647. "Whereas the Court hath formerly granted a plantation at Nashaway unto <sup>Jno.</sup> Jonathan Chandler, <sup>Isaac</sup> [and others,] and that <sup>Jno. Hill</sup> Hill is dead, <sup>Jno.</sup> Chandler, <sup>Jno.</sup> Walker, and <sup>Jno.</sup> Davies have signified unto the Court; that since the <sup>same</sup> grant, they have acted nothing as undertakers there, nor laid out any lands, and further, have made request to the Court to take in the said grant, manifesting their utter unwillingness to be engaged therein, the Court doth not think fit to destroy the plantation, but rather to encourage it; only in regard the persons now upon it are so few, and unmeet for such a work, and are to be taken to procure others, and in the meantime to remain in the Courts' power to dispose of the plantation and ordering of it."

(j)  
Hill was a Boston Blacksmith's died 1646  
Walker was a Boston Shop-keeper  
There were several John Chandlers & John Davises  
This was probably the John Chandler made townsman of Boston 1691  
Serg Jno. Davis was also of Boston

See note to p. 724. for deed -  
He bought the Symonds & King Tracting House & lots.

locat. doubtful!  
1652 (k)

It was now 1647, and there were, at least, three permanent settlers in the plantation, viz. John Prescott, Richard Linton and Lawrence Waters. All these were from Watertown. John Cowdall, of Boston, owned property here, as appears from a deed of a house and twenty acres of land, made to Jonathan Prescott in 1647. Whether he had been here, and built a house, or whether he had purchased of some proprietor is unknown. Willard states that others soon followed, as Atherton, Sawyer, etc.; but for the next five or six years, the additions came slowly.

By the spring of 1653<sup>2</sup> there were nine families on the ground, not one of whom was an original proprietor except John Prescott. He had set up his habitation and trading place, and probably his blacksmith shop (near the cross roads in South Lancaster). The words of Mr. Harrington are as follows. "On the eighteenth of May, 1653, there being nine families in the place, they petitioned the general court for an incorporation, and obtained it by the name of Lancaster." This petition was probably signed in addition to the five names already given, by Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlock, William Kerley and Ralph Houghton.

(l) The <sup>first</sup> action of the <sup>general court</sup> legislature is here inserted in full. "At a General Court of election held at Boston, the 18<sup>th</sup> day of

"  
The Court answers to a petition presented from the inhabitants of Nashaway, año 52 concerning the settling of the plant. in severall particulars.

I. First it is determined that the ordering & disposing of the plantation of Nashaway is wholly in this Court's power, as appears by an order of the Generall Court in año 1647.

2<sup>d</sup> Considering that there is already at Nashaway about 9 families, & that severall, both freemen & others, intend to goe & settle there, some whereof are named in their petition, this Court doth hereby give & grant them libertys of a townshipp, & at the request of the inhabitants, doe order it to be called Prescott.

3<sup>d</sup> That their lymitts shalbe set out accordinge to a deede of the Indian Sagamore, vizt. Nashaway River at the passing oves to the center, & five miles north, five miles south, five miles east, & three miles west & yt this Court appoynt some Commissioners to se these lynes extended & their bounds lymitted.

4<sup>d</sup> That Edward Brecke, Nathaniel Headlocks, Wm Carley, Thomas Sawyer, John Prescott, & Ralph Haughton, or any fower of them whereof the major part to be freemen, to be for present the prudentiall men of the sd town, both to se all allotments layd out to the planters in due proportion to their estates, & also to order the prudentiall affayres untill it shall appeare to this Court that the place be so farre settled with able men as the Court may thinke it Capable of givinge them full libtie of a townshipp accordinge to law.

5<sup>d</sup> That all such persons who have possessed & continued inhabitants at Nashaway shall have their lotts formerly layd out confirmed to them provided they take the oath of fidelity.

64. That Sudbury should make Cartways within their bounds to pass to & from Id plantation.

74. That the sd inhabitants be rated for publicke charge within the County of Middlesex, & to that end the towns may choose a Constable

84. That they take care that a godly ministry may be maintayned amongst them, & yt no evil persons, enemies to this Commonwealth in judgement or practise, be admitted as inhabitants amongst them, & none to have lotts confirmed but such as take the oath of fidelity

94. It is hereby declared that although the first undertakers & copartners in the plantation of Nashaway are wholly evacuated of their claime in lotts there, by order of this Court, yet that such persons of them who have expended either charge or laboure for the benefit of the place & have helped on the worke there from time to time, either in contributings to yt ministry or in <sup>the</sup> purchase from the Indians, or in any other publicke worke, that such persons are to be considered by the towns either in proportion of land, or some other way of satisfaction, as may be just & made provided such persons doe make such their expences clearly appeare in six months.

This Court taking the condition of Nashaway into further consideration doe order that it shalbe called hereafterth West Towne. & doe further confirm their grant of 8 miles square which was formerly granted them, which will encourage many to plant there

In answer to another petition from the inhabitants of Nashaway for setting of their grants this Court doth order

Corrected to conform to original as printed p 139-140 - 4th Vol. "Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."

Except that no alteration has been made where (as is usual in the original) the letters *u* & *j* are used for *i* & *v*. (No. 6 95, 1)

PRUDENTIAL MANAGERS.

13  
May, 1653, In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Nashaway, the Court find<sup>s</sup> according to a former order of the General Court, in 1647, <sup>anno</sup> that the ordering<sup>g</sup> of the plantation at Nashaway is wholly in the Courts' power. (2) Considering that there is already at Nashaway about nine families, and that severall both freemen and others, intend to goe and settle there, some whereof are named in this petition, the Court doth grant them the liberty of a township, and order<sup>s</sup> that henceforth it shall be called Lancaster.

"That the bounds thereof shall be set out according to a deede of the Indian Sagamore, viz., Nashaway River at the passing-over to be the center, five miles north, five miles south; five miles east, and three miles west, by such Commissioners as the Court shall appoint, to see these lands defended, and their bounds limited. <sup>x lines extended</sup>

4  
"That Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlocke, William Keyley, Thomas Sawyer, John Prescott, Ralph Houghton, or any four of them, whereof the main part are freemen, to be for the present, Prudential Managers of said town, both to see all allotments to be laid out for the planters in due proportion to their estates, also to order their prudential affairs until it shall appear to this Court that the place shall be so far settled with able men as the Court may judge meet to give them full liberty of a township according to lawe.

5  
"That all such persons who have possessed and continued inhabitants of Nashaway shall have their lots formerly laid out, confirmed to them, provided they take the oath of fidelity.

6  
"That Sudbury and Lancaster lay out highways between town and town, according to the direction of the court, for the countries use, and then make them as need shall be.

7  
"The Court order that Lancaster shall be within the county of Middlesex, and the town hath liberty to choose a constable.

8  
"That the inhabitants of Lancaster do take care that a godly ministry may be maintained amongst them; that no

In Dr. Jenkins's Copie these words are plain & agree with the Colonial Records - Mr. Warren follows a later & careless Copist here and below.

Carby



evill persons, enemies to the laws of this Commonwealth, in judgment or practice, be admitted as inhabitants amongst them; and none to [have] lots confirmed but such as take the oath of fidelity.

"That although the first undertakers and co-partners in the plantation of Nashaway are hereby <sup>wholly</sup> evacuated of their claims in lots there, by order of this Court, yett that such persons of them who have expended either charge or labor for the benefit of the place, and have helped on the publicke works there, from time to time, either in contributing to the ministry, or in the purchase from the Indians, or any other publicke work; that such persons are to be considered by the town, either in proportion of land, or some other way of satisfaction, as may be just and meet; provided such persons doe make such their expenses clearly appear within twelve months after the end of this session, for such demands; and that the interest of Hermin Garrett and such others as were first undertakers, or have been at great charges there, shall be made good to him, them, his or their heirs, in all allotments, as to other the inhabitants, in proportion to the charges expended by him and such others aforesaid; provided they make improvement of such allotments, by building and planting within three years after they are or shall be laid out to them, otherwise their interest hereby provided for to be void; and all such lands so hereby referred to be thenceforth at the town's dispose. reserved

"In further answer to this petition, the Court judgeth it meet to <sup>confirm</sup> consider the above mentioned nine particulars to the inhabitants of Lancaster, and order that the bounds thereof to be laid out in proportion to eight miles square."

xx This has been, somewhat loosely, styled an act of incorporation, and the eighteenth of May, old style, has been considered as the anniversary of the legal birth of the town. But, as Willard states, "at this early period there were no formal acts of incorporation;" the usual way was for the general court to grant a plantation the liberty of a township on

copy  
the plantations at Nashaway to Center as in the Court  
order of May 52 (which is the foregoing order) and  
to be layd out in pportion to eight miles square, &  
that the severall pticulars being in number syne,  
be confirmed to them same in the close of the 2<sup>d</sup>.  
article about the name of the towne, that the name  
of it be henceforth called Lancaster, & in the sixth  
article that Sudbury & Lancaster lay out highwayes  
according to ye Court order, for the Countreys vse &  
them repayre as need shalbe, & that instead of six  
monthes expressed in the close of the 9<sup>th</sup> article, such  
psms to have Twelve monthes from the end of  
this session for such demaundes; and that the interest  
of Harmon Garrett ~~and~~ such others as were first under-  
takers or have ben at great charges there, shalbe made  
good to him, them or his or their heires in all their  
allotments as to other their inhabitants, in pportion to  
charges expended by him and such others aforesd  
pvided they make improvements of such allotments by  
buildinge & plantinge, within three yeares after they are or  
shalbe layd out to them, otherwise their interestes hereby  
pvided for to be voyd & all such lands so hereby  
relesed to be at the townes dispose."

Willard quotes from this copy of the order p. 78 of  
Centennial Address. Another copy is in Mass. Archives Vol 112 - p. 55  
slightly differing from others.

x x The "Copie of the Courts Grant" 1653 is the first page of  
a Vol. of the Town Records, badly torn & many words gone.  
It has very few & slight verbal differences from that printed -  
as here corrected. It is in the handwriting apparently of John Tucker, first  
Town Clerk. Mr. Marvin seems to have followed a copy of this, made many  
years later by an inferior scribe, who made very many errors & omissions.  
Some of them very absurd.

(a) This petition is in the true records as copied from the old book by Ralph Houghton. Mr Marvin has translated it into something quite different from the original. although Houghton's hand is not at all difficult to read. He has also omitted the headings of pages, + the sub heads written in the margin of original. — as in fact he does throughout his book. He has none of the true spirit of the Antiquarians, and seems utterly unable to copy anything. Yet he pretends to "give the reader a view of the style in which things of this sort were done in the early days of the colony."

certain conditions. If these conditions were fulfilled, then "full liberty of a township" was granted. This usage is recognized in the fourth section of the act just recited, in these words: "until it shall appear to this Court that the place shall be so far <sup>settled</sup> with able men as the Court <sup>may</sup> judge meete to <sup>give</sup> grant them full liberty of a township according to lawe".

Such power was granted, the next year, 1654, as appears by the following petition and answer, which are here inserted at length, for the sake of permanent preservation in print, and also because of their intrinsic interest. The petition and answer at the same time, will give the reader a view of the style in which things of this sort were done in the early days of the colony.

"To the honorable <sup>ed</sup> gov<sup>er</sup>nor, the deputy gov<sup>er</sup>nor, and the Rest of this honorable <sup>ed</sup> Court, both magistrates and deputies //

"The humble petition of the Inhabitants of Lancaster humbly sheweth that

"Whereas it pleased the <sup>is</sup> honorable Court to give power to six men formerly, to dispose of Lands, and to give out Lots vnto such men as did desire to sitt downe at Lancaster; they having hitherto acted accordingly, and we being now about twenty families, and one of the six men [Hadlock] being dead, and one other <sup>an</sup> being removed from vs, <sup>de Sirous</sup> and some others of them being <sup>leaving</sup> disposed to leave off that power given to them by the Court, <sup>concerning</sup> considering it to be agreeable to Law, and profitable to the town, in the further carrying on and ordering of the planting and prudentiall affairs of the town, and also in the further disposing and raising maintenance for the ministry amongst us, we with the commissioners who have sett their hands here vnto with ourselves, humbly intreat this Honored Court that the power which was formerly granted to those six men, may be granted to the town, and inhabitants in generall, that they in they may act together as in other towns, and as we conceive, vnder favor, the Law doth allow, And also that this Court would be pleased to appoynt

<sup>Some</sup> such man or men, who in wisdom you think meet, to lay out our town bounds according to this Court's grant, which, if it shall please this Honored Court to grant unto us, we shall remaine further obliged, and as we are in duty bound, Continue to pray for you." The names subscribed are William Kerley, <sup>Sen.</sup> William Lewis, William Kerley, Jr., Richard Smith, Henry Kerley, John Johnson, John Lewis, Edmund Parker, Thomas ~~Sawyer~~ <sup>James</sup>, John Whitcomb & 2<sup>d</sup>, Lawrence Waters, Richard Linton. The petition concludes in these words: "The desire of your petitioners is, that they desired the full power and privileges of the plantation, and for the present they desire, and shall be well satisfied if the Court do grant seven men out of the ten here under written, to order the prudential affairs for this year ensuing, and that afterwards it shall be lawfull for the plantation to make their Elections, and to order their prudential business in full state of a plantation according to Law." Then follow the ten names, viz., Edward Breck, John Prescott, William Kerley, Ralph Houghton, Thomas Sawyer, John Whitcomb, John White, William Lewis, Richard Smith, Edward <sup>Kibbie</sup> of these are freemen Edward Breck, William Kerley, Thomas Sawyer, William Lewis, John Whitcomb.

The petition was referred to a committee, and this is their report. "The committee think meet that the inhabitants of Lancaster have those liberties of a township that the laws allow, until the General Court take further order therein; and that <sup>Lieut.</sup> ~~Lieutenant~~ Goodnow and <sup>the</sup> Thomas Danforth lay out the bounds of the said town according to the Court's grant, at the town's charge, and make return thereof unto the next Court of Election.

"The deputies approve of the return of this committee, and desire our honored magistrates' consent thereunto. Consented to by the magistrates, William Torie, Clerk, 10 May, 54."

The above petition and answer have been cited in this place for the purpose of completing the record of the incor-

\* Probably Edmund Parker. no! "Edward Kibbie" see note 3 p. 67

\* See committee { Humphrey Atherton  
Thomas Clarke  
Nathan Lusher  
Joseph Hill

(m) Page 46. This order is in Vol. 3. of Colonial Records  
page 351. May 15. 1654. in somewhat different language.  
"In answer to the p<sup>t</sup>. of the inhabitants of Lancaster, they have the  
libties of a Township granted to them that the Lawes allow, untill  
this Gent<sup>l</sup>. Court take further order therein: and that Lieut Good  
snow & Tho<sup>s</sup> Sanforth lay out the bounds of the s<sup>d</sup> towne, according  
to ye Courts graunt, at the townes charge. & make returns  
thereof at the next court of Election" The wording here printed  
is that of Vol. 4. p. 189 dated May 14. 1654. (as corrected)  
Ralph Broughtons copy in town records is slightly changed in spelling &c.  
The author omits to mention the fact that in 1650

Prescott called the attention of the General Court to the Nashaway  
plantation by a petition. and got lumbered for his pains - by  
the following order. found in Colonial Records Vol 3. p 203  
June 19. 1650. "Whereas John Prescott & others the inhabitants  
of Nashaway p<sup>r</sup>ferd a petition to this Courte, desiringe  
power to recover all common charges of all such as  
had land there, not residing w<sup>th</sup> them, for answer  
whereunto this Courte, understandinge that the place  
before mentioned is not fit to make a plantation (so a  
ministry to be erected ~~and~~ mayntayned there, which if  
the petitioners, before the end of the next session of this  
Court shall not sufficiently make the said place appear  
to be capable to answer the ends above mentioned)  
doth order that the p<sup>t</sup>ies inhabiting there shalbe  
called therehence & suffered to live without the means  
as they have done, s<sup>ic</sup> longer. p<sup>r</sup> curia "

The tone of this action contrasts somewhat with  
the "encouraging" order of three years earlier date.  
See p. 420. A copy of same order in more condensed  
form is found in Vol. 4. page 22. of Colony Records.  
dated June 22<sup>d</sup> 1650. Willard mentions it in Address p 76 -

mn - This Covenant is in the volume of Earliest  
town records - copied by the hand of Mattie Finckes - There is  
also the later transcript very inaccurately made <sup>by the Proprietor's Clerk, Guy W. Mann?</sup> Finckes  
also copied from the "Old Book." "Sum grants of land & orders  
by the first six men appointed" - as follows: "They" of the first men 1652

"It is ordered and agreed by the selectmen of the plantation  
that land which lyeth betwix the lott of Edward Breck  
and that of Richard Smith shall be in comon for the  
plantation.

(2) "It is ordered by the greater voat of the selectmen that noe  
second deviding of land shall be laid out to any planter  
within the compass of two miles of the house of Richard Linton

(3) It is ordered and granted by the greater voat of the  
selectmen that a certain p<sup>ce</sup> of interwaile land  
which lyeth betwix lottes of Robert Breck & Ralph Houghton  
shall be and remaine unto the said Robert and Ralph  
their heirs and assigns for ever and that upon reasonable  
& good consideration.

poration of the town. But in the meantime much had been done, during the year 1653 in arranging the settlement. The committee designated in the act of 1653, viz., Breck, Kerley, Sawyer, Prescott and Houghton, had performed the duties assigned to them in dividing the land, in part, and in managing the affairs of the plantation. The location of the proprietors will be given in the following chapter, because the division was not completed at this time, and it will be convenient to have the whole arrangement in one view.

The first division having been made, the inhabitants and others interested entered into a covenant with each other. This document is so important in illustrating the history of Lancaster that it will be given entire. It was adopted on the twenty-eighth of November, 1653, and was in the words following.

*"1653 28: 8 mo." Memorandum, That*  
 \*\* We whose Names are subscribed upon the Receiving and acceptance of our severall Lands, and Allotments, with all Appurtenances thereof, from those men who <sup>are</sup> were Chosen by the Generall Court to Lay out and dispose of the Lands within the Town of Lancaster, hitherto fore Called by the name of Nashaway, doe hereby Covenant ~~and~~ binde ourselves, our heirs, Executors and Assigns, to the observing and keeping of these orders and Agreements hereafter mentioned and Expressed.

"First, For the maintainance of the ministry of God's holy word, we doe Allow Covenant and Agree that there be laid out, Stated and established, And we doe hereby state and establish as Church Land, with all the privileges and Appurtenances thereunto belonging forever, thirty Acres of upland, and forty Acres of Intervale Land, and twelve acres of meadow with free Liberty of Commons, and for Pasture and firewood. The said Lands to be improved by the Plantation, or otherwise, in such order as shall be best Advised and Concluded by the Plantation, without Rent, pay<sup>ment</sup> for the same, untill the labor<sup>us</sup> of the Plantation, or those who doe improve the same be fully satisfied; And we doe agree that the Plantation, or Selectmen shall determine the time, how Longe any *every*



man shall hold and Improve the said Lands for the profit thereof, And then to be Rented, according to the yearly value thereof, and paid in to such persons as the Plantation or Selectmen shall Appoynt, to and for the use of and towards the maintainance of the minister, Pastor or Teacher, for the time being, or whomsoever may bee stated to preach the word of God among vs. Or it may be in the Choise of the minister to Improve the Lands himselfe.

"And further, we doe Covenant and Agree to build a Convenient meeting-house for the Publique Assembling of the Church and People of God, to worshipping God, according to His holy ordinances, in the most equal and Convenient place that may be Advized and Concluded by the Plantation. And to Build a house for the Minister vpon the said Church Land.

"And further we doe Engage and Covenant every one for himselfe his heirs, Executors and Assigns, to pay to, and for the use of the ministry aforesaid, the sume of ten shillings a yeare as for and in Consideration of our home Lots yearly forever, our home Lots to stand Engaged for the payment thereof; and what all this shall fall short of a Competent maintenance, we Covenant to make vpp by equal Rate, vpon the good and other improved Lands, (not home lots) in such way and order as the Country rate is Raised, And in case of a vacancy of a minister, the maintainance Arising from the Church Lands and home Lots abovementioned, shall be paid to such as shall be Appoynted, for the use of a schoole to be as a stock; or as stock for the maintainance of the minister, as the Plantation or the Selectmen shall think meetest

"And for the better Promoting and setting forward of the Plantation, we Covenant and Agree, That such persons of vs who have not inhabited this Plantation heretofore, and are yett to come to build, Improve and Inhabit, That we will (by the will of God) Come vpp to build, to Plant land, and to Inhabit at or before one whole yeare be passed, next after the acceptance of the Allotments, or else to Lose all our Charges about it, and the Lots to Returne to the Plantation, and to pay five pounds for the use of the Plantation.

"Some grants of land & orders by the first his men appointed"

"Upon reasonable and good consideration it is ordered and granted by the greater voat of the belietants that Thomas Sawyer shall <sup>have</sup> five acres of land lying on the south side of the ditch of John Prescott and on the north side of the highway beting upon the entewale east and the commons on the west to him his heirs & assigned for ever to plant a house upon, upon condition that he returned to the town five acres of his same lott in lieu thereof at the east end of his lott.

At a towns meeting it was voted and agreed by the plantation by a legall warning assembled that the acts of the men who were chosen by the court to dispose of lotts and to act the prudentiall affairs of this plantation contained in this book by them or the greater voat of them acted, shall hence forth be accounted legall and is hereby established and confirmed.

At a towns meeting assembled upon legall warning it is agreed by the towns that there should not be taken into the towns above the number of thirtie five families and the subscribers names are to be understood that hence forth they are to be accounted townsmen

Edward Breck	John Johnson	John Smith
Master Joseph Rowlandson	John More	Lawrence Waters
John Prescott	William Lewis	John White
William Kerley Sen	John Lewis	John Farer
Ralph Stoughton	Thomas James	Jacob Farer
Thomas Sawyer	Edmund Parker	John Rigg
John Whetcomb Sen	Jamies Atherton	
John Whetcomb jr	Henry Kerly	
Richard Linton	Richard Smith	
	William Kerley jr	

a. This rule though observed faithfully by most of the planters, was very soon transcended by Steven Gates. who sued John Whitcomb Sen. for debt. in 1658. Gates had first however removed to Sudbury.

"And for the Better preserving of the purity of Religion and ourselves from infection of Error, we Covenant not to distribute Allotments and to Receive into the Plantation as Inhabitants any excommunicant, or otherwise profane and scandalous, (known so to be) nor any notoriously erring against the Doctrine and Discipline of the Churches, and the State and Government of this Commonwealth.

"And for the better preserving of peace and love, and yet to keep the Rules of Justice and Equity among ourselves, we Covenant not to goe to Law one with another in Actions of Debt or Damages, one towards another, either in name or state, but to end all such Controversies, among ourselves by arbitration or otherwise, except in cases Capital or Criminall that some may not go unpunished, or that the matter be above our ability to Judge of, and that it be with the Consent of the Plantation, or Selectmen thereof.

"And for the Laying out, measuring and bounding of our Allotments of this first Division, and for and towards the Satisfying of our Engagements to the General Court, to make payment for purchase of the Indians, we Covenant to pay ten shillings, every one of us, for our severall Allotments to the Selectmen, or whom they may Appoint to Receive it.

"And whereas Lots are now laid out, for the most part, Equally to Rich and poor, Partly to keep the Town from Scattering too far, And partly out of Charity, And Respect to men of meaner estate, yet that Equality, (which is the Rule of God,) may be observed, we Covenant and Agree That In a second Division, and so through all other Divisions of Lands, the matter shall be drawn as near to equality, according to men's estates, as we are able to doe, That he who hath now more than his estate Deserveth, in home Lots and Intervale Lots, shall have so much Less; and he who hath now Less than his estate Deserveth, shall have so much more.

"And that we may the better keep due proportion, we Covenant and agree thus to account of men's estates, (viz,) ten pounds a head for every person, and all other goods by

due value, and to proportion to every ten pounds, <sup>Rom</sup> three acres of Land ~~two~~ of vpland and one of Interval ~~and~~ and we give a year's Liberty to Every man to bring in his estate. Yet Nevertheless, it is to be understood that we do not hereby prejudice or Bar the Plantation from Accommodating any man by Gift of Land (which properly are not Allotments) but we do reserve that in the free Power of the Plantation as occasion may hereafter be offered: And in case The Planters estate be Low, that he can claime Nothing in other divisions, yet it is to be understood that he shall enjoy all the Lands of the first Division.

"And further we Covenant That if any Planter do desire to have his proportion in the second division, it shall be Granted.

"And further we Covenant to lay out Meadow Lands according to the present estates of the Planters with respect to be had to Remoteness or Neer<sup>e</sup>ness, ~~of~~ of that which is remote, to give the more, and of that which is neer<sup>e</sup> to give the less.

"And Concerning the <sup>30</sup>thirty Acres of vpland, and <sup>40</sup>forty acres of Interval <sup>above</sup> Granted as Church Land, It is Agreed and concluded to be bounded by John Prescott's Fitch upon the South, and the North River, over <sup>an end</sup> Lawrence Waters upon the North, and so Ranging along westward,

"And for the Preventing of Inconveniencies, and the more peaceable Issuing of the business about building of a meeting-house, it is Considered and Concluded as the most equal place, that the meeting-house be builded as neer<sup>e</sup> to the Church Land and to the Neck of Land as It can be without any notable inconveniencie.

"And it is also agreed That in all parts and Quarters of the Towne where Sundry Lots do Lie together, they shall be fenced by a Common fence, According to proportion of Acres by every planter, And yett not to barr any man from particular and private Inclosure at his pleasure." \* \* \* \* \*

The above covenant, so wise, far-sighted and fair, was signed by men who were on the ground, and by others who

quod - The manuscript is plain - "an ends" - that is  
against, or opposite.

p At the close of the Covenant - is the sentence  
"This is A true Copie of the Lawes and orders first  
Enacted and made, by those Appoynted and  
Impowered by the Genrall Court as it is found  
in the old Book."

The heading of page is: "Those Names y<sup>t</sup> have subscribed  
to these orders: "

1 Opposite the Brack's name is written - "I subscribed  
to this for myself and for my son Robert save  
that it is agreed that we are not bound to come  
upp to inhabit within a years time in our own  
persons" - "This is a true coppie" -

2 - William "Lewies" was father of John.

3 This name is written not Rigby but  
"Kibbie"

in John Finckes handwriting. he being town  
Clerk. + making the copy in Town Records.  
The same name occurs in a petition 1654 see  
page 46. Was not this the Edward Kibbie of Boston  
1645. a lawyer? The name Edward Rigby never  
appears in Lancaster Records after this date  
while John Rigby was in Lancaster at the  
massacre 1776 "Mr John Finckes", was specially  
"impowred to marry George Bennett & Lydia Kibby" in  
Lancaster. by order of General Court 1658.

(1883... Willard's Mss. prove that he had in later years  
found out his early error, as I have just (search) ascertained  
he changed Rigby to Kibby in his Historical Notes Mss. H)





- <sup>no</sup> John Mansfield: 13: 2 mo: 1654/  
 John Towers: — }  
 Richard Dwelley: } 18: 2 mo: 1654, *Subscribed*  
 Henry Ward: }  
<sup>no</sup> John Pierce: — } *Subscribed*  
 William Billing: } 4: 7 mo: 1654.  
 Richard Sutton: <sup>all</sup> April 1653/  
 Thomas Joslin: — } *Subscribed the*  
 Nathaniel Joslin: } 12: 29 mo: 1654.  
 John Rugg: 12: 12 m: 1654 } *Subscribed*  
 Joseph Rowlandson: 12: 12 mo: 1654: }  
 John Rigby: 12: 12 mo: 1654. } *Subscribed*  
 John Roper: 22: 1 mo: 1656, *Subscribed*  
 John Tinker: Feb. 1, 1657 } *Subscribed 1<sup>st</sup> of Feb: 1657*  
 Mordica MacLode: <sup>his X set 1 march 1657</sup> March 1, 1657-8: 1658 }  
 Jonas Fairbanks: March 7, 1659 } *Subscribed the 7<sup>th</sup>: 1 mo: 1658*  
 Roger Spinner: <sup>Jonas Fairbanks</sup> April 11, 1659 } *Subscribed the 11<sup>th</sup> of April: 1659*  
 Gamaliel Beaman: <sup>Roger Spinner</sup> May 31, 1659 } *Subscribed: the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1659*  
 Thomas Wylder: <sup>Thomas Wyelder</sup> July 1, 1659 } *Subscribed the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1629*  
 Daniell Gaines: <sup>Daniell Gains</sup> March 10, 1660 } *Subscribed the tenth day of March 1659*  
 1660

The above list gives to us the names of the fathers of the town. A few of these left the place, and others settled here, from year to year, but these were the pioneers. They laid the foundations, and their children composed the main part of the population till the period of the massacre in the spring of 1676. They and their children set up their household altars, and built anew the town, in 1679-82. This will be their honor in all coming time. Their descendants have gone out into all the land, but often come hither to view the homesteads and graves of their ancestors.

Another extract from the Records is necessary to explain a section of the preceding covenant. All subsequent divisions of land, whether upland, intervale, meadow or swamp, were to be "according to men's estates," on the valuation of the taxable property, which they brought into the settlement. Here follows a table containing "The severall Estates of the planters who by Covenant, and according to the

(1) Opposite the Joelins is written "and there is granted to them both 50 acres of upland & swamp together for their home lots and also forty acres of intervale."

2 Opposite Joseph Rowlandson is written. "and it is agreed by the town that he shall have 20 acres of upland & 40 acres of intervale in the Night pasture."

3 Opposite "Rigby" is "and he is to have 20 acres of upland & ten acres of intervale."

4 After Raper's name is. "All those before mentioned are subscribed & their names entered according to their severall dates in the old Book & copied. by Mr. Tinker Clerk"

The names are spelled by Tinker very differently in some instances from the orthography adopted here - as for instance

"Brek"

"Kerly"

"Sayer"

"Haughton"

"Lewes"

"Aderton"

"Farner"

"Manfield"

"Pirce"

"Rigby"

"Samuel Bennard"

---

"Daniell Saiens" signs his name.

"Thomas Wyelder" "

Philip Knights name here given, does not appear  
Signed to Covenant. He appears as a householden on the  
slope of George Hill near the Trenching House site, but sold  
to Tinker - who sold to Thomas Wilder 1667.



(n) the name of Prescott, in honor of the most persevering planter. This request was not granted. It is too late to divine with certainty the reasons which governed the court in this refusal. But it may be suggested that Prescott was not a man of sufficient prominence in the colony to have such an honorable recognition as is implied in giving his name to a town. Moreover, the course of Prescott in sympathizing with Child would be enough to deter the court from doing anything which would give him special distinction. It is presumed that Prescott became satisfied with the policy of the colony, as he readily agreed to the conditions of the settlement, and was one of the most worthy fathers of the town, though he did not become a freeman, (in consequence <sup>by</sup> of his uniting with the church,) until 1669. The probability is that the name was given in accordance with the desire of those settlers who had ancestral connections with Lancashire, in England, as was the case with the Houghtons, Atherton and Prescott.

nn

(o) It will be observed that the town was not laid out in the manner, nor with the dimensions prescribed by the general court. By the grant, as well as by the purchase, the town was to be ten by eight miles square and to contain eighty square miles. It was ~~reduced when the survey was made in 1659, by shortening the southern line to six and a half miles, leaving sixty-five square miles.~~

(on) Again, the starting point in fixing the boundaries, was to be at the "wading place" in Nashua river. There were three wading places according to records and tradition. One was on the North river, about twenty rods up the stream from the Sprague bridge. A second was near the Carter mills in South Lancaster. The third was on the Penacook, (o) as the main river was called, a little east of the house of Charles L. Wilder. By the act of the general court in 1653, the bounds were to be "according to a deed of the Indian sagamore, viz., Nashua <sup>away D.</sup> river at the passing over to be ~~the~~ center, five miles north, five miles south, five miles

124. Nothing is known about date of Prescott's "joining the church" however - He may have been a church member, but not of the right creed, long before 1669, or he may not have been a member at all so far as concerns becoming a freeman in 1699, for in 1665, the law was so changed that "freeholders, rateable to a certain value certified by the ministers of the place to be orthodox and not vicious in their lives" might become freemen "although not members of the church". Hutchinson Hist of Mass p. 212 This legis eating eggs forced upon the Mass Bay authorities by Charles II. - see Dunfort's Papers. This legis (W) Page 53054. The order of Court as set down in Colonial Record

Vol. 3. pp. 302, 303. already quoted in full (Note 1) shows that the request was granted 1652, by the deputies, but "Prescott" for some reason not shown, <sup>was</sup> altered to "West Towne", and finally in 1653 the town got its final designation after a second petition. (Compare also Willard's Centennial Series p. 78) It seems to me probable that Prescott had, as every in the govern or some influential member of his council.

(O) Page 52. The grant says "in proportion to eight miles square" - the purchase "ten miles by eight". On page 18 the author gives the area as seventy two and one-half square miles, while he here makes it but sixty five. Noyes explicitly says "eighty square miles of land" and in point of fact it was considerably over the last amount, owing to the generous "allowance" always made by the old surveyors - Noyes Survey, strictly calculated, calls for almost exactly 80 square miles.

(on) Wading places - The only authority for this position of "wading place" on the Nashua I can find is Willard. Under the rule has very sensibly diminished in volume - there was probably other wading places - & one especially - not far from where the Atherton bridge now crosses it (see note on next page) - also note page 29.

(oo) See the earliest records this is spelled "Penecock" by Town Clerk John Tinker. Willard always spells it Penicook. Others, clerks in Lancaster & Exeter sometimes wrote Penicoke. In Exeter records the river is sometimes called "Penicocke" sometimes "Lancaster River" & sometimes "Nashua". See Green's "Early Records" pp. 46, 98, 118, 151

The name is derived from penak - antke. }  
ground nut - place. (because abundance of wild potatoes were here) - perhaps.

"Penicock"  
"Nashua"  
"Lancaster"  
"Nashua"

(p) page 55. The subject of Noyes' Survey has been investigated in Note a. page 18. While I doubt, for reasons there given, that he made the "passing over at Carter's mills" his starting point, it makes but little difference with other facts in question. If the "ten mile line" were exactly ten miles in length it could be positively stated that the starting point was near the meeting of the two branches on the main river, but since Noyes, or his Chain bearers, managed to add over a mile to the recorded length as modern surveys disclose, we have our choice of three wading places to start from <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ another near the Atketon Bridge (which I favor).  
N.B. - Proof absolute of my being entirely correct in this statement found in Record 1853.  
Noyes' Survey, neither theoretically nor actually reduced the size of the town, as already proven by maps & plan of survey.

That Noyes ran his ten mile line twenty three and one-half degrees west of a true north line is not necessarily unaccordant with the terms of the purchase from Sholan. North & South, East & West, frequently were used in such deeds in a merely relative sense meaning westerly &c. - The former proprietors heirs were in the vicinity, doubtless, to see that the intent of the deed was not transcended. Sholan had been dead but five years, when the survey was made.

It is quite evident that our historians were neither of them surveyors - Willard however at the time of his Centennial Address 1853 had modified his first ideal of this survey, so far as to concede that "full measure of 80 square miles" was given by it. - see note to page 57. Willard's Address over

east, <sup>and</sup> three miles west." Starting from the northeast corner of the town, as it now is bounded, the distance is very nearly five miles to the wading place on the Penacook, and six miles to ~~the place of "passing over"~~ at Carter's mills. According to this, the center would be at the crossing on the Penacook. Besides, the lines were to run north and south, and east and west.

The actual starting point A, of Noyes, when he came to survey, was three miles from the <sup>the "wading place"</sup> Carter mills, in a direction <sup>west</sup> northwest one degree west, as given in the first chapter. Five miles north from that point would carry the northern boundary of the town about as far northward as five miles from the wading place near Mr. Wilder's house. Why Noyes reduced the size of the town and canted it around so many degrees from a north and south line is not known. It is probable that other grants or claims conflicted with the original plan, and the court had reserved the right to arrange the matter as circumstances might require.

With regard to the oath of loyalty required of the planters, when forming a town, a few words only are needed. Those writers who sneer at the narrowness and folly of the colony are guilty of the grossest misrepresentation. The colony was resorted to by all sorts of adventurers from the old country, who came hither with the wildest notions in regard to government, and who wanted to try their experiments within the bounds of the Massachusetts and Plymouth settlements. If such men, however worthy in other respects, had been allowed to form plantations in the rear of those on the sea-board, the inevitable result would have been antagonism and trouble. The new towns would have formed connections with the Indian tribes, and war would have ended the enterprise of settling New England. Besides, our fathers were jealously watched in England and were obliged to build circumspectly, both in the times of the Stuarts and of the Commonwealth. It was necessary to their very existence that they should be homogeneous and harmonious,



so far as possible. Hence every new town was formed on the model of those already settled. And to this fact much of the prosperity and strength of the colony was due. At the same time, on the <sup>is</sup> continent there was a boundless field where people of every conceivable peculiarity might try their own experiments in government and society without molestation from the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay.

The same may be said, in general, regarding the alleged religious exclusiveness and bigotry of our forefathers. Why did they exclude excommunicants and profane persons from their new communities? And why did they have a religious qualification for suffrage? In regard to men of loose morals and manners, and to those whose misconduct compelled the churches to cut them off, it may be said that they were poor materials out of which to form a town on the frontiers, or in the interior. Such persons might be controlled in the older settlements, by the combined influence and power of a tolerably stable government, while in the forming of a plantation, they might become the leading element. Quicksand thrown sparingly upon good soil might work no harm, while if <sup>left</sup> used in a foundation, would involve certain ruin.

In the early days of the colony it was necessary to restrict suffrage. As a matter of fact it is restricted in many of the states of the Union to the present day. What is tolerated now was indispensable then; and it will be found, on examination, that our fathers met the needs of the time with admirable sagacity. Qualifications for sharing political power, are different in different countries. And let it be remembered that the early settlers did not put in hazard the civil rights of any one who obeyed the laws. The qualifications for suffrage and power are birth, property, education or religion; that is character. And with our fathers, in their situation, character was everything. Men of birth, property and education, but of loose character, and without sympathy with the religious views of the planters, would have been the deadliest foes of the great enterprise. Such men did cause much

In the "Transcript" of oldest Proprietors' Records, I find that Prescott's "Enterovail Lot" lying in a piece of enterovail on the west side of Nashaway River part where of Lyes between the wading place which is named in the Court Grant for the Center of the town, and at the meeting of the River"

The blank, indicating some words illegible to the copyist, is provoking. But have not here proof that Noyes' starting point was near the meeting of the River? Perhaps the "wading over" of the Nashaway was near the spot now used as such, at Atherton's Bridge instead of Carter's Mills where Willard supposed it to be. This point is very nearly 3 miles from the old west line of the town, & nearly central north & south. It is very near the meeting of the River.

P.S. In 1883 I found a copy of above in Middlesex Registry, in which the provoking blank is filled, & gives proof positive that Noyes started near the meeting of the river in his survey. The words missing are "the wading place which" - and "at" should be "and" -

a. "Character was everything"? as witness the expulsion of Roger Williams. Does not the world know that Royalists, Baptists, & Quakers though their lives might be as pure as those ascribed to the saints, were subjected to all manner of obloquy, & often stood in the pillory, under the lash, at the cart's tail, and even <sup>suffered</sup> upon the gallows?

a' For "religious qualification" should be read, the total denial of suffrage to any save those selected as fit by an ecclesiastical Council, made up almost exclusively of the intolerant.

The government of the Massachusetts Colony was in fact not republican in form - nor was it intended to be - but an aristocracy resting on a politico-ecclesiastic basis. The rallying cry of an outraged people which kindled the flames of Revolution and gave us independence - "No taxation without representation" was an echo of the petition for redress, which John Pusecott favored of God, John <sup>W. Pusecott</sup> lost his temper over -

This labored defence of that arbitrary Church despotism which in Connecticut & the Massachusetts Colony, trampled upon the natural rights of the individual, and set spies over household management, seems to me meddling in this history of the Nashaway pioneers. Certainly they were sufferers under intolerant legislation, & not legislators. If this magnifying of Church prerogative, this insistence upon the infallibility of dogma, was so essential to political safety. Why did the poorer, weaker, persecuted Colony of Plymouth survive without them -

(B) No man could become a "freeman" (after expressing his desire for the franchise) except at the discretion of those who already held that power. "The freemen were the fount and source of power," and lovers of authority are not apt to weaken their principles by sharing them with too many associates. Besides all were formally excluded from candidacy for the right of suffrage, who had not been received into full communion with the Church - quite a different thing from "simply becoming a Christian" & having one's "own option to become a freeman". Hence Robert Child's Complaint "There are many thousands also in these plantations freeborn, quiet and peaceable men who are debarred from all civil employments" -

trouble and mischief while the fathers of the colony were laying the foundations. To admit such men to a share of power; to take them into the interior of the frame of government, would have introduced discord and internecine strife. The way of safety was found in the restricted suffrage. No man would be apt to join the church unless he sympathized with the colonists as to church and state. And with suitable allowance for hypocrites, men would not voluntarily unite in church fellowship unless they were men of good character. Thus the ruling force in the colony was made homogeneous, and thus the government was united, strong and stable. At the same time, every man had it in his own option to become a freeman. It was simply by becoming a Christian; and the direct and steady effort of the colony was to bring in, and bring up a generation of religious people. The men who enacted the religious clause in our early legislation, did not wish to exclude any from the exercise and enjoyment of power; but on the other hand, endeavored to qualify all men living on the soil, to share with them, not only all the rights and immunities, but all the powers of government.

And it may be truly said in conclusion, that when, in the course of time, the need of a religious qualification was removed by the gradual consolidation of government, and by the more favorable aspect of the old country towards the colony, the restrictions were repealed. But let us not in our day of stable quiet, rashly question the wisdom and magnanimity of the men, who in the midst of unparalleled toils and dangers, laid the broad basis of the best governmental, educational, social and religious institutions ever enjoyed by the children of men.

a

- 3  
nonsense!

nonsense! they did, and never made any pretence of not so doing.

The repeal or modification, at least were found upon the ecclesiastical part by Charles II. See Danforth Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. 2 Series Vol. 8 pp 52-54 etc.

There might be "entreat the address" of this grievance at death.

Palfrey gives authority for the statement that in 1643, when Massachusetts had a population of about fifteen thousand, only 1708 men had the rights of suffrage.

Sturdy John Prescott, the ingenious blacksmith, the builder of mills, the brave soldier, the land surveyor, the energetic promoter of every public improvement, could not vote in the town that owed its very existence to him, until he lived and labored in it for twenty two years! (1647-1669)

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE FIRST SETTLERS. THE FIRST ROADS. THE LOCATION OF THE FIRST SETTLERS. THEIR FIRST ACTS AS A TOWN.

It will be in place to present a few notices of the early settlers so far as items of interest may be gathered. From the pages of Willard, and especially the "Genealogical Dictionary" of Savage, the following facts have been culled.

Edward Breck entered, in connection with his name on the covenant, these words: "I subscribe to this for myself and for my son Robert, save that it is agreed <sup>that</sup> we are not bound to come up to inhabit within a year's time, in our own persons." In fact, Robert never became a resident, and Edward, the father, was here but a short time. He was from Ashton, Devonshire, probably, [see Savage] and came to Dorchester in 1636. He returned to Dorchester from Lancaster and died in November, 1662. (The family owned property here, it is believed, down to a recent date.) Joseph <sup>x</sup> Breck, the late well-known seedsman of Boston, lived here, and had a fine garden extending from the house of Mr. Symmes across the railroad, and onwards between the road and the North river.

James Atherton was, perhaps, a brother of Major-general Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester. If so, he came from Preston, in Lancashire. He became a resident in 1653, but <sup>?</sup> returned to Dorchester. His sons James and Joshua, were born in this town. The latter was a resident, and had descendants here within the memory of those now living.

James Atherton jr. married Abigail Hadley, 58 daughter of Daniel, 1694.

In 1645  
Edward Breck  
has had granted  
him in Dorchester  
on small bank  
Conditions upon  
his building  
a mill there  
He was a prominent  
Citizen often in  
office - made  
freeman 1639.

George Adams & his son John in 1670 were claimants of a 20 acre lot of "Days" but were granted 60 acres at town line near "Washacombe" great field and there built. He was son of George of Watertown - John Adams was "present" by the grand jury in 1673 "for lying & false dealing" & the constable returned the warrant with the statement "gone out of the Colony".

John Cowdall, one of the earliest proprietors probably sold all his rights to John Prescott. He removed from Boston to New London & never resided here. His deed of a house and twenty acres of land at Nashaway was made 5<sup>th</sup> of June 1647 - running to John Prescott late of Watertown. It was this purchase that became Prescott's first home lot - there was the "Eymonds & King Farming House".

Matthew Barnes, a petitioner 1645. (See p. 40) was of Boston. (Braintree 1649) a miller; died June 1667

James Cutler do. do. was of Watertown & married the widow of Thomas King March 9, 1644-5 his 2<sup>d</sup> wife - He died at Longfellow 1693 or 4 at 88

Robert Child, a petitioner 1644 (see note to page 39) was a physician & a graduate from Padua, of learning & ability, but made himself obnoxious to the authorities. In 1635 A.M. of Corpus Christi Coll, Cambridge. He came from Northfleet Kent Co. Eng. to Watertown. Returned to England 1647. In 1646 he frightened the Mass. Govt. by his petition "for enlargement of privileges".

John Chandler, a petitioner 1645. One of the name a proprietor in Concord - another in Boston?

Samuel Pitfield a petitioner of 1640 - of Boston - a constable there in 1652. Of "Mt Woollytown" 1659. Also found as "Bedfield". He was a Cooper by trade. died 1660.

Beverly George, killed 1675. left widow "Lidia" (Kebbie) & 5 children.

In 1655. Edward Breck is of Dorchester being fined

for refusing to serve as Constable - Colony Records Vol 14-1 p. 248 "He Bowman" (probably Francis of Watertown) was to have had Breck's lot. (See note p. 72.) & may have been a proprietor, but did not become resident.

Joseph Breck in 1833 advertises the "Lancaster Garden" as Agent. "This garden is now Mr Eymonds &c. There is no reason to suppose the Breck's owned property here long -"

John Bush 1684 owned near "Makamache Kamucks" Hill in Harvard.

Samuel Carter son of Rev Thomas Carter a teacher & clergyman born 1640 graduate HC 1660 was in Lancaster & preached more or less between 1681 & 1688. He had 5 sons & 4 daughters by wife Eunice Brooks. died 1693. Sons Saml, John & Thomas lived on George Hill.

Aburton, James was born 1654. Joshua 1656. & a daughter Hannah 1657 - The father died 1707 in Sherburne at 80

Archelaus & Rachel Courser had a daughter Rachel born in L 8 = 10 Mon 1662. Courser came from Charleston about that date. (Daughters of Thos Wilder?) (See Matthew Feb 11/1666)

Daniel Allen & Maria his wife had 5 sons. Samuel born in L 17-13 mo 1669. Allen was of Charlestown 1661 Watertown 1662. Died in Watertown 1694. Other children David 1679 Rebecca 1681 Mary 1684. Michael, Ebenezer 1674 Thomas 1670 Sleg & 1/2 die.

John Ball came W. S. with Sutton & Waters - & was killed here in 1676. but his name does not occur during this interval appear in the records of the town. He was a tailor, of Watertown. & did not probably come as a permanent resident until 1685. His son John sold his land to the town.

Balls 1<sup>st</sup> wife was Eliza d. of John Paice a proprietor here, by her he had John 1644. Mary Esther Sarah 1655. Abigail 1656. The wife became insane & died. Ball married Elizabeth Fox Oct 3 1665 & had Joseph March 12 1670

1 Gamaliel Beaman according to Savage died 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1678. and John his son in 1745. His wife was named Priscilla, son Noah was born in L. 1661 (G. Beaman died 1707 at an advanced age (?) His grandson Gamaliel (of John) born 1684 was the first inhabitant of Sterling & the first person buried there, dying 1745 - See Wor. Magazine Vol 2. p. 39.

2 Billings was of Dorchester & died in Connecticut 1713. James Butler had land grant 30 acres east of Nathaway in 1689 - probably fr Woburn Fairbank married 28<sup>th</sup> May 1658. His children were Mary 1659. Joshua 1661 - Grace 1663. Jonathan 1666

3 Hazadiah 1668 Jabez 1670 - Jonas 1673 - Divol. Two of this <sup>name</sup> killed 1676. & William here in 1695. Savage has not the names

Sergeant John Davis or Davis, a petitioner of 1645 - of Watertown or Boston probably - see note at foot of this page for a resident Davis. Frost James in 1693 a 30 acre grant from town, a lot <sup>formerly laid out to Nathaniel Wallis</sup> probably near Bear Hill east side

John Fisher a petitioner of 1644 - May 29, abandoned his claim, or sold it. Glarius - John George Joseph This family came from Woburn & owned the Barkly lot. John d. 1691 Cambridge. His will names wife Elizabeth & sons 13 daughters

Baronnet Garrett, one of the first proprietors was of Charlestown - a son John Hinds had lands, 30 acre grant. 1689 "near Jas. Butler's house" East of Nathaway. died 1720 Wife Mary, children John, Jacob, Hannah, Hojattell, Deborah & 5 families

Nathaniel Hadlocke was of Charlestown 1643. One of the "Prudential Managers" named in the township grant 1652 & 3. He died 1683

John Hill a petitioner of 1645. was probably the Boston blacksmith of that name as he was associated with Edmonds in the Council grant 1643 -

A rude slate stone in the "old yard" records the date of John Houghton's death as April 29, 1684 (son of Daniel born 1604)?

William Hutson, had a 30 acre grant 1687. "near where George Newby lives" probably on George Hill west or so west of Walnut Swamp.

Daniel Hutson bought "Gipson Hill" 1670. He & his family were there killed by Indians 1697. Hutson was admitted an inhabitant 9<sup>th</sup> March 1644. He came from Watertown & was a bricklayer. Ralph Houghton came here from Watertown

+ Savage does not mention a son James, but probably oldest son

A Nathaniel Hutson also mentioned before 1692. Son of Daniel b 1671 married Rebecca Ruff

Goss Philip & John Hill 1704 Philip married Mary dau of Jno. Saml 2 1690. She married John Houghton - 5 boys owned Cyprian Stevens home lot of "the night night pasture" - 5 children

George Benet & Lidia had a son Sammell born in L. 1665 & John. The father was killed 1675 by Indians. Saml had a Sammell in L. 1714

Sammell Davis & Maria had daughter Maria born in L. 26-11 moon 1657. "A Sam Daves" was an original proprietor

of Broton. 1662 died there 1699 leaving John 1624 Saml 1629 Sarah 1667 Burrhead 1674

NAMES OF THE FATHERS.

53

Gamaliel Sen. Samuelfun & John, appear in Dorchester 1677-8-9 & their <sup>senior</sup> ~~senior~~ <sup>rates were</sup> ~~senior~~ <sup>reported captured</sup> ~~senior~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~senior~~ <sup>the Courtables,</sup> ~~senior~~ <sup>"deaf or ate cabbage"</sup>  
 Gamaliel Beaman came over in 1635, when twelve years of age, to Dorchester. Removed to Lancaster in 1659, with several children, and had several after his removal. His son John left town, but returned, and died in the west precinct, now Sterling, in 1740. *See p. 661*

2. William Billings soon left the place. *if ever here - He was of Dorchester*  
 Samuel Dean did not remain. *if ever here - "Dean's Brook" kept his name many years - (now Goodale's)*  
 James Draper was from Roxbury, and returned thither. dying 1697. *act. 73*  
 Richard Dwelley was a transient resident. He served with credit in king Philip's war. & died at Saticum 1692.

3. Jonas Fairbank, son of Jonathan, came from Sowerby, Yorkshire. He married Lydia, daughter of John Prescott. *He was a Carpenter, judging from the tools noted in his inventory.*  
 Seven children were born to him. He was killed by the Indians, with his son, Joshua, in 1676. *Jacob F. Sen died Woburn Aug 24/1677 & his widow Anna married John 5 yrs.*

Jacob Farrar was killed, in August, 1675, by the Indians. *It was Jacob's that was killed!*  
~~His son~~ Jacob was probably born in England, <sup>1643</sup> He left children here. Some of his descendants through his son George, became distinguished.

John Farrar, brother of the first Jacob, came here, perhaps, from Woburn. He died in 1680. *In Lancaster died John son of Jacob Nov 3, 1669 & inventory 23. 9 mo 1669 widow & child named. See name early, gave his lot to Jacob.*

Daniel Gaines was killed in the great massacre, or reserved for torture. There is no record of posterity here.

Stephen Gates came from England in 1638 to Hingham. *His sons were Stephen Simons & Thomas 1653*  
 Here he was a freeman, in 1656, and a constable in 1657. *of thence to Lancaster.*  
 He went to Cambridge, and died in 1662. *his daughter Abigail m. Jacob Hayward.*

John Houghton came from England when a little boy, <sup>in 1635</sup> about four years old. His last will was presented in 1684. *1685*  
 His wife was Beatrix. His sons were Benjamin, Robert, William, Jonas and John ~~Harris~~. <sup>1655</sup> Mrs. Beatrix Pope was his daughter, and there were others. *Sarah 1672 & Mary mentioned in will.*

Ralph Houghton was cousin to John, and probably older. *2 yrs younger!*  
 He left three sons, <sup>1655</sup> John, James, Joseph, <sup>1657</sup> and perhaps others; and four daughters. He, with his cousin and their families, *1658* *1659* *1664* *1667* *Inventory dated July 11, 1712 & 1/4 of time kept*  
 went to Woburn at the massacre, but returned. He was town clerk as early as 1656, and for many years after. In 1668 he became a freeman, and was representative in 1673 and perhaps in 1689. *A Ralph Houghton was one of the sitting men of Dorchester 1680. 1. Ralph Houghton died at Milton April 15, 1705 aged 82.*

Grave of Henry Houghton in Bolton - died 1756 aged 90. perhaps son of John

See Vol 4 p. 12

or 14?

I doubt it



Thomas James has this notice in Savage, "Died ~~shortly~~ after 13 March, 1660, the date of his will, in which, to his wife, who, if living, was then in England, and cousins, named Isaac, Lydia, Mary, Hannah and Christopher Lewis, he gave all his estate, and made John Lewis, ~~perhaps their~~ <sup>He was their brother</sup> father, his executor. Yet they may have no relation to our country and he have been only transient."

John Johnson may be the same as John of Marlboro, who died in 1713. If so, he came here from Sudbury.

<sup>of Hingham 1637</sup> Thomas Joslin came from London in the Increase, 1635. He died in 1661, <sup>aged 68 yrs</sup> seven years after coming to Lancaster. His widow married William Kerley in 1664. <sup>3<sup>d</sup> 11<sup>m</sup> 1660 B.S.</sup>

Nathaniel Joslin, his son, was a freeman in 1673. His brother Abraham was also here. After the massacre he moved to Marlboro, where he died, 1694. <sup>aged about 67</sup> He had two sons, Nathaniel of Marlboro, and Peter of Lancaster. <sup>1658</sup> The latter had a "wife and three children killed by the Indians, July 18, 1692, when they took away another child, Elizabeth How~~e~~, the sister of his wife and other prisoners, but killed the child in the woods." He was a tough old veteran; was a captain, outlived his fourth wife, and died in Leominster at a great age, <sup>April 8</sup> in 1759. <sup>of Sudbury 1640 - took oath of fidelity 1645</sup>

William Kerley, or Carley, <sup>son</sup> sent after the death of his wife in March, 1658, married Bridget Rowlandson, widow of Joseph, and mother of the minister, in May, 1659. She died in 1662. It is <sup>known</sup> supposed that he married Rebecca, widow of Thomas Joslin in 1664. His death occurred in 1670. <sup>July 14</sup>

Thomas.

William Kerley, jr., <sup>supposed</sup> son of the former, was in Sudbury in 1672, and in Cambridge in 1683. <sup>?</sup> Probably he removed before the massacre. <sup>x</sup>

Henry Kerley, son of the first William, was born about 1632, and was brought by his father to Hingham. He married November 2, 1654, Elizabeth, daughter of John White and sister of Mrs. Rowlandson. He became a freeman in 1668. His wife and two children, William <sup>x2</sup> and Joseph, were

Kettle, John son of Richard of Charlestown had by his second wife Elizabeth, d. of Saul Ward - Jonathan born in L. Nov 24 1670 - He & his two sons Joseph & Jonathan were slain & his wife was carried away at the massacre of 1676 -

Kibie Edward - Kibby or Kibbee of Boston 1645 a Surgeon. His estate was "admitted about 1661. The 2<sup>d</sup> marriage recorded in Lancaster was that of George Dornell to Lidia Kibby. John Kibby receiving Special authority to marry them 1658. This name has by error been in all printed histories of L. changed to Edward Kibby.

Also a Solomon Johnson of Marlborough had a son John.

Spelman Johnson is called a "taylor" in proprietors records and called of Sudbury. He built a house and lived for a time in South Lancaster - probably moved to Marlborough & died 1713

Abraham & Beatrix Joslin had children in Lancaster

Joseph 26-5 mo 1663 - Marie 14-10-1666 - Abraham is spoken of as a "Mariner". He died about 1670. was probably oldest brother of Nathaniel & had several other children daughter of Thos. King of Marlborough.

Nathaniel Joslin by wife Sara had a child 1657 - 15 - 5 mo also Dorothy, Rebecca, Elizabeth & daughter named in will. The Abraham Joslin killed with his family in 1676 was a son of 1<sup>st</sup> Abraham born in Higham 1649 - Wife Ann - child Beatrix b 1674

Henry Kimball bought of Jeremiah Rogers. There were two of this name one of Charlestown died 1668. One of Ipswich - Probably the latter was the Lancaster resident.

John Kendall had a grant of 40 acres, given 1713, near "Wacapeket" Brook. He came from Cambridge, & married Samuel Carter's widow Linn having had two wives & several children before. <sup>See</sup> His brother Samuel also here - will proved 1649

Wm Kerley was of Higham 1637 - Sudbury 1640 - 52. All three of the Kerleys came to Lancaster from Sudbury probably as their names appear in the records of that town 1640 &c

Wm Kerley Jr. died at Marlborough 4<sup>th</sup> Jan 1684. He is in Colony Records of Marlborough in 1669 & 1671

x<sup>o</sup> See page 107 where the author kills William in the massacre "probably".

x<sup>2</sup> William was about 17 yrs of age when killed having been born "22<sup>d</sup> - 11 mo 1658" A son Henry was born in L. "11-11 mo 1657"

Thomas King - the pioneer & first white man in Lancaster. was of Watertown & died Dec. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1644. His widow, <sup>Mary</sup> married James Carter the following March. He has a grant of land in Sudbury 1642. He had two children Mary & Thomas. Mary married John Johnson of Watertown Oct 19 1659 -

Reuben Lufford & wife Margaret were married in Lancaster  
June 22 1669 He died in Cambridge 1703 leaving two daughters.  
"Henry Mase & Alis" were married in L. Sept 14 1665.

(9) Page 61 - See Colonial Records Vol 5. p 452  
September 12 1684 - Henry Kerley, heretofore  
lieutenant at Lancaster now removed &  
married at Marlborough, is appointed ensigne to  
the trayne band there in ye roome of <sup>his</sup> brother  
deceased there" He became Captain. His second  
wife was Elizabeth How of Charlestown

(p. 9.) On the contrary, as both Willard &  
Savage record.. Ann, the daughter of Richard  
Linton, was the wife of Lawrence Waters.  
Linton Waters & Ball, Willard says - Copying  
Harrington - were sent up by the original  
proprietors to begin the settlement of the  
new plantation, their lots being given to  
them for services to be rendered.

Newby - Geo. Newby, is traced by Savage from England to Boston & lost there  
Now in 1687 William Hutton has a grant of 30 acres - "near  
where George Newby lives" probably west of So. West of Walnut Swamp.  
George Newby appears in Boston tax list for 1681 & again in  
a list of inhabitants there 1695 -

McLeod was admitted an inhabitant 1st Ann 1657<sup>2</sup>. m. Lidia 31. 11<sup>th</sup> 1670  
& had child Hannah 16.. 9<sup>th</sup> 1671 -

Nathaniel Norcross - a chrysgman - one of the first  
undertakers - was of Watertown, returned to England. He was son of  
Jereiah of Watertown & educated a Cambridge University, Eng. A. B. 1636.  
Two John Moors signed the Compact, but there is no evidence that  
they were relatives but rather the contrary. Ensign John Moore the junior was  
son of J. M. of Sudbury & married Ann Smith. & had a 2<sup>d</sup> wife - He died 1702.  
The elder John Moore of Lancaster called "Senior" died 1703. & family not named.  
Parker had children Mary, Esther & Deborah baptizid

x' in 1656. The first two born 28<sup>th</sup> mo 1654 - the last  
6 11<sup>mo</sup> 1655 - Children before baptizid in Roxbury were Elizabeth & Abraham

Edward Phelps bought of heirs of Jereiah Rogers.  
His wife was Ruth Andrews - children Edward, Bethshaba Elizabeth 1690. the last  
married Samuel Willard -

Grave of Jonathan Moor in Bolton - died 1741 aged 74 - probably brother of John  
the son of Ensign John

(9) killed by the Indians at the burning of the minister's garrison, in the spring of 1676. He went to Marlborough, where he spent his days, having married again. The family disappeared from this town, except old "widow Kerley," or "Caley," mentioned subsequently in the Records. *she wasn't a Kerley at all.*

William Lewis was probably from Cambridge. He died <sup>Roxbury</sup> in 1671, and left <sup>wife Mary</sup> no children in the place, unless John, <sup>(Amy)</sup> which is uncertain. *Had a son Christopher, mentioned in Will in Ireland 1635*

Richard Linton was here in 1643-4, and became a permanent settler among the very first. He was probably, says Savage, of Gov. Craddock's plantation at Medford in 1630, and at <sup>Concord</sup> Watertown in 1638-4. He died March 30, 1665. [His <sup>daughter was wife</sup> wife was Ann, daughter of Lawrence Waters, his brother pioneer.] George Bennet, who was killed by the Indians in August, 1675, was his grandson. *p.g. wife Elizabeth*

John Mansfield, son of John and grandson of Sir John, had five hundred acres given by his aunt Ann Keayne. <sup>Proprietor 1654</sup>  
 John Moore, <sup>Dr. Called "Indign" John Moore "son of John" of Sudbury</sup> son of 1654, was a freeman in 1669, and representative in 1689 and 1690. He married Ann, <sup>born 1655</sup> daughter of John Smith, and among other children had a son born April, 1662, named John. *Elizabeth 1657*

John Moore, <sup>born 1662</sup> son called junior representative in 1689. <sup>John died 1702</sup> *John died 1702*  
 Mordecai MacLoad, or McLoad, or McCloud, or Macload, was killed by the Indians, August, 1675. His wife, and two children shared his fate. (Probably the whole family was cut off, as we do not again meet with his name) *Weds. Sep. 107. John d. c. l. & the same was here in 1798*

Anthony Newton was freeman in 1671. Probably he left at the time of the massacre in 1676. One of that name was in Dorchester in 1678, when Lancaster was uninhabited. Willard supposes him to be the same man. <sup>Probably never lived here - Proprietor 1652</sup>

Edmund, or Edmon Parker, was from Roxbury, whither he carried children to be baptised in June, 1656, before Mr. Rowlandson was ordained. We can easily imagine him going with his family on a pleasant visit to his old home and church. *His wife Elizabeth died 1657 a weaver*

John Pierce, of Watertown, freeman in 1638, and a man

*Requires a vivid imagination however after reading Ralph Houghton's description of the man among Middlesex Court files 1674 - He was indicted by grand jury for neglect of all church duties - had not been in the meeting house "for several years." The author's imagination, however, never falters in the face of such difficulties.*

*John Pierce's daughter Elizabeth married John Ball the early pioneer*  
 of "very good estate." He died on the nineteenth of August, 1661, leaving several children; but they are not found in the succeeding history of the town.

John Prescott, a blacksmith, came from Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, west riding of Yorkshire, <sup>where</sup> he had married Mary Platts, a "Yorkshire girl." <sup>in Wigan</sup> But he was born in Lancashire, as were Atherton and several others who settled here. He came here, <sup>from Watertown</sup> to stay in 1645 or 6, with the purpose of building up a town. Many children were born to him before and after he came hither. John, a blacksmith also, Jonathan and Jonas were sons. His daughter Mary married Thomas Sawyer; Sarah married Richard Wheeler; Martha <sup>& Hannah</sup> married John Rugg; and Lydia married Jonas Fairbank. He took the oath of allegiance in 1652, and was admitted freeman in 1669. <sup>1679</sup> His family escaped from the massacre, and he returned in 1682, when the number of families was only one-third as large as seven years before.

*A John Rigby?  
in Dorchester*

~~Edward~~ and John Rigby seem to have left no trace, unless the "Rigby road," so called, from Deers Horns district to Clinton, is named for them.

Jeremiah Rogers, of Dorchester, married Mehitable, daughter of John Pierce; not the John Pierce mentioned above. *Had a son born in L. 1659 named "Scabod". His wife's name is given in the record of his birth as "Bea"*  
 John Roper, who was in Charlestown, 1647-58, is thought to be the man of that name who came here in 1656, and was killed by the Indians in 1676. *Perhaps* It was his son Ephraim who was the only man who escaped from the minister's garrison. *& was killed by Indians Sept. 11 1697.*

John Rugg, freeman in 1669, married Martha, daughter of John Prescott, and had two children, <sup>twins</sup> who died quite <sup>1653</sup> young. She died in <sup>at same date</sup> 1665. His second wife <sup>Hannah</sup> had eight children. He died in 1696, and next year his widow was killed by the Indians. His son John had eight children. <sup>nine</sup> Another son, Joseph, with his wife and three children were killed in 1697 by the Indians, at the same time that his mother was murdered. *His daughter Hannah in 1690 married John Ball (his 2<sup>d</sup> wife) Rebecca married Nathaniel Hudson. The son Joseph & family were killed by Indians 1697. (10 of Rugg's children and grand-children are known to have been killed by Indians & his widow; He died 1697. His will names John, Thomas, Joseph, Daniel & Jonathan*

*Rugg married Hannah 1660 his 1<sup>st</sup> wife's sister.*

*see p. 113*

John Prescott, son of Ralph & Ellen of Sherington  
 was baptized at Standish Parish, Sherington Lancashire Eng  
 16045 - He married Mary Pletts Jan 21. 1629 at Wigan Lancashire  
 & removed to Somerby in Yorkshire. Halifax Parish. In 1638  
 we find him Landing in Barbadoes. In 1640. he came thence to  
 Boston & settled in Watertown having large grants of land there  
 allotted him. He was one of the first associates for the purchase  
 of Nashaway 1643. He was a skilled Smith & did all wrought  
 could survey lands, and had probably been a soldier under  
 Cromwell, as he brought one with & used in his encounters  
 with the Indians a complete suit of armor. He was a  
 stalwart stern man, of invincible energy, in short  
 an ideal pioneer. Had his labors & exploits graced  
 a later age, or found a contemporary historian, his  
 fame would equal that of Daniel Boone today. He  
 died 1683 being about 80 yrs of age. His children were

- 1 Mary baptised, Somerby Feb 24 1630. m Thomas Sawyer 1648
- 2 Martha " " March 11 1632 " John Rugg 1658 & 1659
- 3 John jr " " April 1 1635 m Sarah ? Nov 11 1658  
 who was farmer & Smith & lived with his father in L.
- 4 Sarah baptised, Somerby 1637 m. Richard Wheeler 1658. of Lams.  
 & after his death 1676. she m Mr Rice
- 5 Hannah ~~baptised~~ [Sommerby] 1639 or Barbadoes more prob.  
 ably. married John Rugg as his second wife
- 6 Lydia born in Watertown Aug 15 1641 m. Jonas  
 Fairbank of L May 28 1658 - and after his death  
 became wife of Elias Barron.
- 7 Joarathaw. There has been no record of this son's birth  
 discovered, but if 23 yrs of age in 1670. (as a mss. note  
 to his name in Prescott Memorial of Genealogical Soc asserts)  
 he must have been born in Lancashire 1647. He m  
 Dorothy ? 16 Aug 3 1670 - who d 1674 - He married  
 Elizabeth Hoar Dec. 23 1675. having removed to Concord.  
 3 wife Rebecca widow of Han Peter Bulky. 1689 - 4th wife  
 widow Ruth Brown, 1718 - He was a farmer. Deputy  
 for Concord nine years in General Assembly & Captain  
 in Militia. He died Nov 5 1721 - Will proved 21. 8. 1721
- 8 Jonas. born in Lancashire June 1648 m Dec 14 1672 Mary  
 Loter d. of John Loter & Mary Draper of Sudbury - after  
 a romantic courtship. He was a Smith & did all wrought &  
 became a prominent citizen, town clerk, captain & justice  
 of the peace in Groton  
 (Genealogical Register Vol VI p 274  
 See Prescott Memorial (1870) pp 34. 38. 39. 41 & c  
 Rutten History of Groton pp 37. 285-6. 428-476  
 of this Hist. pp 85-6 notes & c  
 (Shatt. & Co's Hist of Concord p 381

See Ticknor's Life of Mrs Prescott, Appendix A.

Rigby - There was no Edward Rigby. The name is Edward Kibbie in John Tucker's list & made Rigby in a much later & very careless copy of Two Records. John Rigby was of Dorchester 1641 Freeman 1642. His will was proved 1647. Our John probably his son - John Rigby & Elizabeth - married Aug 30 1662<sup>Lancaster</sup>. After the massacre of 1676, his name appears in Sauger's Garrison. His home lot of 20 acres was in South Lancaster bounded on Dean's Brook (now Goodridge). Their son John was born July 2 1663.

Edward Kibbie signed the Covenant in 1654 see note p. 60

Rogers. This family went back to Dorchester at the time of, or before the massacre. & there in 1678, the widow "Abra" and two children Abigail & Bath. Shaba died - Jeremiah Rogers died Sept 26, 1676 His inventory amounted to 116<sup>l</sup> 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>.

Roper John - from whom Roper's Brook derives its name, was selectman 1664. He was a Carpenter & came from New Bucknam, Eng 1637 then aged 26 yrs with wife Alice & two children Alice & Elizabeth. He came to Lancaster from Dedham where were born sons Ephraim 23..12<sup>mo</sup> 1644 & Benjamin Feb 23 1645 - & Rachel 1<sup>mo</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1639.

Ephraim Roper son of above b. 1644. was a soldier in Philip's war in Capt. Turners Company. His first wife Priscilla was killed in trying to escape with him in the massacre of 1676. They had a daughter Priscilla born in Lancaster 26..11<sup>mo</sup> 1672. but whether a victim of the massacre, no record is found. In 1677 Roper married Hannah widow of that Stephen Goble who was hanged for murder of three friendly Indians in 1676. & by her had Ruth 1681 Elizabeth 1683. He with wife and one daughter <sup>Bath Shaba & Elizabeth</sup> were slain by Indians in 1697 Sept 11. He occupied the lot of his father John Roper & the land afterwards fell into Nathaniel Widens hands. The inventory of his estate mentions his "House, house lot & four acres of Johnson's lot, 10<sup>l</sup> 2<sup>s</sup> in all 24<sup>ac</sup> acres. The inventory indicates that he was a farmer. In the settlement of estate the "Eldest daughter Ruth" youngest Bathshaba & son Ephraim aged about 12 years are named. One of the daughters was wounded by the Indians -

A John  
in Dorche

Roger  
Hans  
his 1<sup>st</sup>

Thomas Sawyer's grave is in the old yard & the rough granite slab set at its head notes that he died Sept 12 1706 aged about 90. He was of Rowley 1643. He married Mary Prescott 1648. His homestead was in South Lancaster. His sawmill established before 1700, was on Dean's Brook on the site now known as the "Four Ponds" at Deerthorpe. His children were

- 1 Thomas b. 1649 2<sup>nd</sup> day 5<sup>th</sup> mo died Sept 5 1736 <sup>on Sarah 1670</sup> <sup>m. Hannah 1672</sup>
- 2 Ephraim b. 1650 11<sup>mo</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> Killed 1676.
- 3 Mary b. 1652 4<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup>
- 4 Elizabeth b. 1653 5<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup> d.
- 5 Judith b. 1655 13<sup>th</sup> 1<sup>mo</sup>
- 6 James b. 1657 21<sup>st</sup> 1<sup>mo</sup>
- 7 Calib b. 1669 20<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>mo</sup>
- 8 Nathaniel b. 1670 24<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>mo</sup>
- 9 John b. 1661 6<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>mo</sup> d.
- 10 Deborah b. - died 17<sup>th</sup> 5<sup>mo</sup> 1666.

The Sawyer's will dated Mar 6 1705  
Inventory 1720 16<sup>th</sup> 14<sup>th</sup>  
His wife Mary sole executrix  
Will names ch. Eldest son Thomas  
"other four sons Joseph, James,  
Calib & Nathaniel" & "daughter  
Mary Witter".

Richard Smith's appears in 1661 as one of the first proprietors of Groton. His wife's name was Mary & a child was born to them 23<sup>rd</sup> 3<sup>mo</sup> 1654, the mother dying four days later. By a second wife Joanna, he had John b. 20<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup> 1655. & Francis b. 26<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>mo</sup> 1657. Probably son of the following.

Joanna Smith

John Smith died in Lancaster July 16 1669. His will dated 1665. names sons John & Richard & daughters Ann and Alice. His wife Mary died in L. 27<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>mo</sup> 1659. His daughter Ann married Esq. John Down who was his executor. His inventory summed up only 4<sup>th</sup> 45.

John Scate or Skait came from Weymouth. He with his wife were killed by Indians in 1697 in Boston Records. I find "John ye sonne of John Scate & Sarah his wife borne ye 14<sup>th</sup> day of April 1659."

Thomas Skidmore a petitioner of Hathaway Plantation in 1645 in of Cambridge. moved to Connecticut (New London). Wife Ellen. Children John 1643 - Joseph & Dorothy.

Cyprian Stevens came from England 1660 under 14 yrs old. He married Mary, dau. of Major Simon Willard, Jan. 2 1671<sup>2</sup> Children - Mary, Cyprian 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov 1672 Dorothy Simon, Elizabeth & Joseph. He occupied the Willard homestead, the original lot of Lawrence Waters, near where Caleb Symmes now lives.



Matthew Stone - Barry says was of Lancaster 1693. Of Sudbury 1697. Exchanged land with Isaac Lewis of Rensselaer March receiving rights in Lancaster - He was son of Senior of Watertown, and died a deacon in Sudbury 1743 - By wife Mary - had children Joseph, Mary Adams & Rachel -

Henry Symonds a first proprietor, partner of Thomas King was of Boston - Freeman 1643. He was a man of enterprise undertaking with others the work of making the mill creek for a tide mill in Boston. He built with King the Indian Trading House on the sunny side of George Hill, but before the enterprise was well under way he died (Sept 1643) His widow Susanna married Isaac Walker May 1645, who soon appears, and interested in the Nashaway Plantations.

John Finkler was of Winsor Ct. 1643. of Boston 1657.<sup>2</sup> Others by wife Alice were born Sarah 1652 - Mary 1653 He was one of the first Selectmen & Clerk 1655. In Lancaster he (?) had children John Aug 4 1655, Amos Oct 28 1657 In 1655 he was fined 10<sup>s</sup> shillings "for selling now & then a gill of strong water to the Indians" - He was a proprietor of Groton & one of the first selectmen there. He bought of government the monopoly of the fur trade in Lancaster & Groton. The earliest records of the town, are copies in his distinct hand writing. He removed to New London & there was "a grave and able man" was chosen deputy and "assistant" - He established a distillery and had a monopoly of the retail trade in strong drinks. Children were three born to him Samuel Apr 1 1659, & Rhoda Feb 23 1661<sup>2</sup>. He died 1662 Oct. & his funeral expenses 8<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup> were paid from public treasury.

See Caulkins Hist of New London. pp 149, 250 & 10

Lawrence Waters one of the three first settlers in L. sent up to prepare for the proprietors, was a Carpenter of Watertown, his wife was Ann daughter of Richard Linton. He probably brought fence or ~~some~~ young children with him, his house the first dwelling in Lancaster stood near where Mr Caleb T Symmes now resides. He sold to John Hall, & built again somewhere on land now owned by Mr Vose. Waters became blind about 1675 & died in Boston or Charlestown Dec 9 1687 aged about 85 yrs.

Waters & wife began "peopling the wilds" with commendable speed after their arrival, as will be seen by list of children on next blank page.

The son Samuel was married in L. to Mary - 21<sup>d</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> mo 1672 & had son Samuel b: 23<sup>d</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> mo 1673. Joseph & Elizabeth Waters had children Elizabeth Aug 11 1679 & Joseph April 2 1682. Martha or Janey 17 1683 born in Lancaster - Adam died 1670. of L.

Thomas Sawyer, one of the first six settlers, became a freeman in 1654. He married Mary, daughter of Prescott, and lived next south. His children and descendants were numerous. His son, Ephraim, was killed by the Indians in 1676 at Prescott's garrison, now in Clinton. *Did 1706*  
*Cal'd lived at Base Hill 1716*

The Smiths, John and Richard, cannot be traced and individualised. *These names appear together in the list of names of those taking oath of*

Roger Sumner, of Dorchester, was son of William, and born in England. He became freeman in 1657 and came to Lancaster two years later. He married <sup>Mary</sup> a daughter of Thomas Joslyn. One record of him fixes the date of the origin of the church in this town, formerly a disputed point. The record reads, "1660, Aug. 26, Roger Sumner was dismissed, that with other Christians at Lancaster, a church might be begun there." At the destruction of the town he removed to Milton, and became a deacon there, where he died May 26, 1698, aged 66. *Probably he was 1st deacon here.*

Richard Sutton of Charlestown, and probably of Roxbury, is supposed to have been one of the proprietors of Lancaster. *Sarah wife of Richard Sutton did in R 1672 & the name R.S. appears often in found records.*

John Tinker of Windsor, Conn., <sup>1643</sup> removed to Boston, where his daughter Sarah was born in 1652. He was made freeman in 1654. He was a great acquisition to this town, and was clerk and selectman. According to Willard, his "chirography was very neat." He left the place in 1659, and settled at Pequid, or New London, where he was held in great esteem. *Did 1662*

John Towers of Hingham, came from Hingham in Norfolk county, England, in 1637, and was a freeman two years later. His wife was Margaret Ibrook, and he had several children. Probably the family did not remain here, if they ever came.

Benjamin Twitchell came from Dorchester, and probably went to Medfield, where he was in 1663, with a wife and several children. *He was in Dorchester 1659 & helped by the town. They give unto Benjamin Twitchell five pounds for his present necessities for clothing of him self and his children.* Proprietor? 1654 (Often "Tuchill")

Henry Ward of Hingham.

Lawrence Waters has been already mentioned. ?

*Thomas Ward purchased of Josiah Wheeler 1718 on Wabago Docke. Henry Ward's name never appears in Records I think after the signing the covenant.*

John White of Salem, 1638, had grant of land next year; joined the church in 1643. He, with his son, was one of the first planters of Lancaster. He had children: Josiah, his executor, Thomas, besides daughters Joan, Elizabeth, Mary and Sarah, who were married, and Hannah who lived with him until ~~after~~ <sup>1675</sup> his decease, ~~and then~~ married ensign Divoll. <sup>1663, 10.23</sup> There is an entry in the Records of the town in March, 1658, which it is not easy to understand, but seems to indicate that he was a man who stood up for his rights. The record reads as follows: all the orders of the selectmen passed, except that of goodman White, which was rejected "because he <sup>appeared</sup> feared not to speak in his own cause."

*X X.*  
"Spued."  
Whitcomb  
on Tombrston  
1718

John Whitcomb, senior, of Dorchester, 1635, removed to Scituate and became a freeman in Plymouth colony, June, 1652. He had five sons, <sup>John, Jonathan, Job, James, May, Abigail.</sup> and daughters. His death occurred here in 1662, September 24. <sup>his widow Frances died May 17 1671</sup>

John, jr., his eldest son, was born in England. He died <sup>April 6 1683</sup> about 1683. His descendants have been numerous and respectable. <sup>John Divoll married his oldest daughter, Ruth. He had daughter Sarah.</sup>

Whitton "came in Elizabeth from London 1635"  
James Whiting, or Witton, left no record here. <sup>Savage does not mention any named.</sup>  
Thomas Wilder, or Wyelder, of Charlestown, 1639,

*W*  
joined the church on the thirtieth of March, 1640, and was admitted freeman, June 2, 1641. Besides <sup>Elizabeth + Mary</sup> daughters he had four sons, <sup>1644</sup> Thomas, <sup>1646</sup> John, <sup>1650</sup> Nathaniel and Ebenezer. <sup>1667</sup> died Oct 23 1667 <sup>aged about 48 yrs.</sup>

*Philip*  
built house on Day's lot next to Prescotts in So. Lancaster  
Tenker bought it

Matthew Knight owned quite a tract between the house of Charles L. Wilder and the center bridge, on the north-west side of Nashua river, which went by the name of "Knight's pasture," besides a lot in South Lancaster, and perhaps in other parts of the town; but it is not easy to locate him. His descendant, William Knight, now resides at Ponakin.

*This I cannot find in old records, spelled in any other way than*

Stephen Day was the noted printer of Cambridge. He never lived here, but had a connection with the town which will be noted in the proper place.

Rev. Mr. Rowlandson was a proprietor by the conditions of the grant to legalise a township. He became owner of "night pasture" while Philip's name is everywhere spelled with a K. The "night pasture" was common land fenced in by the earliest proprietors, & afterwards granted to Mr. Rowlandson. It is spoken of in the early records of Lyvotter also as "the night pasture" having doubtless been used for herding the cattle of the first settlers at night. The cattle were driven to other pasturage by day. Special headmen or the children, being assigned to that duty.

On p. 120 Vol. 5. Records of Colony - under date Oct. 12. 1676. is record of action in favor of Lawrence Waters as follows

"In answer to the petition of Lawrence Waters of Lancaster humbly desiring the favour of this Court to order the payment of his accounts mentioned in his petition of seven pounds fifteen shillings & four pence, or thereabouts, due him from the country, his rate of forty two shillings being deducted, the ballance may be paid him, being aged & blind, &c. it is ordered that the Treasurers make payment to the petitioner the sume above mentioned, provided that if it is belonging to the old Treasurer & not charged to his account, that he passe it to the new Treasurer"

Perhaps the first child born in Lancaster was "Joseph the son of Lawrence Waters & Ann his wife & borne the 29 = 2 mo 1647" - "Jacob & Rachell" Waters' twins were borne 1. 1 mo 1649 - Samuel born 14 = 11 mo 1651 - "Johanna & Ephraim" 26 - 1 - 1653 & 27 = 11 mo 1655 - Savage says Waters had before coming to Lancaster; Lawrence in 1638 - Sarah 1636 - Mary 1638 - Rebecca 1640 - Daniel <sup>born abt Stephen 1643</sup> 1642 - He also names another son Adam - These are all the records note, but there is break in the regular rate of increase between 1643 & 1647, which is unaccounted for.

Can it be that "Adam" was the 1st man child of Lancaster birth? See note (554) page 81 about this erroneous quotation from town records - Willard copies same error.

Richard Whaley from Medfield, married Jo. Prescotts d. Sarah 1654. lived in So. Lane near Prescott. Killed in 1676. Joseph Whaley was of Concord. Josiah Whaley 1699 lived on Wapalborrough, Bath.

The tomb stone of Thomas Welden in the Old Common Century is of recent erection. On it we find that he died Octob<sup>r</sup> 23, 1667. & came to Lancaster July 1, 1659. It also is thus recorded that he "first settled at Hingham 1641" coming from Lancaster in England. Willard says "he was of Charlestown in 1642". His inventory amounted to 405 £ 18<sup>s</sup>. His widow Henry & son Thomas were executors of the will.

Isaac Walker - a petitioner of 1648 - was of Boston. His interest here was doubtless that of his wife, who was the widow of Henry Symonds, Kings partner who died 1643.

See Vol. 3 Colony Records p. 340. 1667. Day allowed to purchase land of Sagamore of Wachuset (150 acres) In 1672 this land, located at Massapung was confirmed to Wm Bourdman of Cambridge. Day had 300 acres granted him many years before, for printing. His only connection with Lancaster, was that of nonresident proprietor.

Simon Willard & Mary had a son Joseph born in L

4 - 11 mo. 1660.

Jeremiah Wilson bought right of Ralph Houghton & lived 1690 upon Wataquusock prob. Son of Benj of Charlestown died 1743 aged 77.

xx The chief trail to "sea food" was that to the Wamsit settlement at the Merrimack falls.

<sup>a</sup> Edward Johnson in "Wonder working Providence" speaks of the Indian trails, in terms which show that they were merely indistinct foot paths, which the English found hard to follow & easy to lose.

" - the Indians paths being not above one foot broad, so that a man may travell many days and never find one" - Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. XIII p 156<sup>4</sup>

The localities in which Indian relics, are found in Lancaster - (such as stone arrow heads, gouges &c) are the Sandy Knoll on the Old Common, some distance south of the Cemetery in the opposite fields - and the Knoll between the "old burying ground" & the meeting of the waters - Such relics have been numerous enough to indicate an extensive Indian settlement in this neighborhood. The "Indian Wares" was not far distant, at the "wading place" - (see p 67)

x There is nothing to indicate that at Carters Mills, there was a crossing place in use by Indians or others. The "place of passing over" the South branch was, as is proven by early records, near the meeting of the rivers, and doubtless not far from where the Atherton Bridge now stands. At the site now known as Carters Mills was a ledge and falls.

forty acres, <sup>in "the night"</sup> either west of Knight's pasture, or including it. But his house and house lot was the garrison and its surroundings. See p. 74 note

Before specifying the location of those proprietors who became residents, it is necessary to ascertain the position of the lines of road used in the early days of the settlement. Roads are not only the skeleton framework of a town or a state; but they also serve as the circulating system to the human body. The homes of the people are posited on the roads, and all the busy life of the place flows through them. Where then did the first roads begin, and whither did they lead?

There can be no doubt that there were Indian trails from the seacoast to the interior before the English came. And after their coming, the natives were accustomed to travel to the lower towns, not only to reach the seaside, (being fond of sea food,) but also for the purpose of traffic. The English would naturally follow these trails when hunting, or visiting the Indians at their settlements. It is probable that Thomas King, or the men whom he sent up to the Nashua country, came through Sudbury and the upper part of Marlborough, to Lancaster, and that they crossed the Nashua river ~~near the Carter mills~~ in South Lancaster. This was almost in a direct line from Sudbury to George hill, on the south-east side of which was the first "trucking house," at a spot afterwards known as the "Indian camp pasture," marked A on the Sectional Map. In the year 1653 the general court directed "that Sudbury and Lancaster lay out highways between <sup>ce 72</sup> town and town, according to the <sup>order</sup> direction of the court, for the countries use, and then <sup>again</sup> make them as need shall be." This was doubtless the principal route to Boston for several years. Probably there was a trail from Washacum lake, the seat of Sholan, to the Indian camp, on George hill, and also to the "place of passing over," ~~at Carter's mills.~~ ? xx

The next step was to open a road to Concord, the nearest town directly east. This was in the spring of 1656. But \*  
? Not proven.  
? See p. 38 & 66  
notes -

to Concord. ?

Old well made, entirely un-  
 \* Also Eastern Highway Company's well ?  
 called for & buried upon  
 false assumption

as the trucking business had now been sold by King and Symonds to Prescott, and the place of trade had been moved from the Indian camp to South Lancaster, there was without doubt a traveled way between these two points. This way can even now be traced by marks which leave no doubt in the mind<sup>s</sup> of those who have examined them. The road came down the hill from the Indian camp to the house of Jonas Goss, and thence to Prescott's corner. Traces of this old road still exist. Again, starting from the Indian camp, and going nearly north, on the eastern slope of George hill, through a field which has been cultivated, the observer will come to what seems to have been an orchard, in which are a few straggling old apple trees. This is directly west from the young orchard and grapery of Mr. Goss. In the vicinity of these old trees is a very ancient cellar-hole. Going still farther north, into the next lot, and about forty rods west of the house of E. Warren Smith, a well will be found, nearly filled with stones. Proceeding towards the brook which comes down the hillside, another old well is found. Here the road must have been deflected towards the east, and then sloping along towards the northeast to a spot marked K on the map. Here is a cellar-hole, and till recently there were two. These are just west of the ledge which overlooks the meadow of Mr. Howard. This was probably the site of the garrison house of Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, though it may be that his house was towards the southwest, where the old wells are located. The road can be traced no farther, though, from the "lay of the land," it must have proceeded northerly, and come out not far west of the house formerly occupied by L. W. Spalding, and now by <sup>John W.</sup> Cyrus D. Howe. This old road is marked by a double line. It was extended, in process of time, as far as the present poorhouse, skirting the hillside all the way.

The road to Concord was laid out in May or June, 1656, by a joint committee from the two towns. George Wheeler and John Smalley from Concord acting with John Roper and

The author seems to have found hills & cataracts enough on the slope of George Hill to have awakened in his mind (if he had not been so determined to have Prescott a stockpen on the Ward Corner) a suspicion of the probability that the first settlers, Prescott, Sawyer, Roper, Gain, &c. &c. whom he attempts to crowd into half the space allotted them in the land records, really lived at first on the slope of George Hill, where water & sunshine & arable land abound, & the heights sheltered them from the northern blasts.

King died 1644 Dec 3. Lymonds <sup>sett.</sup> probably in 1643. There is no item of proof that either of them had any business transactions with Prescott or that the "place of trade" had been removed from its original location. Prescott bought his South Lancaster lot in 1647 of Jno. Coudall, as the author states on page 42 & elsewhere, following Willard. But what is conclusive, 1653-72 in the first division, Prescott's 20 acre lot is the starting point, and is described in these words "his lot on the west side of Washaway and the North River containing 20 acres, in place where sometimes one Mr. Symons and Thomas King built a trucking house, sitting easterly upon the highway and westerly towards the Cannons." See notes opposite p. 70. This lot was according to Proprietors Records, 20 rods wide on the highway & extended west 160 rods, which would carry it to the slopes of George Hill, fully as high up as house now owned by Mr. E. W. Smith, probably. I believe it to have been considerably to the south of the Ward Estate however, on which, or very near which, both Mr. Marvin & Willard prefer to place him. — In the copy of earliest records of Proprietors, the first allotment to Daniel Gain's described: ten acres lying on the top of George Hill "x" bounded southerly upon the common and northerly it is bounded by the house lot of John Prescott and it butts easterly upon the lot of Jonas Fairbanks," x x. Fairbanks lot was next south from Prescott's as described in the same records - but of half the length (being 40 rods by eighty) & "butted upon a hill called George Hill." Moreover Prescott's lot, east side of the then highway, & opposite it, is described as having "a brook running cross the west end of it, which lot is known by the name of Ryfield" - What brook could this be but Ropers? If so, Mr. Marvin's conjectures are absurd. <sup>(P.S.)</sup> But the Middlesex Records settle the question, completely in accord with my deductions, before seeing with a day or two's better.

See Notes to pages 725. - 70 - 38 &c.

With no ancient maps or plans of surveys to guide us, it is not so easy to fix the location of the first rude highways, & the house lots thereon, as one might imagine it to be, by the confident tone of the statements on the pages opposite, & to follow. The annotator after diligent study of all the Proprietors Records, inserts two maps which seem to him to suit the condition of things. (I.E. the lay of the land) and the terms of allotments, very much better in general, than does the plan of all clearings. There is little difficulty in the placing correctly the lots of the dwelling upon the Neck, the room for dispute is in the disposition of the land west of the North River.



to 1

(11) This was known as the "Bay Road" or "Bay Path" (1663 in Town Records).

111 In Tinkers record this looks like Roper rather than Rugg but is indistinct - owing to another name having been first written & read. In the poor copy of later years it is Rugg. In the Proprietors' Records transcribed 1763 it is Roper. & that suits the facts. The Road is the present one from Horatio Humphreys by Kelbourns up George Hill, John Moores land being the Fay & Ward estates including where Kelbourn now lives, & "Prescotts Rice field" included Humphreys house, Rufus Rogers & Lt Chandlers & Rice lands etc. A brief visit to the Middlesex Records would have solved "the only difficulty".

Ralph Houghton performed the duty, whereof we have this record. "We whose hands are hereunto put, being chosen by Concord and Lancaster, to lay out the Country highway betwixt the said towns, within the bounds of Lancaster, have acted and concluded that the Country highway shall go as followeth; <sup>Raining</sup> The place whence we took our beginning is at the highway beginning betwixt the lot of John Prescott [1] and John Moore's [6] <sup>from</sup> Lots, and so <sup>Raining</sup> on the east side of the minister's house, and over the north River by Lawrence Waters' house [18] and so over Penacook River near to the house of Edward Brick [19,] [east of C. L. Wilder] and so over the Intervale and through Swan's swamp, where the town hath already marked out a highway for themselves, and so along to a little pine tree on the north side of Wataquodock hill, and so along the old path, or where may be most convenient within the bounds of Lancaster." The same road is afterwards laid down in the reverse order, in the words following. "One way for the Country lieth from the Entrance into the town on the east part, from Wataquodock hill; down to the Swan's Swampe, and over the wading place, through Penacook river, that is by the Indian waye, [wear, a dam for taking fish,] and so along by Master Rowlandson's ground and the river, and againe up to goodman Waters, his barn, between old goodman Brick's lott and that which was Richard Smith's, now in the possession of John Tinker, [29,] To be as it is staked out, at the least five Rods wide, on the neck, and to be as wide as can be on the east side of the river — the Penacook — under ten Rods and above five; and so from goodman Waters over the north river, up by Master Rowlandson's, <sup>(D)</sup> the breadth as is laid out and fenced, and marked and staked up to goodman Prescott's Rye field, <sup>m</sup> and so between that and John Moore's lott and Crosse the brook, and up between John Johnson's and John Rugg's Lotts, five Rods wide; And so beyond all the Lotts into the woods."

The only difficulty in fixing the location of this road arises when we reach the "highway beginning betwixt the lot of

Raining

Roper's?

John Prescott — called his 'rye-field' — and John Moor's lott" To this we shall recur again.

About the same date, (perhaps a little earlier,) the two Neck roads were opened. The east road on the Neck went "from goodman Breck's house [19,] through the end of his ground, and Ralph Houghton's, [20,] and so on to "Quassaponikin hill," — sometimes called Whitemore hill — "five rods wide." Edward Breck's house, as said above, was near the corner of the road east of the house of C. L. Wilder.

The west road of the Neck, now the main street from the Sprague bridge to the North Village, extended from "goodman Waters's barne [18] to Quassaponikin meadow before the houses of goodman Gates, [31,] both goodman Joslins, [36,] etc., as it is laid out and marked; five rods wide, and in the interval <sup>two</sup> rods wide." (This road was probably some rods west of the present main street.) It began near the bridge over the North river, some twenty rods above the Sprague bridge, and ran along the hillside west of the houses now situated on the west side of the main road; near the house of John W. Barnes, across the grounds of Rev. Mr. Bartol, and those living north, by the house of William McNeil, and onward to the road that now passes between <sup>Joel W.</sup> ~~Edward~~ Phelps and Mrs. Benjamin Otis, into the Ponakin intervale. The eastern range of lots on the Neck, extended from Nashua river one hundred and sixty rods west, and as the river curves often, the western bound of the lots was not in a straight line. This road, <sup>in 1798</sup> by degrees, was moved eastward, up the hill, and made nearly straight, as it is at present. There is an angle of about twelve degrees near the house of Mrs. ~~Emily Green~~. <sup>Elmina M. Greene</sup>

Next in the Records we find "one way to the <sup>in</sup> Mill at the heads of the Lots of John Prescott, Thomas Sawyer, ~~(E.)~~ Jacob Farrah, <sup>in 1798</sup> five rods wide from the Country highway to the mill." Prescott's Mill was in Clinton, where now stands the Clinton yarn mill. The road laid out was from the south part of South Lancaster to Clinton.

x This "rye field" became Jonathan Prescott's & he gave it to his son Samuel, who sold it to Rev John Partridge.

Goosman Lewis 10"

a Tinker's spelling is Zuasaponikin - the later copy has varied it to the form Zuasaponican - The most approved spelling among the first clerks was Zuasaponikin. The specimens given is a case of 'original sin', characteristic of the author.

a' at "probably" for which no reason is given and "probably" now can be given - The highway was "five rods wide" it seems. "Probably" the only considerable change has been the reduction of its width, and a straightening made by the Court of Sessions in 1798, record of which is at Worcester showing that the straightening process began at the Mrs Tisd Cartton house and ended opposite Mrs Powers.

to

For a moment the author here seems to have intended to show the ancient spelling. It is a great pity, he did not follow it throughout his quotations from these oldest records. For an example this article has been changed throughout to exhibit John Tinkler's style of orthography -

There is some difficulty in locating the next road. The Record reads as follows: "One way, Called the Street or Crossway; from goodman Kerley's Intervale, and the rest of the Intervale lots, And so south between the double range of Lots, five Rods wide, And so towards Washacome, when it is past Jacob Farrow's <sup>old</sup> Lott; And also <sup>receives</sup> It receives the same width between the house Lotts and Intervale lots northward to the walnut swampe" The Intervale lots here mentioned, extended <sup>up</sup> from the North river, on either side of Roper's brook, south by west towards the farm of Mr. Thayer, where William A. Kilbourn now resides. It is supposed that the road began at the south end of the Intervale, and went southerly, on the west side of the little brook behind the house of Mrs. Mary Ware, and rising to the top of the bank, passed to the rear of all the houses on the west side of the street in south Lancaster, and southwesterly to the house of Jonas Goss. Not far from the house of Mr. Goss, it passed up the hill, and thence onwards to Washacome. All these early roads are indicated by double lines. *\* all wrong -*

*This was the now called "Back Road" North Village to George Hill School House &c*

Another road extended from the millway at the end of goodman Prescott's Ryefield to the Entrance of his Intervale, five Rods wide, and through the Intervales over Nashaway River and the Still river, to the outside fence, of Jacob Farrow's Lott, two Rods and ~~an~~ half wide." This road began, probably, about ten or twelve rods west of Mrs. Ware's corner, and went easterly, by the present way to the Atherton bridge. Crossing the river it kept along the eastern bank of the river to the "Neck bridge" where it met the Concord road, which went over Watquadock hill.

Finally, "one way: from that Intervale way down along all the Intervales to the Still river, and towards Groton, on the east side of the river, two rods wide." This road began at the crossing of the Penacook, and was directly in the line over which "Dead river" now flows, in times of high water, with a volume nearly equal to the main stream. *\**

*\* In 1673 a Committee consisting of John Prescott Sen. + Roger Sumner of Lancaster + James Parker + James Knapp of Groton, altered this highway, "to run more upon the Island" See Green's Early Records of Groton p. 46. Lancaster had applied to Groton for this alteration the old way having been found subject to damage by floods. & otherwise difficult to keep passable.*

I think this Nashaway "wading place" was near Arthur's Bridge, not Carter's Mill.

Bridges were ordered to be built over the Nashua, <sup>near present Arthur's Bridge</sup> near Carter's mills, I, and the North river above the Sprague bridge, J, in the year 1659. The Records, under date of January 14, 1659, read: "The Selectmen ordered for the bridges over Nashaway and North river, <sup>the</sup> that they that are <sup>it is agreed</sup> on the Neck of land do make a cart bridge over the North river, by Goodman Waters', and they on the south end do make a cart bridge over Nashaway about the wading place, at their own <sup>charges</sup> expense." This is enough for the present. The matter of bridge-building will claim more attention in later pages.

It is now easy to show the reader where the first inhabitants set up their rude homes. ~~Beginning at the cross-road in South Lancaster, the first lot belonged to John Prescott, [1].~~ His lots were in two ranges, one on either side of the road. The lots in the east range were forty rods wide, north and south, and eighty rods long, extending from the road between the North river and South Lancaster, to the intervale east of the railroad. The lots in the western range were twenty rods wide, and one hundred and sixty rods long, extending from the road on the east, to another parallel road up the side of George hill, perhaps fifty rods west of the present road. The lots were made thus narrow that the settlers might be kept in close proximity. Prescott had a lot in each range. On the east side of the road running north and south, and north side of the road running east and west, his lot was forty rods wide and eighty rods long. The double line on the map will show his bounds on the west. Next north was the lot of John Moor, [6,] of the same measurement. But between the two was a road one rod wide. This was the way "betwixt John Moor's lot and Prescott's rye-field." John Tinker [7] came next with a lot of the same size. Then came church lands, meeting-house hill, C, and intervale to the North river.

South of Prescott and across the road were the lots of Thomas Sawyer, E, Jacob Farrar, [3,] and John Rigby, [4,] of similar dimensions.

I see note p. 66. This lot was on the slope of George Hill.

Starting wrong of course all is wrong!









butteth upon the North and Hathaway Rivers easterly  
and tendeth westerly of the highway and then part  
southerly from the lott of Thomas Sayer -

The lott of Jno Johnson containing 20 acres is seen  
lott northerly from John Prescotts butted & bounded  
as the former

The lott of Henry Kerly containing 20 acres is the  
5th lott from John Prescotts butted & bounded  
as the former."

' x x William Kerly 6th lott do - x x '

' x x do purchased of Richard Smith 7th '

' x x William Kerly Jr. 9th do '

"That lott of John Prescotts containing 20 acres  
which lyeth on the east side of the highway  
over against his former lott described, butteth  
upon the highway westerly and the commons  
easterly."

' x x Jno Moore 1st lott on the North '

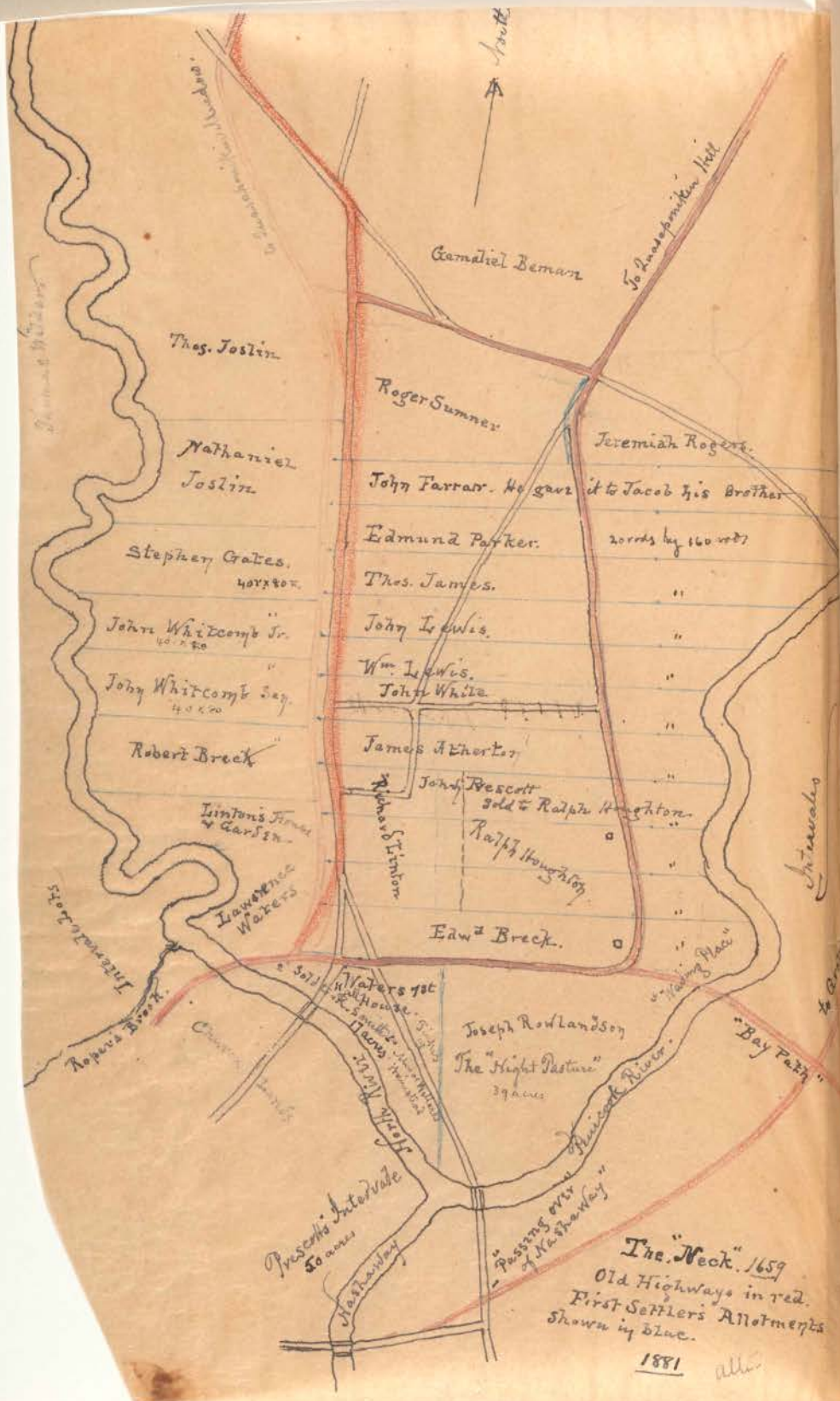
' x x Thos Sayer 1st lott on the South '

"Thos Sayer's Intervale lies between Prescotts  
& Intervale lots. (Here follow the 20 acre  
Intervale lots behind the other lots. William  
Kerlys beginning at North River)

"The Lotts upon the North lyeth between the  
North River and Pennecke River a highway  
running between them.

"The lott of Edward Beck is the first lott  
containing 20 acres which lyeth butting

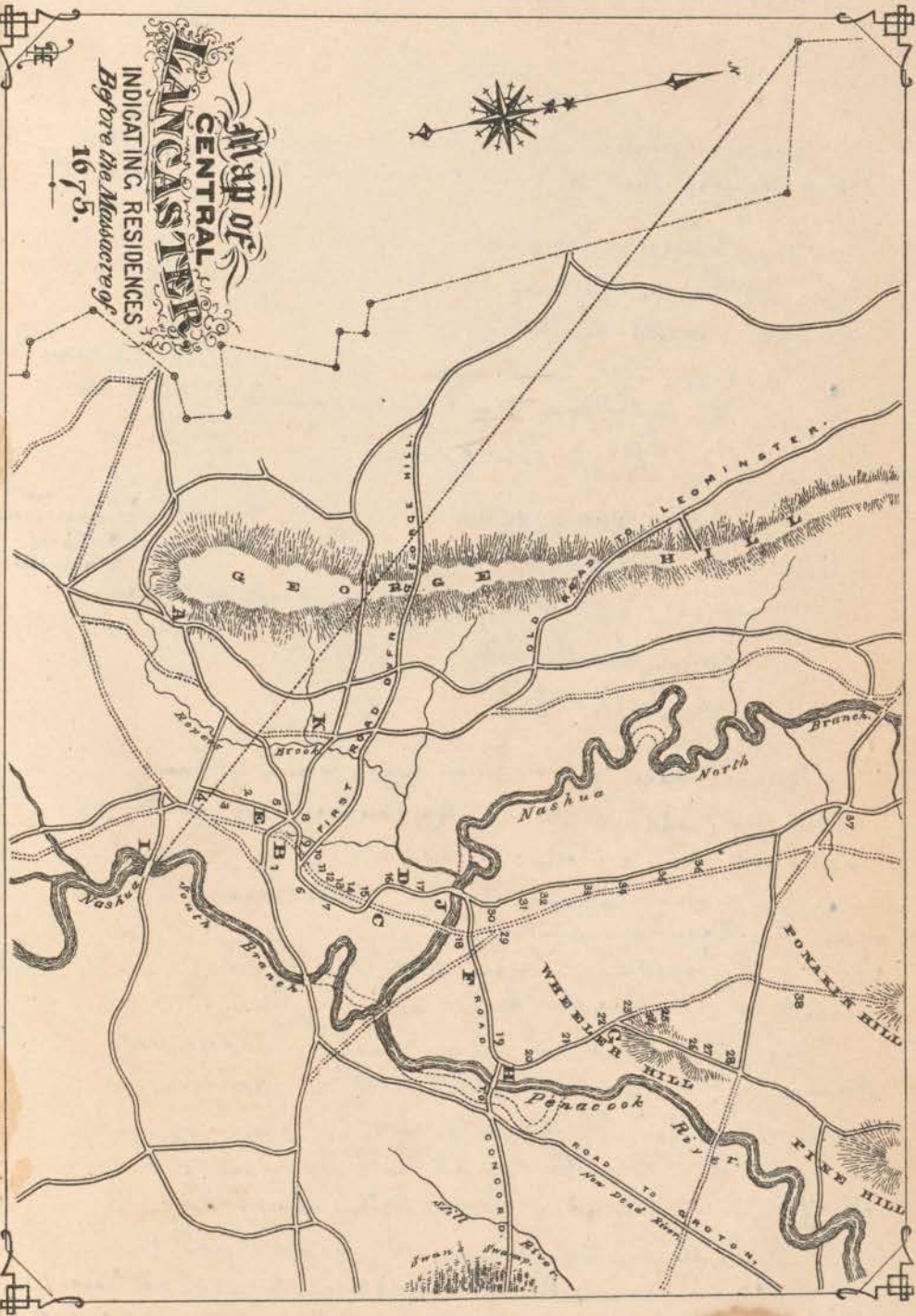




The "Neck" 1659  
 Old Highways in red.  
 First Settlers' Allotments  
 shown in blue.  
 1881

Purely Conjectural often, and full  
of errors - I am sure -  
H.

Map of  
**CENTRAL  
LANCASTER**  
INDICATING RESIDENCES  
Before the Massacre of  
1675.



- Proprietors Records. My next Prescott was Day's lot whereon  
 1 Philip Knight built a house + lived some time - Tinker bought  
 it -  
 2 John Johnson's lot came next.  
 3 Then a "Country highway that goeth into the woods and  
 So where needs shall require"  
 4 Next John Poppi's Lot, once Day's. upon which "Goodman  
 Johnson the Taylor" once built a house (Solomon Johnson of)  
 Marlborough  
 5 Then John Rugg's Lot 20 acres  
 6 " Daniel Davis 10 acres + house in 1668 - } The other  
 being some land not included in the 20 rod lots - } 10 acres on  
 the top of  
 George Hill  
 7 Next Henry + Wm. Kerley - the latter bought out Richard Smith  
 " John Smith's lot.  
 " Wm Kerley jr.

Between these lots + river was Common Land  
 afterwards adjoined to Mr Rowlandson for horse  
 lot + intervals & to others for intervals -

I can discover no proof that any Kerley owned the land  
 where the Thayer mansion is. I believe the name of this  
 site to have "Gibson" or "Gibson Hill" + that Tinker's lot  
 covered it. Here is the Record of Tinker's grant.

"His own upland lot given him by the town is  
 known by the name of "Gibson Hill" & 20 acres -  
 bounded west by the street, east upon Commons, south  
 by house lot of John Moore, north by the meadow that is  
 Master Rowlandson's." Daniel Hutson owned it 1687.

If Mr Darwin had measured the distance from the  
 Rowlandson garrison site to Mrs Ward's corner he would not have  
 tried to crowd ten 20 rod front. lots into that space. His conjectured  
 locations of Road + Settlers are very dubious. not to say  
 ridiculous guesses.

Going back to the starting point, John Prescott had a lot, [8,] on the west side of the road to the Center, twenty rods wide, and one hundred and and sixty rods long. Opposite on the south side of the road, where ~~Mr. Graham now lives~~, Jonas Fairbank, [5,] had a lot, forty by eighty rods, and south of him was "commons land," [2].

North of Prescott, ~~and extending to the North river~~, lots twenty rods wide were assigned as follows. Stephen Day, [9,] the printer. He never came, and the lot seems to have been occupied, if not owned, by John Johnson, [9]. Next came Philip Knight, [10,] and ~~perhaps~~ John Roper. It would seem that John Rugg had a half lot next to Roper. Between the lot of Roper and the next one, a road extended westerly, ~~across the farm of Mr. Thayer~~, up George hill, ~~by the house of Frank Taylor~~, and so on where human needs may require. Daniel Gains [11] came in somewhere in this vicinity. Probably he bought the south half of the lot of John Rugg, [12]. It is ~~im~~possible to indicate precisely the ownership between Prescott and Henry Kerley, who owned the fifth lot. The men just named owned either in succession or in common. ~~Henry Kerley's lot [13] covered part of the land where the house of Mr. Thayer now stands.~~ His father, William Kerley, [14,] lived nearly opposite the cemetery, though at one time, John and Richard Smith [15] had a foothold in that vicinity. Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, D, though he had land between the North and Penacook rivers, lived next north of the senior Kerley. His house was the garrison, and the meeting-house, C, was a few rods to the southeast, across the road, and near the eastern brow of cemetery hill. Next north of Mr. Rowlandson was the lot and house of William Kerley, jr. [17] Between him and the river was an interval lot.

Crossing the North river about twenty rods above the present, or Sprague bridge, the first lot and house belonged to Lawrence Waters, [18]. If we suppose the road coming west from the railroad between the Mansion house and

7  
see note p. 66

2

1

4

5

7

3

6

7



Mr. Stowell, and along between the houses of Mr. Vose and Mr. Royce, about twenty rods into the intervale, it would meet the road coming from South Lancaster near the bridge. Lawrence Waters was somewhere southeast of that road, and not far from the residence of Mr. Symmes. The first lot situated between the road to the North Village on the west and Penacook river on the east, was owned by Edward Breck, [19]. Like all the lots on the eastern side of the road, it was twenty rods wide and one hundred and sixty rods long. Mr. Breck's house was near the turn of the road between the houses of C. L. Wilder and Daniel Bemis, Esq. The next lot north was assigned to Richard Linton, [29;] Ralph Houghton came next. But Houghton and Linton made an exchange, the former taking the east end of Linton's lot, and the latter the west end of Houghton's lot, so that each had a lot forty rods by eighty. Houghton [20] lived on the east road of the Neck, and Linton on the west end, somewhere in the vicinity of <sup>& opposite</sup> Mrs. Carleton's house. The third lot in the range was owned by Ralph Houghton. <sup>So also the 14<sup>th</sup> lot in the range bought of Prescott.</sup> This was one hundred and sixty rods in length.

Next in order came the lot of James Atherton, [21,] extending from the river on the east to where the Hotel Lancaster stands. The owners in succession going up the Neck road, were John White, [22,] William Lewis, [23,] John Lewis, [24,] Thomas James, [25,] Edmon Parker, [26,] Jacob Farrar, [27,] and Roger Sumner, [28]. All these lots were bounded on the east by the river, except the last, which butted on the Neck road, then running east of the Lane place. The north boundary of Sumner was the road extending from the Whiting place, where Mr. Powers now lives, by the Lane place, and on beyond the brickyards. Gamaliel Beaman's lot [38] was north of this road. All the owners above-mentioned, (unless perhaps Atherton,) had their homes on one or the other side of the eastern, or in modern phrase, the Neck road.

x Lawrence Waters sold his first house to Goodman Hall or his wife but he sending from England for her. She sold it to Richard Smith & he to Tinker. This lot of 17 acres was the one above mentioned & was given Waters "by those that first had to do with the place". Waters next built near "the Carting place in the North River" where he had about 16 acres north intervale bounded west & north west by the river, east by the highway to Leasa Point. South by the highway to Concord. Tinker's house was near his.

Probably Francis Bowman  
of Watertown?

uppon the highway uppon the west side Pennecook River  
uppon the East. end runneth to the River (which sometimes  
was intended for the Bowman) This tractable lot  
lyeth the east side of Pennecook River containing  
20 acres be it more or less, it runneth east & west  
and boundeth westerly uppon Pennecook and uppon the  
South is bounded by a new ditch. from this lot  
northerly and southerly are other lots numbered &  
bound and as the first lot"

"The lot of Richard Linton containing 20 acres  
is the second lot & lyeth on the North side of this  
lot of Edward Brock. butteth on the highway westerly  
& Pennecook River on the East. Ralph Staughton  
uppon an exchange made is planted uppon the  
East end thereof."

'x x Ralph Staughton 3<sup>d</sup> lot northerly'

'x x Ralph Staughton 4<sup>th</sup> " " bought of Prescott'

"The lot of Robert Brock containing 20 acres lyeth  
on the <sup>East</sup> west side of the North River - beginneth at  
the South end nere to the house of Richard  
Linton uppon a line run 9. 1 mo 1654 from  
the highway to the river 95 rods in length  
butteth on the highway on the east, & the North  
River on the west and tendeth northerly."

'James Atherton 5<sup>th</sup> lot next north to R Staughton'

John White 6<sup>th</sup> " "

Wm Lewes 7<sup>th</sup> " "

John Lewes 8<sup>th</sup> " "

Thomas James 9<sup>th</sup> " "

Edmund Parker 10<sup>th</sup>

x Richard Smith's "lyeth alone & is a triangle"  
the North River forming one side.

A transcript of Proprietors oldest records is in a Vol. marked III. of Town Books. & gives description of locations of 18 lots - see page 80 -

x Liutons lot was assigned to him like the others 20x160 & on the East of the highway as stated on p. 72. by exchange it became 60x53 $\frac{1}{3}$  - He built his house however on the opposite side from his lot near Watins, his son in law. & had a garden & orchard there, forming "a triangle" and containing about six (6) acres "part upland part swamp" - Mr. Harvins whole statement about Liutons position is imaginative -

37 "Mordican Makload" "His home lott being ten acres as it was laid out be it more or less lyeth in a pine plain near to Sasaponikin gate butin westward upon the gate that goes to qualaponicin interwaile" x c c

† x John Houghton & Richard Wheeler were on Dean's Brook now called Governors. The Records say "Wheeler" built near unto Dances Brook bounded easterly by lott of John Houghton" x x "John Houghton built north side of Dean's Brook bounded southerly by said Brook northerly by lott of Richard Wheeler, and easterly butts upon the Mill Path!" -

Coming now to the west side of the Neck and starting from Lawrence Waters' lot, the first lot on the west of the road which goes by the churches to the North Village, we find the lot of Richard Linton, [30]. This extended from the spot where Mr. Royce resides, up the road forty rods, and eighty rods west, or to the North river. Next came the lot of Robert Breck, [31,] forty rods, extending along the west side of the Common. Breck never resided in town. In order came John Whitcomb, [32,] John Whitcomb, jr., [33,] <sup>Stapen</sup> John Gates, [34,] Nathaniel Joslin, [35,] and Thomas Joslin, [36].

All the above-named proprietors were settled compactly together, south and north of the North river, or in South Lancaster, and the Center, then styled "the Neck." The meeting-house stood as near the center of the plantation as possible, if it were to be on high land, and south of the river. And remembering that the settlement soon extended to the Prescott mills — what is now Clinton, — it will be seen that the convenience of all was consulted in the location of the house of worship. The original plan was to have the center of the town <sup>ship</sup> near the "meeting of the rivers." One standing on the site of the first meeting-house could see nearly every dwelling-house in the whole plantation, provided the view was not obstructed by trees, and one of the first necessities of the planters was to level the forest around their habitations.

The location of the other settlers need not be exactly determined. As new families came, they either purchased of those already here, or took lots in other parts of the town, though at first, not very remote. Mordecai McLoud [37] was somewhere near the cemetery in the North Village. John Houghton took a house lot in what is <sup>So Lancaster</sup> now Bolton, but his land extended into Lancaster: Richard Wheeler was next north of John Houghton. His intervale came to the Nashua river, east of South Lancaster. Later John Houghton had his home on the Old Common. The upland and intervale of

not do.

(Thomas Wilder extended from the North river on the east and north sides towards the road where Henry D. Stratton now lives, [the Keyes place,] and there was a road from the bridge above the house of Sprague Vose to, and probably through, or by Wilder's farm. The second Thomas Wilder lived on the north side of the Old Common.

(a) The upland and intervale of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson was between the Penacook and the North river, as the Records say, and was "laid out southwardly by the North river, easterly by Penacook river, and westerly by the lot of Richard Smith." This was all in one lot of thirty-nine acres, thirteen of upland and twenty-six of intervale. He had land also near his house, called the garrison.

The "Church Lands" were in the vicinity of the meeting-house, and probably covered the land included in the middle cemetery. There were about thirty acres in the upland, and the lot reached, on the east, to the intervale lots of Prescott and Sawyer. ~~Some of the Church Lands were near Clamshell pond.~~ Rowlandson's not Church -

The various proprietors had, besides their twenty acres of upland, parcels of intervale, meadow and swamp lands, in different parts of the town.

Having fixed the location of the settlers on their farms, and indicated the lines of road by which they were bound together, the way is clear to attend to their action as a town. And here it may be noted that they acted at one time in the capacity of a town, and at another as a body of proprietors. But since the proprietors, for a long period, constituted the great body of the town, the record of the action of either body may be considered as legitimate town history.

(b) For about three or four years after the act of incorporation, the town proceeded in the ways above indicated. But it was soon found that there were serious matters of difference which the settlers could not adjust to their satisfaction. Therefore the town sent the following Petition to the general court, signed by the inhabitants. Whereas sundry

Records 1669

(a) in the "night pasture", within that fence that was formerly set up by the copartners, bounded northerly by the sd. night pasture fence, part of the fence being standing when the land was laid out - southwardly by the north River - Easterly by Jennicote River, and westerly by the Lott of Richard Smith then in the Possession of Master John Tenker, and north east by the town highway, in the night pasture the whole lyeth for thirty nine acres be it more or less. //

The Church Lands. x x "a little piece by Master Rowlandson's house about four acres which lyeth bounded northerly by the Brook and partly by Master Rowlandson's fence and southerly by the pine Hill that is laid out for Church Land, and easterly it butts upon a hill of Upland of Master Joseph Rowlandson and westerly it butts upon the meadow at "Gibson's hill".

Upland - 30 acres.

Feb. 1 1747 the proprietors voted "they would sell the Church Land and meadow within Lancaster and also 7<sup>1/2</sup> Church meadow so called lying in Boston or Harvard" - also they chose Mr. John Fairbank, Deacon Joseph White, Capt. Joseph White, Coll. John White & Deem Israel Houghton of Committee to sell said Land and meadow the proceeds to be for ye use of ye first Precinct in 1683-4 for ye settlement of a minister and to give a lawful Dred or Dred of ye Town.

(b) But one matter of very serious import to our town had during these three or four years been attended to. The restless energy, skill & public spirit of John Prescott had within a year after the general court here refused him the honor of giving his name to the town, started a "corn mill", chiefly built by his own labor. The stones for it must have been brought from England and the bringing of them from the Boston wharf up through the wilderness to their destination must have been an appalling enterprise with the scant resources then at command. Before the starting of this mill the pioneers must have ground their grain for bread by hand mills, called "querns" or "quarries" - over

B. p. 74 Cont<sup>d</sup> The first <sup>Water</sup> Mill in the Colony had been built but 20 years.  
(St. Col. Israel Stoughton's Mill on the Neponset River in Dorchester built  
1633) though a wind-mill is spoken of in Boston 1632. & a Corn  
mill run by water power existed in Plymouth Col. 1632.

27. This petition begins with the usual address, and  
closes with these words.

"Which if it shall please this Honourable Court  
to grant unto us we shall remaine further obliged  
and as we are in dutie bound continue to pray  
for you". This petition is copied in the town  
records, but the signatures are omitted.

75. In 1660. this law was defined as follows:

"x x no man whosoever shall be admitted to the freedom  
of this body politic but such as are members of some  
church of Christ, and in full communion. x" x x

See Vol. 1. Colony Records as printed p 87. May 18 1631.  
xx "It was likewise ordered and agreed that for time to come  
noe man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body poli-  
tick, but such as are members of some of the churches  
within the limits of the same"

In 1634 - "Further it is agreed that none but the Gen<sup>l</sup>all  
Court hath power to chuse and admitt ffreemen"

1636-7 "for it is the intent & order of the Court that  
no person shall henceforth be chosen to any office in  
the Commonwealth but such as is a freeman"

persons in this town<sup>e</sup> the last year, at the general Court, by petition, did obtaine the full Liberty of a plantation to Choose Selectmen, and to order our prudentials as other towns<sup>e</sup> doe, supposing the town<sup>e</sup> to be furnished for that purpose; But now, upon this short time of experience, this plantation finding ourselves unable to act and order our prudentials, by public<sup>e</sup> town<sup>e</sup> meetings, as a town<sup>e</sup> <sup>body</sup> ~~meeting~~, by reason of many inconveniences and Encumbrances, which we find that way, nor by selectmen by reason of the scarcity of freemen, (being but three <sup>(3)</sup> there in number,) we want Liberty of Choice, And the Law requires, (as your petitioners doe conceive,) the greater vo<sup>t</sup> [majority] of them that act to be freemen. The premises being Considered, your petitioners doe humbly Crave that the Honored Court would be pleased to take our Condition into their Consideration, and appoint a committee invested with power from the general Court to put vs into such a way of order as we are Capable of, or any other way which the Honored Court may Judge safest, and best, both for the present and future good, of vs and our town<sup>e</sup> and those that are to succeed vs, And such a Committee, soe appointed, and soe impowred, may stand till they be able to make returne to the general Court, that the town<sup>e</sup> is sufficiently able to order our prudentiall affairs according as the law requires. "x x x x x"

A word of explanation will clear up what is doubtful about the object of this petition, and show that the town could not go forward without some such arrangement as was sought. The general court at its first session, in 1631, ordered "that no<sup>e</sup> man <sup>shall be</sup> admitted to the freedom<sup>e</sup> of this <sup>body politicke</sup> commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of this <sup>the same</sup> jurisdiction." This was the law till 1664. As there were some thirty proprietors in Lancaster in 1656, and among them only three freemen, the whole legal power of the town was in very few hands. As the petitioners conceived that a majority of the selectmen must decide, it might be, when a difference of opinion



occurred, that the whole town would be governed by two men. This was intolerable. The court felt this, and gave a favorable answer, and judged "it meet to grant their request, And do therefore order and appoint major Simon Willard, Capitaine Edward Johnson and Thomas Danforth Commissioners, (S) impowring them to order the affairs of the said Lancaster, And to hear and determine their severall differences and grievances which obstruct the present and future good of the town; standing in power till they be able to make returne to the General Court that the town is sufficiently able to order its own affairs according to Law." *vera copia Thomas Danforth* } st

This was passed at the May session, 1657, on the seventeenth of the month, and the commissioners soon entered on the duties of their office. Major Simon Willard became a proprietor and inhabitant of the town. The other two never came here to reside, but made visits of business. Major Willard was invited to come, and received liberal grants of land as an inducement. He was distinguished in our early history as <sup>an assistant</sup> a member of the council, and as a military officer. (t) He is largely referred to in the genealogy of the Willard family, prepared with great care and judgment by his descendant, Joseph Willard. He was exceedingly valuable as a citizen from his ability, probity and sound discretion. His name will appear often in the course of our history.

Edward Johnson lived in Woburn and was the author of a volume, often referred to, which has survived to our time, entitled, "Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England." Mr. Willard styles this "a very singular, curious and enthusiastic work." He was evidently a man of character and of prudence in affairs.

Cambridge was the home of Thomas Danforth. He certified to the copy of the Act of the court just recited, and may have been Clerk. He was one of the assistants, so called, and deputy governor, and ~~on the whole~~ a man of distinction in his day. When the witchcraft delusion was at its height,

Ralph Houghton's copy differs from - Colony Records.

(S) Page 76. See Colony Records Vol. 4 p. 296. also Vol 3. p. 428. which last reads as follows: "May 6 1657  
In answer to the petition of severall of the inhabitants of Lancaster, Mayo<sup>r</sup> Symon Willard, Capt. Edward Johnson, & Mr. Tho<sup>s</sup> Danforth, are empowered as a Committee to heare & determine severall differences amongst them, & to manage the prudentiall affayres of the towne untill they shalbe furnished with men capable for that imployment according to laws." -

Vol 4 Colony Records p 337

(±) "May 26. 1658". The Court answers a petition of May<sup>r</sup> Symon Willard giving him "a farme of five hundred acres on the south side of the river that runneth from Nashaway to Merrimacke, betwene Lancaster and ~~Exeter~~<sup>or is</sup> in Sattis faction of a debt of forty fouer pounds, ~~due~~ Sagamore, of Patucket cloth owe to him" x x x On p<sup>s</sup> 411-2. same vol. is Thomas Hoys' report of the survey of this farm. "at the place w<sup>ch</sup> is called by the Indians Nanajevijens." now in Hoys.

51. The signature inserted is found at end of the copy in the earliest Lancaster records. The alterations however were made to accord with the printed order - see p. 296 Vol. 4 of Colony Records. [since altered to conform to town records.]

Vol 4 Colony Records - page 311

Oct. 14 1657. The General Court favorably answers a petition of Concord & Lancaster &c. for privilege "to erect one or more iron workes within the limits of their owne townes bounds or in any Common place neere therunto."

- tt - "September ye eight 1657" - The records of the first meeting, in J<sup>r</sup> Finkers Concese handwriting reads thus - "The Comissioners appointed by the Generall Court to order and settle the affaires of Lancaster being assembled at John Prescotts house September ye eight 1657 having heard the severall informations and complaints of both pties, and reviewed the records of the said townes, doe judge meet to order and carndid as followeth (ie)
- (1) "That master John Finkew, William Kerly Sen, John Prescott Ralph Noughton and Thomas Sawyer, shall bee and are hereby impowred to order and manage the prudentiall affaires of the said towne for this year next ensuing and untill sunn others be allowed and confirmed by the Comissioners in their Steed and place"
  - (2) That the said selectmen take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson who now laboureth amongst <sup>them</sup> in the ministrie of Gods holy word, and alsoe that they take care for erecting a meeting house, pound and stokes, and that they see to the Laying out of towne and countrie highwaies and the towne bounds and the making and executing of all such orders and bylawes as may be for the common good of the place

he was one of the few like Increase Mather and Samuel Willard, president and vice-president of Harvard college, who acted like men of wisdom. It appears therefore that the general court dealt kindly by the town in the choice of commissioners. The good and wise Winthrop was present no longer to guide, having died in 1649. Richard Bellingham was governor from that year till 1673, except two years, when John Endicott was in the chair.

The first meeting of the commissioners was held, on the nineteenth of September, 1657, at the house of John Prescott. Their first act was to choose five men, residents of the town, and proprietors, and two if not three of them freemen, to do the work of selectmen. The entry on the Records read thus: "That master John Tinker, William Kerley, sen., John Prescott, Ralph Houghton and Thomas Sawyer, shall be and are hereby impowered to order and manage the prudential <sup>affairs</sup> of the said town for this year next ensuing, and ~~until~~ <sup>such</sup> ~~such~~ others be allowed and Confirmed by the Commissioners in their steed and place."

This was a singular, but proved to be a judicious plan for governing the town. The commissioners chose the selectmen, but the latter performed the duties of the office as if they had been chosen by the town. They were, however, under the supervision of the commissioners, and received directions from them. Some of the orders of the commissioners, which were of general import will be read with interest at this late day. The first related to the work of the ministry in the place, and directed "That the <sup>said</sup> selectmen take care for the due Encouragement of Master Rowlandson, <sup>who now</sup> ~~labor~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>amongst</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>them</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~ministrie~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~god's~~ <sup>god's</sup> ~~holy~~ <sup>holy</sup> ~~word.~~ <sup>word.</sup> And also that they take care for erecting a meeting-house, pound and stocks, And that they see to the Laying out of town and County highways, and the town bounds, and the making and executing of all such orders and by ~~Laws~~ <sup>Laws</sup> as may be for the Common good of the place. ~~xx~~ They were also to regulate concerning cornfields, meadows, common pasturage land,

tt

Not singular  
but common  
then.

fencing, ~~X~~ herding cattle, restraining swine, and for recovering fines and forfeitures of those persons who had taken up land without fulfilling the conditions thereof. It was their business to pay town debts, and levy and collect taxes, and they had authority to compel payment of taxes.

A wise direction was "that there be accommodations of land reserved for the meet encouragement of five or six able men to come and inhabit in the place, <sup>said</sup> as may be helpful to the encouragement of the work of <sup>(re)</sup> God, <sup>their</sup> and the Common good of the place." The Commissioners confirmed the "deed of ~~X~~ gift made by the town unto Master Rowlandson, <sup>(re)</sup> of a house and land which was set apart for the use of the ministry," upon suitable conditions which were fulfilled.

The next regulation, which would seem strange now, when the need of it has passed away, but which was acted upon by towns for more than a hundred years after the time under review, provided that no persons should be "entertained as inmates, ~~or~~ tenants," or be allowed to "inhabit within the bounds" of the town, without the consent of the selectmen. This consent to be valid, was to be entered upon the Records of the town. The penalty was twenty shillings per month, both to the person who should so "offend by intruding himself: And alsoe to the person <sup>that</sup> should <sup>so</sup> offend in receiving or entertaining" such new comer. No other persons were to be "admitted to the Enjoyment of the privileges of the place and township either in accommodations, votes, elections, or disposal of any of the Common privileges and interests" of the town.

The reason for such regulations is obvious. The one forfeiting the rights of original proprietors who refused to become residents, prevented many of the best lots from remaining in the hands of absentees. It was needful for ~~X~~ security that the first settlers should live in the closest neighborhood, and therefore the lots were so narrow that the houses could be only twenty, or at most only forty rods apart. Absentee ownership would break up this arrange-

*X* "Security" however was not the purpose of the originators of the regulation. The same was insisted upon in the charter of the township, and throughout the colony the authorities compelled close neighborhood for church convenience.

"Orders of the Committee" continued.

11

(1c) respecting cornfields, meadows common pasturing, land fences, herding of cattell & restraint of damage by swine, and for the recovering of those fines and forfeitures that are due to the towne from such <sup>persons</sup> as have taken up land and not fulfilled the conditions of their respective grants, whereby the common good of the plantation hath bene and yett is much obstructed -

(3) That they take care for the payment of all towne debts and for that end they are hereby impowred to make such levies or rates from time to time as they shall see needfull for the discharge of the common charges of the towne, and in case any of the inhabitants shall refuse or neglect to make due payment both for quality and quantity upon reasonable demand they may then levie the same by distress and are impowred also to take 2<sup>d</sup> mor and above such such fine or rate as is due to be paid for, the satisfaction unto your officer that taketh the distress for his pains therein.

(4) That in all their assessments, all lands appropriated (land given for additions excepted) shall be valued in manor following (ie) home lotts the unbroken att 20<sup>s</sup> pr. accor and the broken up at thirtie shillings by the accor, the luterwaile, the broken at fourtie shillings the accor and the unbroken at thirtie shillings the accor and meadow land att thirtie shillings and in all rates to the ministrie the home lotts to pay ten shillings per accor. according to the towne order and this order to continue for five yeals next ensuing Also that the selectmen take speciall care for the preserving and safe keeping the townes records and if they see it needfull that they procure the same to be written out faire into anew book to be kept for the good of posterity the charge whereof to be borne by the proprietors of the said lands respectively -

over

"Orders of Comite" continued

- "
- (5) That no man be freed from the rates of any land granted him in propriety except he make a release and full resignation thereof under his hand, and doe also relinquish and surrender up to the use of the towne his home lott Interwaile and meadow all or none.
- (6) That there be accomodacions of land reserved for the most encouragement of five or six able men to come and inhabit in the said place (ie) as may be helpfull to the encouragement of the worke of god there, and the common good of the place and that no second division be laid out unto any man untill these lotts be sett aparte for that use, by the selectmen, that is to say home lotts Interwaile and meadow.
- (7) The Comisioners doe judge meet to confirme the deeds of gift made by the towne unto Maister Rowlandson (ie) of a house and land which was sett apart for the use of the ministrie bearing date 1<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> mon 1657 upon conditions that Maister Rowlandson remove not his habitation from the said place for the space of three years next ensuing unlesse the said inhabitaunce shall consent thereto and the Comisioners approve thereof."

N.B.

- Articles 8 to 14 are land grants to persons inhabiting L.
- (15) That none be entertained into the towne as inmates, tenants or otherwise to inhabit within the bounds of the said towne without the consent of the selectmen or the major part of them first had and obtained and entered in the record of the towne as their act upon penalty of twenty shillings per month both to the person that shall so offend by intruding himselfe and also to the person that shall offend in receiving or entertaining such person into the towne.
- (16) And that no <sup>other</sup> person or persons whatsoever shall be admitted to the enjoyment of the priviledge of the

ment. This plan also prevented speculation on the rise of land without sharing in the toil and danger of improvement. But this alone was not enough. What was to prevent those who acquired lots by purchase, from coming here, (and bringing servants or hired men,) however hostile to the manners and customs of the place, or from sending up men of loose habits and bad character, to cultivate their land. In laying the foundation of the town these were considerations of the utmost importance. After the solid foundations were laid, there might be safety in admitting other materials. Having a basis of "gold, silver and precious stones," there might be a capacity for enduring a certain amount of "wood, hay and stubble."

Another reason for exclusion is given by Willard, and is certainly entitled to great respect. "Vicious persons would be disorderly; the situation was critical, the danger of giving provocation to the Indians would be increased, and it would require but a slight matter to destroy the settlement." They had provided, as we have seen, for the accommodation and encouragement of five or six able men of the right stamp.

Under the Covenant to refer certain matters to arbitrators, three men who had been chosen to act in that capacity, Simon Willard, Edward Johnson and Edmund Rice, in May, 1656, passed upon several matters of interest. One decision was that proprietors should abide by the measure of land made by the appointed surveyor, and not measure for themselves. On the complaint of some that their lots were too small, it was decided that justice should be done to them "with care, what speed they may."

There was a complaint of "the want of recording lands in the town book." The arbitrators therefore appointed Ralph Houghton to keep a Record of lands. Much of the early history of the town depends upon that vote. Without the "Record of Lands" existing now in a copy from the original book, it would be impossible to locate the settlers, or scarcely

See Note (79)  
next blank page

p. 31 Hist. of L.

x

"Edmund Rice was a selectman + deacon  
of Sudbury - died 1663 at 69 -"



guess where the larger part of them lived. The arbitrators also made the following sensible suggestion in regard to the prudential affairs of the town. "First, the town are to consider what their occasions are that shall be attended to therein, and write it in their town book; and this being done, then to choose their selectmen to act thereupon."

The selectmen, or townsmen, as they were styled, seem to have had their first meeting on the twelfth of January, 1658, at the house of John Tinker. They ordered every inhabitant that had lands laid out to him to bring in a perfect list in regard to "quantity, quality, place and manner of lying of their said lands, with their several butts and bounds." These lists were to be fairly recorded in a book kept for that purpose. The copy of the Record thus provided, is among the volumes of town Records and is of great value to the student of our history.

At a meeting held in February, at the house of goodman Kerley, it was ordered that all "highways laid out and allowed for the town and countries use, be amply recorded for posterity, and the way marks be yearly repaired by stakes or otherwise." If they had also provided for the making of a map of the town, and the insertion of each new road, when opened, the convenience of posterity would have been subserved, and much time saved which has been vainly spent in the effort to find the starting point, the angles, and the end of roads, by pine and other trees which have been dead more than a hundred years.

A vote passed by the selectmen, who met with Ralph Houghton in February, 1658, is interesting in as far as it shows us one feature of town life which long since passed away with the division of the land held in common. The order provided that two gates should be set up where the fences were made against the commons and common pasturage lands, on the east side of the river. That is, a highway passed between the common lands over the river, east of John White's house, and a gate opened on either side of the

place and townshipp either in accomodacions, votes elections or  
disposalls of any of the comon priviledges and interests thereof  
save only such as have bene first orderly admitted and accepted  
(as aforesaid) to the enjoyment thereof

Byes  
Lionel Willard  
Edward Johnson  
Thomas Danforth

Another copy is  
in Vol. III of Proprietors Records. Unfortunately the "copy" seems to have been very  
carelessly made & omissions are numerous.

Note

(P. 79) This regulation of exclusion was simply Governor Winthrop's "Order  
of Court made in the year 1637" which was so unpopular then, that Winthrop  
felt called upon to publish an elaborate defence of it. He with all his  
intellectual ability and official standing could not prevent it  
in his day from being stigmatized as a cowardly violation of the  
people's rights. Who should lessen lights in this nineteenth  
century plead for intolerance as either just or expedient!

Travel on these highways for many years must  
have been by footmen or those on horseback almost  
exclusively - wade carts even being rare at first. & gates  
were no very serious obstructions to the few travellers.

(55t) Now Mr Darwin has been unfortunate in copying from a faulty transcript. The original record in John Tinkler's clear handwriting puts a very different face upon this matter. "Monday ye first of the first mon. 1657-8 the whole towne meet and the orders made by the selectmen was read to them. They agree to all the orders except that of the gift to goodman White and it is therefore crossed. because he appeared not to speak in his owne case". Willard was mistaken by some error -

x Willard's Centennial address p 82-91. There are no illegible words in the original records. Willard found none, though he has "preparations" for preparative.

road. At the same time, three gates were to be set up on both sides of the Nashua, somewhere on the road that now crosses the Atherton bridge.

There was a town meeting on the twelfth of March, 1658, when the orders made by the selectmen were read to them. The town agreed to all the orders "except that of the gift of <sup>(see)</sup> goodman White. And it <sup>is</sup> therefore crossed it because he <sup>is</sup> feared not to speak in his own cause." What there was offensive in goodman White, either in the matter or manner of his speech, has not come down to us, and conjecture must be forever at fault. But it appears that he had right on his side, because the selectmen, in July of the same year, "upon serious consideration," granted him substantial justice.

Upon trial it was found that the governing apparatus did not work efficiently, and Master Tinker, the most prominent member of the board of selectmen, procured in their behalf, from the committee, Messrs. Willard, Johnson and Danforth, an addition to their powers. His petition reads: "May it please you to understand, that since your session with us, and commission granted to such as you <sup>were</sup> are pleased to entrust in the prudentials, <sup>we</sup> the Lord has <sup>not</sup> succeeded our endeavors to the settling, <sup>as</sup> (we hope) of Master Rowlandson amongst us, and the town in some silent, <sup>at least</sup> we hope in a good preparative to after peace; yet it is hard to repel the boilings and breaking forth of some persons difficult to please, and some petty difference <sup>will</sup> arise amongst us, provide what we can to the contrary. Wherefore be pleased to consider <sup>if</sup> whether our power already given be not sufficient, — that is, insufficient — to add a small penalty to the breach of our orders made for the good of the town, each neighbor, etc.; else it is a sword tool, and no edge." He says farther, <sup>if</sup> "if we may not receive power from you to hear and determine of differences amongst us under twenty shillings damage; otherwise the oppressed in small things bears his burden, because <sup>it</sup> is a greater burden to go far for ease."

In other words, an oppressed or injured man could not afford to carry his cause to court at a distance from home.

Master Tinker inquired farther <sup>(3)</sup> if the power of the townsmen or selectmen, extended to the giving and granting of lots, divisions, and additions, of lands and meadows; and if they might "choose an artist" among themselves or their neighbors to lay out the town bounds. In closing, the petition said: "Gentlemen, be pleased to resolve these cases, and vouchsafe us an addition to our powers where defective, in any of these, as without which we are, or seem of little courage; and by which, through God's assistance, we may be theirs and yours humbly to serve."

This application, made by Master Tinker, in behalf of himself and colleagues, who were not masters, but goodmen, according to the style of the time, met with a favorable response. There is such a fine flavor of antiquity to these old papers, that one takes pleasure in giving them at full length, at the risk of prolixity. The committee replied: "1. That it is in the power of the selectmen to impose any meet fine for the breach of any of their prudential orders, not exceeding twenty shillings for each offence. 2. That if the town please to nominate three meet persons to be your commissioners for ending small causes, and present them to the county court, they may there be allowed for <sup>ending</sup> any case under forty shillings. 3. That it shall be in the power of the selectmen, and not in the hands of the inhabitants, who may make their address to the committee in case of any grievance." They say in reference to the fourth point—the choosing an "artist" to lay out the town bounds,—that it is not in their power to act; but "in case it be done," that is, if the selectmen should appoint some man to the service, the committee "shall <sup>shall</sup> would further the acceptance thereof to their power." *22<sup>th</sup> 9 bor 1658*

There was a strong desire among the selectmen, and doubtless the feeling was general in the town, to have Major Willard take up his abode here, and give the aid of his sound

3) Tinkin's 3<sup>d</sup> Query

"if our power reach not to give grant lets divisions additions &c of lands and meadows"

4. "if we may choose an arbit amongst ourselves or others our neighbors to lay out townes bounds"

1658. Indians Records Vol. 4 Part 1 p. 350. is the report of a Committee, ordered in 1657. to make contracts with suitable persons. for farming the fur trade with the Indians. such trade being declared the property of the Commonwealth - One of the contractors was of Lancaster -

"Mr John Tucker for ye trade of Nashaway and

Groton for ye year - 8<sup>£</sup> "

In Middlesex Court files. are preserved two curious notes of indebtedness given him by certain Indians of Groton and vicinity -

(7x) Mr Darwin has here followed the copy - which does not correspond with the original record.

5x. For this "former order" see note opposite page 48. Here again Mr Darwin is led wrong by the copy. The original is in a book standing on the same shelf!

sense and wise discretion for the guidance of affairs. This sentiment found expression at a meeting of the townsmen on the eighteenth of February, 1659. They met at their houses in rotation, and were all present generally except William Kerley, who seemed to have a grievance. When his turn came, they met at the meeting-house, ~~near his home~~. The meeting under notice was held with goodman Prescott, and the action there taken is recorded as follows: "they think meet and do order that a letter of invitation be sent to Major Simon Willard to come to inhabit among<sup>st</sup> us, with such ~~measures~~<sup>measures</sup> concerning accommodations as have been formerly (tx) propounded; and the hands of the selectmen are ~~fixed~~<sup>fixed</sup>, and a copy of it ~~recorded~~<sup>reserved</sup>." What the "measures concerning accommodations" were, cannot be found in the selection from the Records which remain to us; but the inducements offered to incline "the Major" to become a resident must have been liberal as appears by the subsequent grants made to him.

As the town became consolidated and began to feel the force of a settled community, the feeling grew up that the restrictions in regard to receiving additions to the population might be safely relaxed. This does not, however, prove that the restrictions were not prudent and wise at the time of their adoption. The door was now opened for the admission of inhabitants besides the "five or six families more that were then in being, ~~to~~<sup>should</sup> be admitted for the good of the town and church." And the selectmen, July 15, 1659, "conceived it to be most for the good of the town, that so many inhabitants be admitted as may be meetly accommodated, *provided* they are such as are acceptable, and therefore ~~the~~<sup>at</sup> former order is repealed. And that admittance be granted to so many as shall stand with the ~~disposition~~<sup>disposition</sup> of the selectmen, and are worthy of acceptance, according to the committee's ~~acceptance~~<sup>appointment</sup>." Surely the door of entrance was duly guarded when the approbation of the selectmen and also of the committee must be first obtained. (5x)



This was the last meeting of the selectmen which Mr. Tinker attended, being about to remove to Pequid, or New<sup>(xy)</sup> London, where he took a respectable and prominent position. The rest of the selectmen, in view of his departure, on the seventh of July, "petitioned the committee that Goodman Wilder might be appointed by them to act as <sup>a</sup> selectman; which was granted." This was Thomas Wilder, who had recently moved into the town.

There was a meeting of the town on the sixteenth of February, 1660, which took action in regard to a second division of land, and relates therefore in a special manner to the proprietors. It is of interest to the student of our history chiefly for two things. The meeting was held in the house of Major Willard. This shows that he had listened to the overtures made to him by the selectmen, and taken up his residence here. His house stood on the site ~~now~~ occupied by Sewall Day, where "the Major's" descendants have lived, for several generations, almost down to the present time. He was a great acquisition. The coming of Thomas Wilder was, prospectively, scarcely less important, because the families of Willard and Wilder, in every generation, have occupied a prominent and useful position in the town. The other point of interest connected with this town meeting relates to the method adopted in making the division of land. Having made ready for settling the division by casting lots, the Record goes on in these words: "which being finished, and all the orders and instructions aforesaid agreed on, and the Lord being sought unto for his blessing upon his own ordinance, Lots were taken as followeth, without any disturbance or distraction."

There is nothing recorded of special interest for two or three years; but we can readily believe that the town was well managed by its multiform government. The committee ~~in Boston~~ chose the selectmen. At one time the committee directed the selectmen in regard to their action; at another time the latter acted on their own discretion. The selectmen

26<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> mo<sup>o</sup> 1659. Martin Tinker & & & having removed  
his dwelling to Requid the rest of the selectmen petitioned  
the committee that Goodman Willard might be appointed  
by them to act as collector, which was granted."

The Major seems to have purchased Tinker's land or most of  
his rights. Willard in 1667 owned Tinker's lot on George Hill  
which he had of Philip Knight - & the Fudsons later owned  
Lebanon Hill.

Jewell Day was only a casual letter. The author means the so called  
Willard House close by the railroad crossing just north of Lancaster Station.

Is there any proof that the Major's house stood  
on the spot designated? His descendants say that  
Col. Samuel Willard, grandson of the Major built the house -  
now standing - for his son Abijah. Certainly the Colonel  
(Son of Henry Willard who lived at Still River) bought the  
land on both sides of the road in 1726. (of George  
Glazier according to the Willard Memoir). "Major  
Willard's house plot" was the original Water's lot of 17 acres.  
which he bought of Tinker. Probably the first house  
built in Lancaster stood upon it. Whether John Tinker  
& Major Willard used that as a residence or added  
to it, or built anew, is not known. There was the  
Garrison House afterwards Cyriac Stevens' which was blown up  
when, after the massacre 1676 - the town was deserted.  
Since Mr Symmes lived upon the place, the old well and celloar  
have been ploughed over & this position is known, being in  
the present garden plot.

It was not uncommon to hold town meetings "at a training", it being a very convenient season for assembling the voters. See Braintree records, p. 8 & 9.

(2X) "Monday 15<sup>th</sup> of the 9<sup>th</sup> mo 1658. at a training"

John Prescott made a proposal to set up a saw mill for the public good. for the consideration of "more or less one hundred and twentie a cord." between his mill and the river - "On Monday 17<sup>th</sup> of Febr 1659 the company granted him to fall pines on the commons to supply his sawmill -

He was not to pay any rates "for his sawes or sawmill" His come mill had been running since the Spring of 1654

See note p. 74.

Prescott was rapidly winning reputation among his fellow townsmen. His practical ability in mechanical acts, his sturdy common sense, his irrepressible energy, stand out prominently enough in the records of his times. Scanty & fragmentary though they are, to mark him as the heart & soul of Lancaster, even when Simon Willard was its head.

That honest old fashioned bigot, Winthrop, sneered at him. & the Legislature was moved in 1653 to refuse him the well won honor of giving his name to the town he had founded. but this action of the General Court May 15, 1672, notes the fact that his true worth had been generally recognized even among the self-appointed Saints of New England. at last.

"In ans<sup>r</sup> to the petition of John Prescott, the Court receiving good information that yo<sup>r</sup> petitioner is an ambitious planter, & hath bin a vsfull helpfull, & publicke spirited man, doing

See  
Colony  
Records  
p. 526  
Vol IV  
Part II

called the town together, at times, and asked their concurrence in what had been done. And on one occasion, in 1658, the town being met "at a training," passed a vote in relation to the "setting up of a saw mill." What legal validity could pertain to a vote passed at such a meeting, may be questionable; but the mill was set up, and the town made a liberal grant in aid. There was still another complication, for the town often acted as a body of proprietors.

*Why? The pleasure of the meeting does not affect the legality, surely!*

In 1664, there began to be an expression of opinion in favor of self-government, which led the townsmen, or selectmen to call the attention of the people to the subject. Simon Willard, having moved hither, was immediately made chairman of the selectmen. He was also chairman of the committee. The town felt confident of their ability, with his guidance, to manage their own affairs. The selectmen, in their communication to the town, say that, "we conceive, by some expressions of several of our brethren and neighbors, that there is not such a loving concurrence as we could desire. Therefore if it be your desire to have the liberty to choose officers, and to order the prudentials of the town as other towns; if our endeavors herein be of use to you, and also acceptable to you, we desire to bless God for it; but if not, we desire not to create trouble to ourselves, and grief for our loving brethren and neighbors, but rather choose this love tender to you." They say farther that they were ready, if such was the desire of the town, to join "lovingly and cordially" in petitioning the "honored committee to appoint a meeting and to have a hearing of what hath been acted by the townsmen here since they committed the care of the prudentials to us." The same kind and unambitious spirit pervades the letters to the close. "If any be grieved at anything that has been acted, that then and there they may be eased; and if the committee please to return liberty into the town's hands, we hope it will be as acceptable to us as unto yourselves." This bears date, January 14, 1664,

*by the motion*

*and also*

and was signed by Willard, Prescott, Wilder, Sumner, and Ralph Houghton.

Meantime the selectmen continued to act in relation to all matters committed to them. The larger part of their business related to the division of lands, and was therefore only of private interest. John Roper was chosen a selectman in place of Roger Sumner. The selectmen called a town meeting at which it was voted that "all gifts, grants, acts, orders, conclusions and records, acted, ordered <sup>and hereby</sup> or recorded by the town, townsmen or committee, shall be confirmed and ratified by the town, from the beginning of the plantation to this day." This was unanimously voted, February 13, 1664.

At the same time it was voted that the selectmen should "further a second division of meadows to be laid out," but were not to "dispose of lands," or make grants. Ralph Houghton was chosen clerk for the year and allowed £2 18s. for his trouble herein. Some action of the town, as proposed by the townsmen will be referred to in connection with ecclesiastical affairs.

The time had arrived when the town was to pass from its state of pupillage, and become self-governing, under the general court. On the seventeenth of March, 1665, the town, through the selectmen, "earnestly desired that the honored committee would be pleased to put forth their power to ratify and confirm this act of confirmation of the town, and also to give liberty to the town to choose townsmen within themselves, so long as yourselves see a loving concurrence therein among ourselves; and in so doing, your worships will engage us yours in all Christian service."

This courteous and respectful address was answered, March 19, in the same tone, and perhaps came from the same pen, since Major Willard was chairman of both boards. The reply is pleasant reading. "Gentlemen, and loving friends: We have, although through straits of time, but briefly, provised and considered what you have above pre-

(ttt)

perused.  
"provised"

Copy of the petition calling forth this  
answer is on page opposite p 89 -

The petition of J.P. to which  
this is the answer is in Mass Archives  
Vol. 141 ("Travelling") page 31 -

many good offices for the Country, relating to the road  
to Connecticut, marking trees, directing passengers, &c.  
and that the land petitioned for being but about one  
hundred and seven acres, & being not convenient for  
any other plantation, & only acomodable for the peti-  
tioner, the Court judgeth it meet to confirme ye  
Indian Sale, & grant made to him by James Joisus,  
an Indian, & to his heirs."

In 1659 a grant of 100 acres is recorded in favor  
of Prescott. see p 398. Colony Records Vol 14 Part 1

"In ans<sup>r</sup> to ye petition of John Prescott the Court  
Considering the grounds of his petition doe judge  
"it meete to graunt him one hundred acres of  
land to be layd out adjoining to the lands that  
are layd out by order of this Court to Lancaster"

According to traditions preserved in the Prescott family,  
as related by Ticknor (see Appendix A. to his life of the historian  
Wm. Prescott) the first emigrant of the name, John, was "a large  
able bodied man", - a strong limbed stern natured man, who had  
been a soldier under Cromwell, and brought his arrows, (helmet  
& breastplate) with him - Endued with these he was wont to meet  
his Indian enemies defiantly, and to them seemed to bear a  
charm against death. He is said to have sallied out at  
one of the Indian attacks, driven away the enemy, and  
saved his skull from burning.

III

Dated 8<sup>th</sup> 1<sup>mo</sup> 1664 -

Signed  
Simon Willard,  
Thomas Danforth,  
Edward Johnson.

1668

Colony Records Vol. 4. Page 378. 27 May 1668.

"On the motion of Major Symon Willard, on the behalfe of the towne of Lancaster, that the letter Lc be the allowed brand mark for the said towne of Lancaster, the Court ordered the same to be -" For Nashaway plantations it had been x "set up" one of ye nere gotrs" of hordes &c. See Colony Records Vol. 2 p. 225 11 Nov. 1647.

(26) Page 87 - It was not however until 1673 the government formally recognised this - which was done by this order - to be found on p. 536, Vol. 4, part 2 of the Colony Records -

"May 7 1673. Whereas the honoured Major Willard Mr Thomas Danforth, with the late Capt. Johnson have by order of this Court, bin a Committee to order the prudentiall affaires of Lancaster for many yeares. Lancaster having bin settled for severall yeares, & as <sup>the</sup> said committee informes, many yeares since bin trusted by them & able to manage their owne affaires; the said towne of Lancaster now humbly desiring the Courts favour, that the Committee for their great paynes & service for so long a season, may be thankfully acknowledged & dismissed from future trouble in such respect & themselves entrusted as other townes are, to manage their owne affaires, the Court judgeth it meet to grant their request herein."

sented, and do with much thankfulness to the Lord, acknowledge his favor to yourselves, <sup>a</sup> And not only to you, but to all that delight in the prosperity of God's people and children, in your loving compliance together; that this mercy may be continued to you is our earnest desire, and shall be our prayer to God. And wherein we may in our capacity contribute thereto, we do account it our duty to the Lord and you, and for that end do fully concur and consent to your proposals for the ratifying of what is. And for liberty among yourselves, observing the directions and laws of the general court, for the election of your selectmen for the future."

(u) The town had now "come of age," and was henceforth to conduct its own business, without a body of supervisors living at a distance, and making occasional visits. The action of the town ever afterwards proved its capacity to order its affairs with discretion. There are records of many meetings between 1665 and 1670, when the Records come to a long hiatus, but the action generally related to lands. The brief references to roads and bridges give no additional information worthy of recital. The Records fail between February 10, 1671, and the time of the massacre. And from that event to the year 1724, there are no town Records. The volume, said Mr. Willard, in 1824, <sup>unaccountably</sup> "mysteriously disappeared <sup>more than</sup> about forty years since," that is, about the year 1784. We must feel our way through this period by the help of the Proprietors' Records, which cover a small part of the time; by the "Book of Lands," and by the manuscripts in the archives of the state relating to military, civil and ecclesiastical affairs. During this period there are no church Records to lighten our way, previous to 1708.

Glancing at events contemporary with the history of Lancaster from the first step towards its settlement in 1643, to the spring of 1676, we find that the governors of the colony had been Winthrop, Dudley, <sup>1630, 1637, 1642, 1646, 1634, 1640, 1645, 1627, 1644, 1649, 1651, 1655</sup> Endicott, Bellingham and Leverett. Winthrop had been impeached in 1646, and

1673-74

p. 3 Hist. of L.  
X1640-1654  
1665-67



acquitted; a synod of the churches of New England had been held; Eliot had been engaged in preaching to the Indians, and had translated the Bible into their tongue; the colony had had a controversy with the Long Parliament, and come off victoriously; had, in 1651, as ever after, the favor of Cromwell, and had in 1656-60 encountered its trials with the Baptists and Quakers. At the same time great events had taken place in England. The Long Parliament had dethroned and executed king Charles I.; Cromwell had succeeded to power, and till the close of his life, had ruled the three kingdoms with splendid success, while raising his country to the highest point of honor and influence among other nations. Richard Cromwell had been pushed aside; the Rump, after brief sway, had yielded to the rising tide of loyalty which welcomed Charles II. in 1660.

" 2<sup>d</sup> Feb. 1669 " It is ordered by the townes that every settled inhabitant attend the publique meeting of the townes every yeare the first Munday in february by 10 of the cloke than and theris at the meeting house or other place of publique meeting to attend the publique occasions of the townes upon penaltie of losing their votes in such transactions of the townes that may be acted by the townes in ther absence and alsoe pay 2 shillings to the use of the townes to be levied by the constable in case it be not paid without unlesse some thing more then ordinarie doe appeare to prevent their being theris."

If this is in Prescott's handwriting, he was a good penman & more scholarly than most of his countrymen.

1672 Petition of John Prescott found among Shallock's MSS. in possession of the  
Historical Genealogical Society - Boston -

" To the honourable the Gov<sup>r</sup>. the Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup>. Mag<sup>ts</sup> & Deputyes assembled  
in the quodall Court -

The Petition of J<sup>no</sup>. Prescott of Lancaster

In most humble wise sheweth -

Whereas ye Petitioner hath purchased an Indian right to a small  
parcell of Land, occasioned & circumstanced for quantity & quality according  
to the deed of sale hereunto annexed and a pt thereof not being legally  
settled upon mee unless I may obtayne the favor of this Court for the  
Confirmation thereof -

There are humbly to request the Courts favor for that end: the Lord  
having dealt graciously with mee in giving mee many Children, I  
account it my duty to endeavor their provision, & settling, and do  
hope that this may be of some use in y<sup>e</sup> kind. I know not  
any claim made to the said land, by any towne, or any legall  
right y<sup>e</sup>. any other persons have therein, and therefore are free  
for mee to occupy & subdue as any other, may I obtayne the  
Courts approbation. I shall not use further motives, my condition in  
other respects & w<sup>th</sup> my trouble & expenses have been, according  
to my poor ability in my place being not altogether unknowne  
to some of ye Court.

That ye Lords p<sup>r</sup>udence may be with, & his blessing accompany  
all yo<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>sons, Counsellors, & endeavors for his honor & ye weale of  
his poor people is ye pray<sup>r</sup> of

yo<sup>r</sup> Suppliant.

John Prescott Sen<sup>r</sup>.

Endorsed  
" 17:3:1672

Read and referred to ye Committee

In Reference to this Petition the Committee being well Informed that the Pet<sup>r</sup>  
is an ancient Planter & hath been a usefull, helpfull, & publique  
spirited man doing many good offices for the Country Relating  
to the Road to Connecticut, marking trees, directing of Passengers  
&c. and that the Land Petitioned for being but about 107 acres  
& being not very Convenient for any other Plantation and only  
acommodable for the Pet<sup>r</sup>. we judge it reasonable to confirme  
the Indian Grant to him & his heires if ye honor<sup>d</sup> Court see meeting

Edward Tyng  
George Corwin  
Humphrey Davis

The Deputyes approve of the returne of  
the Committee in answer to this pet: or Honor<sup>d</sup>  
Mag<sup>ts</sup> consenting hereto -

J<sup>no</sup> Torrey Cleric

29 May 72 Consented to by ye Mag<sup>ts</sup>.

Edw Rawson Sec<sup>r</sup>!

X.P.  
The deed attached, is of Land  
near "Washukin" signed  
by James Wiser. (in his mark)  
an Indian afterwards known  
in Lancaster History as "Sutemphung"  
or "Sutanophung".

## CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION. EDUCATION. CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE MINISTER. THE INDIANS. THE BURNING AND MASSACRE, 1676.

THE ecclesiastical affairs of the town, as revealing the character of the people, deserve special mention. It has been already stated that the services of a minister were had as early as 1654, a year after the first enabling act of the corporation. The Rev. Joseph Rowlandson came to the place, and continued from the year above named till 1676, as the only religious teacher and pastor. The provisions of the Covenant entered into by the town in 1653, relative to the church lands, the building of a meeting-house, and the support of a minister, have been recited on a former page. Eighty-two acres of land, including thirty of upland, forty of intervale, and twelve of meadow, were set apart forever as church lands for the use of the minister, pastor or teacher for the time being "or whomsoever may be stated, to preach the word of God." The lands might be rented, or the minister might improve them if he chose. They agreed to build a house for the minister, as well as a sanctuary for God. All of these stipulations appear to have been fulfilled. The date of the erection of the first meeting-house is fixed by the two following facts. In 1657 the committee ordered the selectmen to take care for the "erecting a meeting-house." A meeting of the selectmen was held in the meeting-house in June, 1658. This house was placed on the northeast corner of the lot which is now the Center or Middle Cemetery, between the road to South Lancaster and the railroad.

It was on the brow of the hill which then sloped gently towards the river. The old burying yard was about sixteen rods northeast of the meeting-house, and was, doubtless, visited by the people during the noon intermission of every Sabbath-day. The first house stood until 1686, when it was ~~taken down~~ and a new one erected in its place. The second house was burned by the Indians, July 31, 1704. The first house of worship had been spared by the natives in 1676.<sup>?</sup> Had they lost their reverence for "God's house," or had their feelings become more embittered?

(52.) Mr. Rowlandson subscribed the town Covenant, February 23, 1655,<sup>of</sup> and received his allotment of land. By order of the "arbitrators" in 1656, the town was to pay him fifty pounds annually, valuing "wheat at six pence per bushel under the price it is <sup>at the time</sup> as they buy, and so for other grains by their proportion; and as God shall be pleased to enlarge their estates, so they shall enlarge therein answerably." In August, 1657, according to Willard, the town conveyed to Mr. Rowlandson, "by deed of gift," the house and land that had been set apart for the use of the ministry.

In the same year, September 19, the committee or commissioners, ordered the selectmen to "take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, who now labored amongst them in the ministry of God's holy word." They probably saw the need of such encouragement in more ways than one. Up to this time there was no organized church; no deacons; no seasons of communion, and probably but a small number of Christian men to hold up his hands, and encourage his heart. At the same time his support must have been meager except as he cultivated his farm. It would not be strange if he became discouraged, and willing to listen to overtures from another field of labor. However this may have been, the following extract from the Records of the town will always be read with interest. With all the gravity of the subject there is a touch of humor intermingled.

<sup>a</sup> The statement that "the first house stood until 1686, when it was taken down" I believe altogether unwarranted by any authority. The words of the Committee upon location of meeting house in their petition of 1702 is "having lost two already burnt by the enemy". The church building was not standing in 1684 for Josiah White in his petition in behalf of the Town - asks that nonresident proprietors may be assessed "towards the erecting a meeting house". After the massacre of 1676 the meeting house was doubtless "burnt by the enemy". Mrs Rowlandson returning less than three months after the massacre says there was not "one house left standing in <sup>a</sup> (alias Quinepenet)".

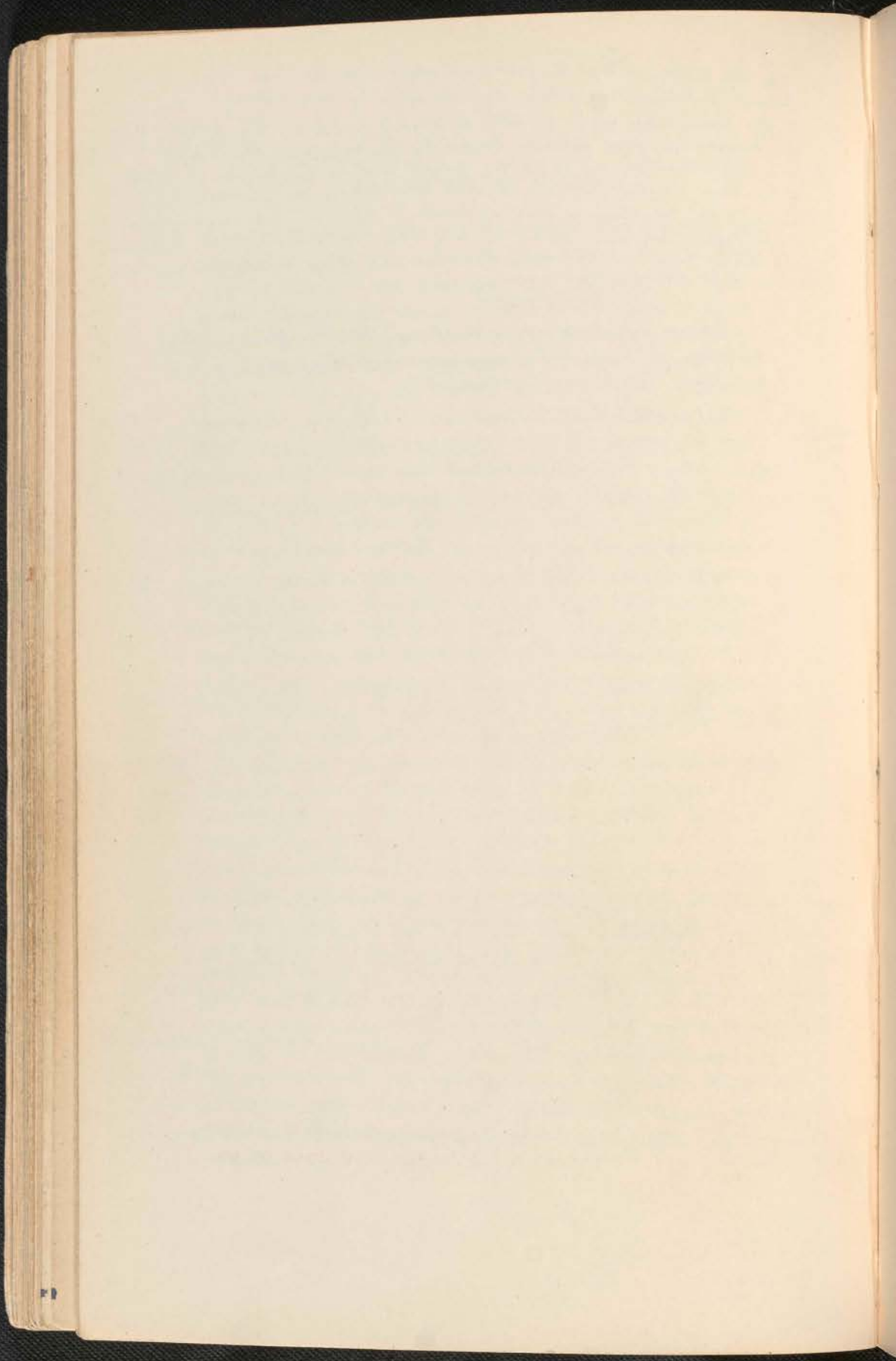
James Quinapan is authority for the statement that the French bade the Indians not to "destroy meeting houses for their God was worshipped".

<sup>see below also</sup>  
<sup>a</sup> (a) Perhaps the French soldiers were the ones chargeable with lack of reverence therefore. Hildes says explicitly "the loss of an officer of some distinction" so enraged them that they burnt the meeting house &c.

(S2) Award No. 22 "Our answer to the proposition about the ministry's maintenance one conclusion is the town shall present begin and give fiftie pounds by the year. And for manor of the pay they ar to allow him their wheat at sixpence per bushell under the price it is at the bay and six for other graine by this proportion and as god shall bee pleased to enlarge their estate soe they shall enlarge their answerably and this to be raised according to the order inserted in the town Books."

<sup>a</sup> "James Quinapan's Information" 24<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup> 1675. has been printed in Am. Antiq. Soc. Coll. If his story had been heeded it should have been by the authorities at Boston, the massacre at Lancaster need not have happened. The passage referred to above is as follows:

"The Frenchmen that went up from Boston to Norwathick were with the Indians, and shewed them some letters, and burned some papers there, and bid them they should not burn Mills nor Meeting houses for <sup>the</sup> God was worshipped"



Under date of the fourteenth of May, 1658, the Record reads: "On the certain intelligence of Master Rowlandson's removing from us, the selectmen treated with him to know what his mind was; and his answer was, his apprehensions were clearer for his going than for staying. They replied they feared his apprehensions were not well grounded, but desired to know his resolution. He said his resolutions were according to his apprehensions, for aught he knew. Then the selectmen, considering it was a case of necessity for the town to look out for other supply, <sup>they</sup> told Master Rowlandson, that now they did look upon themselves as destitute of a minister, and should be forced to endeavor after some other; so discharging him."

But the selectmen were too hasty in their action. The voice of the town was soon heard; and perhaps the female portion of it, whose wishes are often potential in calling and sustaining a minister, had a word to say. Let us see what occurred eleven days after the selectmen got the resolutions "for aught he knew" of Mr. Rowlandson. "A messenger came from Billerica to fetch Master Rowlandson away; upon which the (town, having notice given them,) came together with intent to desire him to stay and settle amongst us; and after some debate, it was voted as follows: 1. Whether it were the mind of the town to invite Master Rowlandson to abide and settle among<sup>s</sup> them in the work of the ministry? The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up. 2. Whether it was their minds to allow him, for his maintenance, fifty pounds a year, one-half in wheat, six pence in the bushel under the current prices at Boston and Charlestown, and the rest in other <sup>and</sup> good current pay, in like proportions; or otherwise, fifty-five pounds a year taking his pay at such rates as the prices of corn are set every year by the court? The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up. 3. Whether they were willing that Master Rowlandson should have the dwelling-house which he live<sup>d</sup> in as his own proper right, according to the deed made by the



town, and confirmed by the committee; with the point of land ~~westward~~ westward, and some land west, and some north of his house, for an orchard, garden, yard, pasture and the like. This was put to the vote, and granted by the major part (and opposed by none but old goodman Kerley, only there was a neuter or two) with this proviso, that it hindered not the burying place, the highway, convenient space to pass to the river, and the land intended to lie for the next minister, to be reserved convenient to the interval lot now improved by Henry Kerley; all which was left to the selectmen, to [be] laid out according to their best discretion."

This was to be the minister's home lot, and was situated around the minister's garrison, on the land now owned by Mr. Thayer. His upland and intervale, it will be remembered, was northeast of the Center bridge, the very point of the Neck. None opposed the grant but the senior Kerley, who seems to have been, for a series of years, the minority of the town, neglecting to attend the meetings of his fellow-selectmen, and in an unhappy frame of mind. The gift of this piece of land, for some reason, did not please him, and his son Henry, and goodman White, Henry's father-in-law, who held the same relation to the minister, were all mixed up in the question. Finally, the town taking a firm attitude, the Kerleys acquiesced. It was a very proper proviso of the "neuter or two," in regard to the passage way to the old burying yard, to the river, to the intervale, and to the land intended for the next minister. These points being arranged to general satisfaction, we have the following result.

\* And Upon this Master Rowlandson accepted of the town's invitation, and gave them thanks for their grant, and agreed to the motion concerning his maintainance, and promised to abide with <sup>us</sup> them in the best manner the Lord should enable him to improve his gifts in the work of the ministry."

These proceedings evince the grave deliberation of the people, and the popularity of Mr. Rowlandson, after four years of trial. But it appears that there was one exception to the

The Arbitrators Award (1656) states the trouble plainly

"Whereas there was by an order of the town forty acres of  
intersaile land given for the ministers for perpetuity bred and  
bounded, though not laid out. And whereas there was twenty  
acres of this given to Henry Kerley without that due consideration  
as might have been, our determination is therefore that the  
said Henry Kerley shall relinquish this twenty acres up for  
the ends for which it was intended."

x The proviso was of "the major part." Mr. Clarin, not of the  
minor, which was punctuated as in the Records -

a. In dtd. Court. Records Vol. p 134 of 1851 copy -

"Mary the daughter of Steven Gales of Lancaster being Complained of to this Court for bold and unbecoming speeches used in the Public Assembly on the Lords day and especially agt. Mr Rowlatson minister of Gods word there the evidence wherey appereth by the teste monyes of Mrs. Prescott & James Arthur Sedra Kibbi & Sarah Waters w<sup>ch</sup> are on file with the records of this Court. the sd Mary Gales appearing in Court freely acknowledged her great evil therein. the Court admonished her & ordered that she should pay the Witnesses their charges & costs of Court."

a This is as found in Willards note p. 61. Hist. of Law. Barry in History of Frammingham p. 250 had probably a more exact wording - as follows: (See above for my copy from Records)

"In 1657 (Mid. Co. Rec. 1. 113) Mary d<sup>r</sup>. of Steven of Lancaster "was admonished for bold and unbecoming speeches used in the public assembly, on the Lords day and especially against Mr Rowlatson minister of Gods word there."

This Mary married John Maynard, then of Sudbury April 5 1658 -

uv. See p 94. & note opposite. (The quotations of Colonial law on page 94. seem to have been found in the 11th Report of the Mass. Secy of Board of Education (Horace

Blann) page 120. The same is also to be found on p. 53 Vol 2 of Common School Journal. & in both places is stated to be the Mass. Colonial law of 1642. No similar phraseology occurs in the law of 14 June 1642 as printed in Records of Colony. edition of 1854 - But the wording of the similar law in the "General Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth" as revised 1671 (in the reprint of 1836 page 270) copies the language of these extracts quite closely, though with marked verbal differences - This similarity is noticed by Mr Blann in his report. A copy of the Mass. Bay law of 1642, as printed, will be found on next page. The Law of Colony of New Plymouth as set down 1671 is as follows:

"Forasmuch as the good education of Children and Youth is of singular use and benefit to any Commonwealth and whereas many Parents and Masters either through an over respect to their own occasions and business, or not duly considering the good of their children and servants have too much neglected their duty in their education whilst they are young and Capable of Learning: It is Ordered, That the Selectmen and Deputies of every Towne shall watch a vigilant eye (for the time) over their Brethren and Neighbours, to see that all Parents and Masters do duly Endeavour by themselves or others to teach their children and servants as they grow capable so much learning as through the blessing of God they may attain at least to be able duly to read the Scriptures, and other good profitable Books printed in the English Tongue (being their Native Language) and the knowledge of the Capital Laws, and in some competent measure to understand the main Grounds and Principles of Christian Religion necessary to Salvation, by causing them to learn some short Orthodox Catechisme without Book, or otherwise instructing them as they may be able to give due answer to such plain and ordinary Questions as may by them or others be propounded to them concerning the same, And further that all Parents and Masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling labour or employment, that may be profitable for themselves or the Country."

A 10 shilling fine was imposed upon Parents & Masters neglecting this order to be increased to 20 shillings after three months neglect.

general unison, for it is recorded in the Middlesex county court Records, in this very year of 1658, as found by Mr. Willard, that Mary Gates, daughter of Stephen Gates, "for bold and unbecoming speeches used in the public assemblies, and especially against Mr. Rowlandson, the minister of God's word there," upon evidence of John Prescott and others, was convicted. She acknowledged the offence, and was discharged, on paying for the attendance of the witnesses. "

Though the people desired their minister to abide and settle with them; and though Mr. Harrington supposed that he accepted the invitation, yet it is nearly certain that he was not ordained and installed until 1660. There was no church here before that time, and according to usage, ministers were not ordained without a call of the church; and as a general thing, without an ordaining council. In the Records of Dorchester, under date of August 26, 1660, it is written that "Roger Sumner was dismissed" from the Dorchester church, that "with other Christians at Lancaster, a church might be formed there." It is the settled conclusion now of all writers on the point, that the church was organized in Lancaster, and the first minister ordained in the autumn of 1660. Here he continued in faithful and unbroken service till the massacre scattered the survivors. His life and character will find a place on a subsequent page.

The teaching of the church must be supplemented by the training of the school. Without an educated laity, the clergy will become a priestly tyranny. Without an educated clergy, the people will become a superstitious and vicious mass of beings, needing the control of force. Given an intelligent population, and an educated and godly clergy, we have the conditions needed for the highest possibility of human society. This our fathers knew full well, and they came to this country with the purpose of founding churches and colonies on the broad and solid basis of intelligence and religion. With them it was a first principle that all the children should

be taught to read, and all the people be able to peruse and understand the laws of the commonwealth, and the Word of God. In view of this great fact, it is astonishing to find men who speak of the fathers of the New England colonies as ignorant and narrow-minded men. Their principles and their laws show the value they placed on universal and free education. Their practice was in harmony with their principles. "The Fathers who colonized Massachusetts Bay," says the Hon. Horace Mann, "made a bolder innovation upon all pre-existing policy and usages than the world had ever known since the commencement of the Christian era. They adopted special and costly means to train up the whole body of the people to industry, to intelligence, to virtue, and to independent thought." The general court, in 1642, the year before a few persons from Watertown began to fell the trees in the woods of Lancaster, passed an act enjoining the towns to see that *every child* should be educated. The selectmen were required to "have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see, first that none of them shall suffer so much Barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their Children and Apprentices, so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and ~~obtain~~ knowledge of the Capital Laws; upon a penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect thereof." By the same act parents were required to give religious instruction to their children; and farther it was enacted that "all Parents and Masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest, lawfull calling, Labor, or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade, profitable for themselves and the Commonwealth; if they will not, or cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments."

The law of 1642 laid a penalty upon parents and masters who neglected the education of the children and apprentices under their care, but it did not make the schools free, nor did it impose a fine upon the towns which failed in the duty

( 24 )

H. Mann. see

p. 121. 11<sup>th</sup> Report

Colonial Laws  
of 1660 same  
words -

The quotations seem derived at second hand. (probably from  
Horace Walpole's Reports. They are from printed Colonial Laws of 1672.

(217)

see 7 page ante

The text of the Act of 14 June 1642. is as follows: in Colonial <sup>Mass</sup> Records. Vol 2<sup>d</sup> - p. of edition of 1854 (Bay)

"This Co<sup>t</sup>. taking into consideration the great neglect in many parents & masters in training <sup>up</sup> their children in learning & labo<sup>r</sup>. & other employments w<sup>ch</sup> may be profitable to the Commonwealth, do hereupon order & decree, that in every towne the chosen men appointed for managing the prudenciall affaires of the same shall henceforth stand charged w<sup>th</sup> the care of the redresse of this evil, so as they shall be liable to be punished or fined for the neglect thereof, upon any presentment of the grand jurors or other information or complaint in any plantations in this jurisdiction; & for this end they, or the greater part of them shall have power to take account from time to time of their parents & masters, & of their children, concerning their calling & impliment of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion, and the Capital lawes of the country, & to impose fines upon all those who refuse to render such account to them when required; & they shall have power [with consent of any court or magistrates] to put fourth apprentice the children of such as shall not be able & fit to employ and bring them up, nor shall take course to dispose of them, of such as they shall find not to be able & fit to employ & bring them up nor shall take course to dispose of them themselves, & they are to take care that such as are set to keep cattle be set to some other impliment w<sup>th</sup> all, as spinning up on the rock, knitting, weaving tape &c! & that boyes & girls be not suffered to converse together, so as may occasion any wanton, dishonest, or imodest behavior; & for their better performance of this trust committed to them they may divide the towne amongst them appointing to every of the said townsmen a certaine number of families to have speciall oversight of:" &c &c

(VV) The Act of 11<sup>th</sup> Nov 1647. runs thus: "It being one chiefe  
piect of yt. old deluder, Satana, to keepe men from the knowledge  
of ye scriptures, as in former times by keeping you in an unknowne  
tongue, so in these latt<sup>r</sup> times by p<sup>r</sup>swading from ye use of  
tongues yt do at least ye true sence & meaning of ye original  
might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming decisions, yt  
learning may not be byrid in ye grave of o<sup>r</sup> fath<sup>r</sup>s in ye  
Church & Commonwealth the Lord assisting o<sup>r</sup> endeavours. -

It is therefore ordered, yt ev<sup>ry</sup> township in this iurisdiction, aft<sup>r</sup>  
ye Lord hath increased you to ye number of 50 household<sup>s</sup>, shall  
then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such  
children as shall resort to him to write & reade, whose wages  
shall be paid w<sup>th</sup> by ye parents & mast<sup>rs</sup> of such children  
or by ye inhabitants in generall, by way of supply, as ye  
maior pt of those yt ord<sup>r</sup> ye prudentials of ye towne  
shall appoint: provided those yt send their children be not  
oppressed by paying much more you they can have ym taught  
for in oth<sup>r</sup> townes: & it is furth<sup>r</sup> ordered yt when any towne  
shall increase to ye number of 100 families or household<sup>s</sup> they  
shall set up a grammar schoole ye m<sup>r</sup> thereof being able  
to instruct youth so farre as they may be fitted for ye  
university. provided yt if any towne neglect ye p<sup>r</sup>formance  
hereof above one year yt every such towne shall pay 5<sup>l</sup> to ye  
next school till they shall p<sup>r</sup>forme this order." (In 1671 this was  
increased to 10<sup>l</sup>)

xv Through she did smoke a "stinking tobacco pipe" xv

See Minutes p. 21 of 10<sup>th</sup> edition

xvi The accuracy of this statement depends for proof upon  
whether John Finck's copy of the Covenant is exact, *verbatim*  
et *literatim*, or an eclectic translation, like Mr Marwin's  
copies of this & other documents, such a statement would  
be very unsafe. But Finck was a careful and  
conscientious Clerk, & undoubtedly meant to make  
"a true copie" -

to support schools. But many of the towns, as Roxbury and Boston, made most liberal provision for the education of the young.

A step farther was taken in 1647 when the support of free schools, for every child of suitable age, was made compulsory, and in towns containing fifty householders a teacher was to be appointed "to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read." A town having a hundred householders was required to maintain a free grammar school of such a high grade that its master should be "able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university."

It may be said that these laws concerning schools did not apply to towns so sparsely settled as Lancaster, during the seventeenth century; but, in the first place, it can be truly answered, that the settlers here came from towns where schools were in operation. Their children were trained, or according to the phrase then used, "nourished," in the common and grammar schools. It is probable also that there were families enough here before the massacre, to bring the town under the law of 1647. But in the second place, the families in small towns were under the requirements of the act of 1642, imposing a penalty of twenty shillings on all heads of families who failed to teach their children letters. As a matter of fact, the great body of men in Lancaster between 1652 and 1660 had been taught at home or at school. Among the fifty-seven men who subscribed to the Covenant on pages 51 and 52, only three made their mark. There is no reason for supposing that their wives and daughters could not read and write as well as themselves. John White was a "goodman" and not of the rank of "master," like Mr. Rowlandson, Mr. Tinker and Major Willard; but his daughter Mary, the wife of the minister, was certainly a woman of some culture. She had read good books, and could express herself as a woman of thought and sensibility, in clear, terse and fitting language. What reason is there for believing that she was better educated than her



sisters, Mrs. Kerley, Mrs. Divoll [and Mrs. Drew]? Is there any ground for thinking that the children of goodman White were more familiar with books and the pen, than the children of Prescott, Kerley, Sawyer, Houghton, or the larger part of the other families? In those days the mothers taught their children at home, until there were families enough to make up a school, when the services of a "school dame" were secured.

The character, manners and customs of the early settlers next claim attention. The influence of the minister in those days, was so great in every regard that a correct estimate of him will help in understanding the manners and character of the people. The Rev. Joseph Rowlandson was probably born in England, in 1632. The name of his father was <sup>General</sup> Joseph, and of his mother, Bridget. They came into Lancaster <sup>probably</sup> in 1655, perhaps because their son was here. Their <sup>grand-</sup>son Thomas was killed in the general massacre. Joseph, the minister, received a liberal, or as then styled a "University education," and took his first degree at Harvard college in 1652, and if the date of his birth be correct, in the twenty-first year of his age. His relative scholarship cannot be known, because he was the only member of his class who graduated; but it can be said safely that he took the highest honors. That he was a man of nimble wit and ready pen, is proved by a singular occurrence. In his <sup>July</sup> ~~September~~ <sup>senior</sup> year, 1651, he wrote a pasquinade in prose and verse, which was called a "scandalous libell" on some person obnoxious to himself, and perhaps to others. This was posted on the door of the meeting-house in Ipswich. It seems that the object of his satire, (which may be found in the edition of Mrs. Rowlandson's Removes, of 1828.) was a man of doubtful veracity, which fact is hinted by the following curious collocation of words. "When he lived in our country, a wet eel's taylor and his word were something worth ye taking hold of." For this "scandalous libell" he was convicted by the court, and sentenced to be whipped, pay a fine

By documents in Middlesex records we find that Mr Rowlandson, brother Thomas & mother Bridget, made their marks, that while John Prescott signed his name, his wife Mary could not, and that "his X mark" & "her X mark" point the period to as usual, if not more, documents of the day from Lancaster, than those closed by an autograph signature - Thomas Sawyer & his wife made their "marks" so did the widows and daughters of Wadsworth - But the first settlers were better educated than their children & with reason, The Rowlandson Family

Rev Joseph. . . . of England & French born 1832 probably - died Nov 23 or 24 1678  
 Mary White R. of Salem & Lancaster  
 Mary - born Lancaster Jan 15. 1657-8 died Jan 20. 1660-1  
 Joseph - . . . March 7 1661-2 .. Jan 22. 1702-13.  
 Mary<sup>e</sup> .. Aug. 12 1665 .. ?  
 Sarah - .. Sept. 15 1669 .. Feb. 18 1675-6 in Captivity

Mary was living when her father died -

Joseph left a son William in Wethersfield who died 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1735 at 32

His brother Thomas lived in Salisbury, had wife Dorothy Portland and 9 children - of which Thomas the oldest son born 5.5.1656. was killed in the massacre, His father died 1682 July (14<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup>) See N.E. Hist & Gen<sup>e</sup> Register p 161 Vol 8 See Note R to p 166.

(V) His father was Thomas <sup>of Ipswich Mass.</sup> who took the freeman's oath May 2<sup>d</sup> 1638 - Died in Lancaster Nov. 17. 1657. See Willard's Hist? notes to p. 57 - The most complete account of Rowlandson's life in print is that in Sibley's Harvard Graduates Vol 1 pp 311-321. The Libel proceedings of Court & Apology, are there given in full as they should <sup>have</sup> been in this history - The libel was written at the end of his journey in July - His trial was September 30. 1657

(VI) His sentence was to be "whipt unless he paye 5lb by Wednesday come 3 weekes or he whipt the next Thursday and 5lb more when the Court shall call for it, and to paye all charges, 30s for the marshalls going with attachment for him to Cambridge & Boston & fees of Court" His offence is styled in the Essex County Court Records at Salem "a pious scandalous libell against Authority" His "libell" reflected upon the Governor & all his agents, and was especially directed towards a Marshall. The name given of the person whose word was like "a wit Eeles Tayle" is "Dan Ross" - A copy of Libel, Detention, & Court's action will be found in Vol 4 - prefixed to Willard's History in MSS.

Thomas Rowlandson the father  
 In 1657 he was one of those in Lancaster  
 signing aff. of Ralph Houghtons election  
 to post of Clarke of Writs"

b

There is no proof that the sentence was not  
inflicted, at least the industrious historian Sibley  
could find none. Probably he paid the fine + costs  
as "At the Court held at Ipswich the 25 of March 1658? 1  
"Joseph Rowlandson upon his petition the Court  
remitted the remainder of his fine".

Rowlandson conferred his authorship at the first & there  
is in his handwriting in the office of the Clerk of  
Courts at Salem, the above named petition, which is  
conceded in the usual terms. See Sibley's Harvard  
Graduates p. 315.

<sup>Benjamin B</sup>  
ab. See Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr. Wisner's History of the Old South Church pp 11, 83, 84  
The Council was May 28, 1674, called because the old church  
had refused to dismiss the wives of seceding members, - that  
they might regularly join the new society with their husbands.  
Of the thirteen members of the Council, Rowlandson was one  
of the youngest. The Council decided that the Church  
was bound to give the twenty <sup>three</sup> women the dismissal  
petitioned for.

This was a Fast Sermon preached 2 days before his death  
(in Westchesterfield, published in Boston, 22 pages 16mo with 3 pages  
of preface. A copy is in the Prince Library. It was reprinted in the  
Somers Tracts - VIII. p 582 ed. 1812. The title of the sermon is - "The Possibility  
of Gods Forsaking a people, That have been visibly near & dear to him  
Together With the History of a People thus forsaken. Set forth in a Sermon  
Preached at Westchesterfield, Nov. 21 1678. Being a Day of Fast and  
Humiliation" - See Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. p. 321.

of five <sup>pounds</sup> dollars, and the costs, amounting to thirty shillings. The sentence was not inflicted, as the young collegian made a proper apology. This affair does not seem to have hurt his reputation, as it did not reveal a bad character. Probably his "libell" would be considered in our day as a mere squib, written by a lively student. Our political papers are daily spiced with attacks far more libellous, but they pass by as idle wind. But in those days decorum was guarded by law, and the young were taught to hold their wits in subjection.

It is supposed that Mr. Rowlandson spent the next year or two in reading divinity with some respectable and learned minister, in accordance with the custom of the time. It is quite possible that he studied, under the guidance of president Dunster, after his graduation. In his day the students were required to converse in Latin, and they were in the daily habit of translating the Hebrew Bible into Greek without the use of a lexicon. President Dunster was one of the ablest and most learned men that has ever presided over old Harvard. He held the office and was the principal instructor from 1640 to 1654, two years after the time when Rowlandson took his degree. The young minister began to preach in Lancaster in 1654, and continued until a church was formed in 1660, when he was ordained. Thus we find him established in the ministry after six years of trial, a period longer than the average duration of pastorates in many of the neighboring churches, in recent times. Here he lived and labored about sixteen years longer, enjoying the confidence and respect of his people, who constituted the whole community. That he was respected away from home seems to be indicated by the fact that in 1672, when the Old South church of Boston was in need of a council to settle matters of considerable consequence, which had arisen between it and other churches in the vicinity, the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson was present as a clerical member. A sermon preached by him in 1678, near the close of his life, was published in 1682. This was one of the "lesser composesures" which Cotton Mather mentions as

indicative of his authorship. His library was very respectable in the number of its volumes, and doubtless also in the value of their contents. It would be interesting to find a catalogue, and thus learn what he loved in literature, and from what sources he kept his own mind informed and invigorated for the benefit of his people. After the destruction of this town he was settled in Wetherfield in Connecticut, where he died in 1680. <sup>76 Nov. 24</sup> The <sup>Town</sup> church made liberal provision for his widow and children. His descendants were living there as recently as 1813.

While here he was surrounded by many relatives and friends. His father's family have been mentioned. By his marriage with Mary White, he became connected with an important family, since <sup>Go. Duran</sup> Capt. John White, senior, was the largest property-holder in the town, and the father of several children. Another of his daughters, Elizabeth, was the wife of Henry Kerley; and the three Kerleys, father and two sons, held more property than any other family. (Two other daughters, Mrs. Drew and Mrs. Divoll, <sup>one</sup> were married and settled in the town.) In short, about seventeen—~~some~~ says nineteen—persons, (not including old Mr. White, who died the year before,) who were related to Mrs. Rowlandson, were murdered or taken captive at the time of the massacre. The minister and his wife were blessed with a family of children, — three ~~or four~~ — who were exceedingly dear to them, as is abundantly evident in the thrilling narrative of her "Removes."

They were surrounded by an industrious and virtuous people. Nearly all were farmers. It appears that John Prescott, in addition to his farming, had a store which he bought of Symonds & King, the first who had a "trading-place" here. Besides, he was the first blacksmith, and he set up the first grist mill and the first saw mill in the region. People came to his mill as far as from Sudbury. Mr. Tinker was a trader in Pequid; probably he kept store in Lancaster. It is supposable that he might have bought out the much

One daughter died }  
1661 - see note p. 96

Wx

(X)

(W) Page 98. Willard in Address. 1853. p. 113. says. "Mr Rowlandson had a library valued at 82 £: a much larger library, I should suppose than could be found in most studies at that day."

He died in 1678 Nov. 24 at Wetherfield, where he had been settled as colleague of Rev. Gershom Bulkley. He went to Wetherfield as early as April 1677. The town of Wetherfield allowed the widow 30 £ a year. The son Joseph returned to Lancaster & built a house on or near the old site. but sold all the ministerial lands 1687.

W 2 - The pamphlet printed Oct. 1676 in London styled "A New & Further Narration of the State of New England" - p. 5. (219) says. "For of these 55 Captives the Minister of the Town's Relations made up no lesse than Seventeen, viz; Mrs Rowlinson the Minister's Wife, and his three Children, and two Sisters of her own, with Seven, and the other with four Children." - Another pamphlet printed a couple of months earlier in London called "News from New England" makes the same statement, though the number given in the reprint is 19 - probably a press error. "For of these 55 Captives, the Minister of the Town's Relations made no less than 19 of them; viz. Mrs Rowlandson, the Minister's Wife, and three of his Children, her sister and seven Children, and her sister Drow and four Children." This omits Thomas Rowlandson, nephew of the Minister. The names of two Drowes are among the killed. We know that John Drow married Hannah White 1663. 23. 10. & had 4 children. It is not "sister Drow" a misprint for Drow. If John Drow was among the killed was probably her husband. Mrs Rowlandson & the historians of the time only mention two sisters of Mrs R. as victims. Mrs Kirk & Mrs Drow.

(X) Prescott seems to have added land-surveying to his other accomplishments. for his name is attached to many returns of surveys in and about Lancaster. as for instance, to that of Capt. Davenport's farm. in what is now Raylton &c. In short he was a born Pioneer. ready to turn his skilful hand to any useful handicraft.

The statement that Prescott bought a store of Symonds & King. is I think entirely without authority. Willard thinks his purchase of Cowdall, probably embraced the site of the "trucking house" & Cowdall, in that case, was the successor of Symonds & King. (It did. proof in the dept. & elsewhere)

It is not at all supposable.

J Tinker owned a lot near Prescott. but the indications are that he lived at Gibson's Hill. He also owned Water's original lot. There is no proof of "Close neighborhood". He had a store or house also. Boughton was also Deputy to Court of Election (in Boston) two sessions in 1673.

The last log house in Lancaster was probably that of Parley Haunsond the mulatto blacksmith on the Bay State Road, not far South of the west end of the Rigby Road -

xx From early records of New England we learn that the chief crops raised for human food by the colonists were Indian Corn, wheat, rye, peas, beans & turnips. Potatoes were not introduced (from Ireland) until 1719, and were nowhere abundant thirty years later. Barley, oats, & onions are mentioned much earlier. Turnips and apples sold about the date of the Lancaster massacre for a shilling per bushel. The prices of grain will be found in note to page 102. In Francis Higginson's "New England Plantation" (1629) we are assured that "turnips, parsnips and Carrots are here both bigger & sweeter than is ordinarily to be found in England." "Here are also store of pompions, cucumbers and other things of that nature which I know not." "xx Also Mulberries, plums, raspberries, currants, chestnuts, filberts, walnuts, small nuts, huckleberries & haws of white thorn near as good as our cherries in England. they grow in plenty here."

Maise, Squashes, Pumpkins & a species of Bean were found cultivated by the natives of the Soil. Apples were soon found to be greatly improved in quality & size compared with English fruit and so also the pear & quince.

Hand mills for grinding grain for bread, were brought from England, & in the inventories of the Estates of the more wealthy pioneers we frequently find among the chattels, "a payer of quarnes" & sometimes mention is made of a "quarne house". The old hand mill, supposed to be as old or older than the Roman invasion, was "aughd saxon, a "quarn". Hence our word corn.

occupied Prescott, as he lived in close neighborhood. Ralph Houghton was a surveyor, and town and proprietors' clerk. The Hon. Simon Willard, or "the Major," as he was generally styled, resided here ~~ten~~ ~~or~~ twelve years, although absent often in the civil and military business of the colony. He was a pillar in church and state. The settlers generally belonged to the great middle class which is the strength of a country. The town by degrees, had become respectable in numbers and character. They were thriving and moral. The log houses which were a necessity before the erection of the saw mill, in 1659, soon gave way to more comfortable habitations. Gardens were cultivated, and orchards were planted without delay. Persons living have seen the old apple trees which formerly marked the site of Mr. Rowlandson's house.

*unnecessarily indef-  
inite, as usual*

xx

*See notes pp 186-191  
+ 53*

The inhabitants were good neighbors, living close together and rendering kindly offices in health and sickness. They trained their children well in the ancient way. They could read and they all read the Bible, which is a library in itself. They were educated by the necessities of their daily life. They were deeply interested in all the fortunes of the Bay, and of the sister colonies. The successive revolutions in England; the mighty march of events under the great Protector, and the coming in of Charles with the "regimen of harlots," as the news slowly floated across the ocean, furnished food for thought and conversation.

The town had its own life and incidents. Local gossip was rife enough for comfort or provocation. The love affairs of the young were known through all the plantation, and unhappy widowers made work for match-makers. If Henry Kerley, quarreling with an affianced maiden, tore up the post on which his publishment was posted, and tossed it into the river, that caused a general buzz; and when the quarrel was made up tongues wagged again.

A public scandal was a general grief. In those days there was much visiting between families. If they had no holidays



? except Thanksgiving, yet they enjoyed more seasons of recreation than do we, their descendants. Frequent journeys were made, on horseback, to Boston and the lower towns, to visit the homes and friends of former days. Bees, raisings, huskings, trainings, hunts and fishing parties, as well as weddings and other festive occasions, often brought them together in social and cheering scenes. Funerals also, which must be more numerous where births are most frequent, since all who are born must die, while saddening to the heart, were the occasions of sympathy and served to bind the families in closer and more affectionate neighborhood.

(yy) The Sabbath, with its public and social assemblies, was a delight. Mrs. Rowlandson, referring to her feelings while in captivity, says: "Upon the Sabbath days I could look upon the <sup>scenery</sup> scene, and think how people were going to the house of God, to have their souls refreshed, and <sup>their</sup> homes, and their bodies also, <sup>and</sup> I remember how, on the night before and after the Sabbath, when my family was about me, and relations and neighbors with us, we could pray and sing, and refresh <sup>our bodies</sup> ourselves with the good creatures of God." What a vision of pious cheerfulness in the days of old!

Such were the people who two hundred years ago, lived in this beautiful valley, and on its sloping hill-sides. Here they tilled the soil, and reared their families. From the first they had dwelt in safety, fearing no visible enemy, except bears, wolves and wild-cats. They had been at peace with the Indians, and had found them convenient neighbors. By them their tables had been supplied with fish and wild game, and some rude articles of manufacture which the ingenuity of savages could produce. There is no proof that the settlers had encroached upon them, or interfered with their hunting, fishing or planting. It is quite possible, however, that the natives began to feel that the increasing number of whites would soon crowd them out of their wonted haunts. Nor would it be strange if at some time, a reckless fellow offended the susceptible Indians' pride, and provoked revenge. There

In this age when even our village highways are illuminated, and the electric light is promising to abolish tapers in our cities - perhaps no picture of early New England life has grown so dim, as that of the domestic circle of the pioneer in the evening hours. The roseate hues that glowed in the log fire upon the wide hearth, & the merry crackling laugh of the blaze as it skurried up the huge chimney throat, still shine upon & warm & sing to us in the immortal verse of our poets - Nay more, a veritable gleam comes to, occasionally from the few new hearths, like a renaissance of the fateful glare of dying embers upon the old. But what of poetry or comfort can our modern renaissance draw out of this cheerful description from Francis Higginson?

"Oya our pine trees that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles which are very useful in a house & they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other. And they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven into little pelices something thin which are so full of the moisture of turpentine & pitch that they burn as clear as a torch."

(144) This passage as corrected, (few lines being omitted in the middle of it) may be found in the last paragraph of the "Thirtieth Remon".

On the "Sabbath" the people were usually called to the "meeting house" by beat of drum. The men, sat apart from the women, & the boys were in seats by themselves presided over by a "tithing man" with a rod of office with which he tapped upon the head such as became drowsy or snid behaved. The elders & deacons sat in special seats of honor, usually in front of the railed pulpit & facing the congregation. The seats in the body of the house were "designated" & assigned according to age & family consequence - The men brought their guns & ammunition with them - There were always an afternoon & afternoon services. The psalms were sung without instrumental accompaniment, and the tunes used were York, Hackney Windsor St. Albans & Martyrs, no more being enough known to be used even in the oldest churches for scores of years. The sermon was extempore, & an hourglass upon or near the pulpit guarded ~~against~~ the minister from the indiscretion of stopping the flow of his eloquence, short of the customary sixty minutes - Whenever possible children were baptized on the Sunday next following their birth, & in the "meeting house". Marriages were performed by a magistrate - Being held merely civil contracts. Funerals were conducted without religious exercises of any sort, the neighbors assembling & accompanying the dead to the burial place - No day whatever was esteemed sacred but the 1st day of the week, & that was observed with the rigor demanded by the Massachus Code. This day by Massachusetts

Custom began at midnight of the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the week. The heathen names of days & months were carefully avoided, the ordinals being used instead March being the first month & Monday the 1<sup>st</sup> day. The new method began to be observed by a few after Wauthrop's time - but it was long before it gained general favor.

(2) Page 101.

Mrs Rowlandson (near close of "First Removal") writes, "Those seven that were killed at Lancaster the summer before upon a sabbath day, & the one who was afterwards killed upon a week day, were slain and mangled in a most barbarous manner by one eyed John & Marlborough's praying Indians which Capt. Mosely brought to Boston, as the Indians told me."

"Gookin states that this attack was made by some of Philip's party, twenty in number, led by John Monoco, or 'John with one eye' who lived near Lancaster before the war began." Am. Antiquarian Society Trans. Vol. 11. p. 459.

As we know McLeod's home was near the present North Village, it seems probable the attack was made by Monoco & his band upon that outlying district, and that all the slain save perhaps the one "killed upon a week day" were in that neighborhood. Flagg was not a resident, probably a soldier, from Watertown, as the historians Board claims.

Joseph Wheeler was perhaps not a relative of Richard Wheeler who lived in South Lancaster, but the freeman of 1640 bearing that name who was of Concord.

Jacob Farrar's first home lot was in So. Lancaster but he also had the home lot given him by John which was not far from where McLeod is supposed to have been -

(30) Matthew - 1654 Nov. 1. Whereas Shawamun Sagamore of Nashaway is lately dead, and another is now willing to be chosen in his room, they being a great people that have submitted to this jurisdiction, there eyes being upon two or three of the blood, one whereof is very debaucht & a drunken fellow, & no friend of ye English, another is very hopeful to learne the things of Christ, this Court doth therefore order, that Mr. Increase Nowell and Mr. John Elliott shall and heereby are desired to repair to the Indians, and labor by their best counsell and persuasion to perswade to them for the choosing of such a one as may be most fit to be their Sagamore, which would be a good service to ye Country -

See p. 210 Vol 4, Colony Records. Matthew was chosen as desired, but Sam. lived his time  
do. also p. 368 Vol 3 do.

Page 101. V The fact, here left without comment that the state authorities were duly warned of the plan for the copying out of Lancaster, & even of the date assigned for the deed, is too important to be passed over thus lightly. It bore the state government criminally careless at best. The gobetain is derived from Wilson apparently without comparison with the easily accessible authority "James Quampany's Deposition". Quampany was an Indian spy sent out by the Council with another Christian Indian named Job. to learn the numbers & intentions of Reddy's forces. Reddy, it seems, was shrewdly suspicious of him & ordered him not to do so, probably meant to have him warn. He had a powerful friend who saved him, & he soon afterwards <sup>the</sup> next morning I went to One-eye. John's informant, He said he was glad to see me; I had been his friend many years & had helped him kill Ahobango; and said nobody should meddle with me. I told him what was said of me. He said if any body hurt me they should die & & stay in the bogamone's program; and he charged his gun, and threatened any man that should offer me hurt. " & & & " that this Indian told me they would fall upon Lancaster, Boston, Weststrong, Sackby and the field, and that the first thing they would do should be to cut down Lancaster bridge so to hinder their flight and assistance coming to them, and that they intended to fall upon them in about twenty days time

from Wednesday last." x This was 24<sup>th</sup> <sup>mo</sup> 1675<sup>6</sup> O.S.  
 James escaped by stratagem. & brought this detailed infor-  
 mation, every word of which, proved terribly true. Yet it  
 went in at deaf ears, we must suppose, for nothing of con-  
 sequence was done to avert the coming disaster. Rumors reached  
 Lancaster of the threatening danger. & the Chief <sup>man of the town</sup> ~~of the town~~ went  
 to the Bay to entreat speedy help. It was too late. The second Spy  
 Job. Kattwanit got away at last, but he arrived at Major Lookin's  
 house in Cambridge at 10 O'clock at night. Feb 9<sup>th</sup>. On the morning  
 according to James Enamassang the attack was to begin.

Job brought tidings that before he came from the enemy  
 at Menemese, a party of the Indians about four hundred  
 were marched forth to attack and burn Lancaster, and  
 on the morning which was February 10<sup>th</sup> they would  
 attempt it. - Lookin, from whom this last quotation is  
 taken, adds - "This time exactly suited with James, his  
 information before hinted, which was not then credited as it  
 should have been; and consequently not so good means  
 used to prevent it, or at least to have lain in ambushments for  
 the enemy. As soon as Major Lookin understood these tidings by Job, he  
 rose out of his bed & advising with Mr Danforth one of the Council that lived near  
 him they despatched away post in the night to Marlborough Concord &  
 Lancaster, ordering forces to surround Lancaster with all speed.  
 The posts were at Marlborough at break of day & Capt Woodworth with  
 about forty soldiers marched away as speedily as he possibly <sup>could</sup> <sup>could</sup>  
 to Lancaster (which was ten miles distant) But before he got there  
 the enemy had set fire to the bridge"

See further p. 110 note. a

is however nothing of this kind on record to account for the change in the conduct of the natives towards the settlers.

The founders of Plymouth had lived in peace with the Indians during half a century. The settlers of Salem, Boston and vicinity had been on good terms with them from the beginning. Sholan, the sachem at Washacum, welcomed the English to this place, and sold them an extensive tract of territory. His deportment towards the settlers never changed, and he was held in esteem by his white neighbors. Matthew, his nephew, walked in his steps; but Shoshanin, or Sam, as he was commonly styled, the grandson of Sholan, became estranged, and was ready to listen to the machinations of king Philip, who went up and down the country, and as some writers report, as far as Canada, in the fall and winter of 1674-5.

It would be out of place to give an account of the origin and progress of what is known in history as king Philip's war. What occurred in Lancaster comes properly into the history of the town. Being on the frontier, with no settlement on the west this side of the Connecticut valley, it was much exposed to the attack of an enemy who lurked in the woods, and only emerged to strike a deadly blow, and then hide again in its secret retreats.

The war broke out in June, <sup>24<sup>th</sup></sup> 1675, by an attack on Swansea, near Mount Hope, the home of Philip. Not far from this date an English spy among the Indians learned from <sup>an</sup> ~~Mongo~~ <sup>Indian</sup>, a one-eyed Indian, that in about twenty days the natives were "to fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield, and that the first <sup>thing</sup> they would do, would be to cut down Lancaster bridge, so as to hinder the flight of the Inhabitants, and prevent assistance from coming to them."

The storm of war actually burst upon this town on the twenty-second day of August, old style, 1675. On that day <sup>(2)</sup> eight persons were killed in different parts of the town. These are their names: George Bennet, grandson of Mr. Linton,

Copied from  
Willard's Hist.  
p. 39.

\*Lancaster  
an Indian

Y

(2)

- (1) William Flagg, Jacob Farrar, Joseph Wheeler, Mordecai McLoud, his wife and two children. The location of some of these victims cannot be precisely determined. Mr. McLoud had a house lot not far from the house of <sup>Jos. W.</sup> Edward Phelps, at the east end of the North Village, and it is probable that he occupied it. There is some reason for supposing that
- (2) Bennet's home was near the North Village bridge. Jacob Farrar lived on the Neck road, somewhere north of the house of S. R. Damon. Wheeler's home was probably in ~~Bolton~~ <sup>Concord</sup>, and Flagg had land on George hill in the neighborhood of the house of Charles E. Blood. But these facts do not absolutely fix the spot where the strokes of death were given. This was probably a stealthy movement of the Indians, who killed as many as possible before an alarm was given, and then slunk away into the darkness of the forest or the swamp.

War being thus actually upon them, what preparations did the people make for defence? Had they any military organization? There were, according to the estimate of (a') Willard, more than fifty families in Lancaster at the outbreak of the war. A vote of the town "at a training" has been cited on a former page. There were several garrisons or block-houses, in different neighborhoods, to which the families could resort, on occasions of alarm. But situated remote from other towns, the people were in a poor condition for defence from a wily and numerous foe. The few soldiers <sup>b</sup> stationed here by the general court added but little to their strength. The event proved their weakness, for though they defended themselves with dauntless bravery, this only served to aggravate their doom, inasmuch as it excited the Indians to make fearful reprisals.

It may be a convenience to the reader to have the location of the garrisons pointed out in this connection. One was the minister's garrison, D, its site being familiar to all. Another, called Sawyer's, was <sup>farther south</sup> just behind the house, E, of John A. Rice. It was on Thomas Sawyer's land, and ~~the road~~

{ Jacob Farrar the younger, was the one killed. -

(1) Bond in History of Waterbury claims Flagg as a Waterbury man aiding in defence of Lancaster. V.D. cannot find the name in Lancaster Records of Lands. Probably a detached soldier. -

(2) All the reason I have been able to find is that the bridge here a hundred years ago was called Remond's bridge.

(a) Page 102. Willard says this, p. 38. History of Lancaster, but it is not his estimate. Harrington on page 12 of the Century Sermon says, "above fifty families".

In assessing the rates, whereby the government raised means for carrying on the war with the Indians, Lancaster's proportion, as set down in an order dated October 13, 1675 - was 11£. 16<sup>s</sup>.

In paying rates Wheat is reckoned at 6<sup>s</sup> per bushel,

Rye	..	..	4 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	..
Barley & Peas	..	..	4 <sup>s</sup>	..
Indian Corn	..	..	3 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	..
Oats	..	..	2 <sup>s</sup>	..

"delivered to the Treasurer without charge" - "One fourth abated for payment in money" -

Among Major Simon Willard's Soldiers of this year (1675), were of Lancaster

Jonathan Prescott	} Sept. 21 <sup>st</sup>	Josiah White	} Oct. 19 <sup>th</sup>	
John Diwall		Daniel Gains		
William Kenby	Nov. 20	Upham Sawyer		} ? Simon Willard.
? Consider Altherton	"	Daniel Adams		
		Thomas Beaman		

b Six days before the attack of the savages - twelve of the soldiers had been ordered from Lancaster to Groton. Captain Samuel Mosely's letter in Mass. Archives LXVII 237-241-252 dated "Nashoway Mass Lancaster; 16<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup> 1675" announces that he had sent them as instructed to do.

? Willard in his "History of Lancaster" says Sawyer's Garrison, was "to the west of the last [Minister's] & probably a little north of the house of Samuel Flagg Esq." What a wealth of positive statement has grown in 1850 from the cautious "probably" of 1826. Thomas Sawyer's deed of his land to his son Nathaniel June 18 1701 - proves that the "rear row land" was the southern limit of his house lot. Separating it from Jacob Farrar's. His northern boundary was somewhere in the present estate of Paul Boss. The farms of John & Rice & S. Chandler were Prescott's Rye Field.



Major Willard was in the field, most of the time, and at this very date probably.

(B') Page 103. } "1676 April 25<sup>th</sup> Major Willard  
dies at Charleston, buried 27<sup>th</sup>"  
Diary of Samuel Sewall Vol. 1. p. 12.

(bb) Joseph Willard in his "Life of Simon Willard" always writes this "Nonaicoicus" - The junction station house at Nyr. is upon the "Nonaicoicus Farm" of Willard, originally 450 acres - (abbreviated Coyacus sometimes)

J.W. also fixes the date of death of Simon Willard as April 24<sup>th</sup> - this agreeing with the Charleston Records - though another diarist besides Sewall states that he died on the 25<sup>th</sup>. He was then 72 yrs. of age. His disease was "an epidemic cold of a very malignant type".

Willard was of the board of "Assistants" or Executive Council

1654 to 1675-6

(bb) Gookin estimated the Natchawags even fewer in number A.D. 1674

"There have been a great people in former times but of late years have been consumed by the Maguas' wars and other ways; and are not above fifteen or sixteen families"

See 1st vol Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. - p. 193.

Mr Marvin forgets his own Census - on page 113 -

was west of it in those days. A third was in Clinton, and on the land of John Prescott. The fourth was on the north side of the river, near the corner by the house, <sup>Cypress Street</sup> F, of Dr. *Mr. Symmes* Thompson. At the John White place, H, on the Neck road, was a fifth. There may have been one or two others remote from the central part of the town.

When the first attack was made on Lancaster, in August, O. S., the people were obliged to depend upon their own efforts. At this time Major Willard, who had removed to his home at Nonacoicut<sup>s</sup>, now Ayer Junction, was on an expedition for the defence of Brookfield and Springfield. Thus it was that the place was left defenceless just at the time when the savages fell on the inhabitants with ruthless vengeance. < 76

In about six months, on the tenth of February, 1675-6, the second act in the tragedy opened, more awful and bloody. It was in the depth of winter, and most of the colonial troops, exhausted by the last campaign, were at home, or in winter-quarters. Major Willard was engaged in civil affairs in Boston, and broken by hard service, he did not long survive after the ruin of the town he had loved and served so long and so faithfully. Thus it happened that Lancaster was almost as defenceless as in the preceding autumn. A few houses had been garrisoned, but the people were not very vigilant, supposing that the severity of the weather would keep the Indians in quiet till the opening of spring. In this they were deceived. The natives living in various parts of *Nashaways* the town to the number of twenty-five or thirty families, or from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty persons, were now in league with, or under the domination of Philip. *(66)* By their knowledge of the approaches to the place, the enemy were able to make a plan of attack.

On the evening of February 9, the people retired to rest, as usual, with perhaps some eye to watchfulness. Whether they gathered into the garrison, that night, or hurried thither, at alarming signs, on the break of day, is not known. But it is certain that early in the morning of the tenth, king

4

Not so.

C

Philip, followed by fifteen hundred warriors of the Wampanoag, Narragansett and Nipmuc tribes, made a desperate assault on Lancaster. They invested the town in five different places. Three only of these can be fixed. The first

Not so.

(cc)

?x

was <sup>near George Hill probably</sup> ~~probably at Wattoquoddec, southwest part of Bolton,~~ where Jonas and <sup>Joshua</sup> John Fairbanks and Richard Wheeler were killed. Wheeler had a garrison house. The second known

Willard says  
30 rods Southeast  
of Mill.

point of attack was at Prescott's garrison, now in Clinton, about twenty-five rods east of the old counterpane mill, now called the Clinton Yarn Mill, and near the house of Dea. Parkhurst, on Walnut street. Here Ephraim Sawyer

(C)

was killed. Henry Farrar and a Mr. Ball and his wife, were slain in an unknown locality; but perhaps one of them fell in South Lancaster, on the east side of the main street, where

Both lived  
in So Lancaster  
at George Hill

was the house of one of the Farrar families. (Jacob Farrar's)

The main attack was on the house of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson. This was the central, fortified house, and it was vulnerable on one side. The destruction of this house, and the murder or capture of its inmates and defenders, would be a mortal blow to the plantation. This house was on the land now owned by Mr. Thayer, and about half way between his house and the Sprague bridge. The meeting-house, C, was on the north brow of cemetery hill, on the east side of the road, while the garrison, D, was on the west side of the road, and nearly three-fourths of the distance between the road and the pond, and a few feet south of the spot where a single pine tree utters its lonely sighs over the scene of massacre and death. The place is marked by the letter D on the map. But in order that the spot may be identified, if the map should be lost, the following report of a survey made by Edward H. Lincoln, civil engineer, May 24, 1878, is here inserted.

"The point taken (supposed to be in the cellar of Mr. Rowlandson's house) bears S. 59° 5' W. 819.8 feet from the S. W. corner of the south abutment of the Sprague

C. Philip was not there. 400 not 1500. Nishaway, Nipmuc & Narragansett.  
Wampanoag doubtful. Their leaders were Muttamp, Sam. and Monco.

Henry Farrar - son of Jacob Sen. probably - one of the four children  
born in England.

(C) This is the John Ball who "disappears from the scene"  
on page 40 of this volume. He was a tailor; came from  
Watertown in 1665 - as permanent resident, though one of the  
three first sent here by the proprietors.

See note  
next page X } Jonas Fairbank & his son Joshua + Richard Wheeler were undoubtedly killed in South Lancaster where they lived  
See pp. 66  
111 of  
+ 73  
+ 71

(CC) The ways of spelling the name of Bolton's famous  
Hill are very numerous. The author of this history  
has added to the variety - For examples of the  
sundry orthographies - we have in this work.

- Marwin p. 104 Wattoquoddoc. Waterquaduc 67.
- p. 127 Watoquadoc.
- p. 134 Wattoquadoc (also 797p.)
- p. 184 Wattoquadock (also pp. 192, 197)
- p. 69 Wattaquadock
- p. 734 Wattoquaddoc also p. 722

The town fathers in 1656. (see p. 67) "Wataquadocke"  
In Whitney Hist. of Worcester Co. 1792? it is "Wattoquottoc"  
Rev. Richard S. Edes in his historical sketches of Bolton  
always wrote "Wattoquottoc"

Joseph Willard always wrote "Wataquadoc"  
In the earliest town records - dated 1655 I find the  
word spelled Wataquadock } Wadaquadock 1718  
+ Wataquadocke in 1670 }

The author's versatility in spelling ancient names is also exemplified  
in this work by the following.

- Chocksett <sup>210-235</sup> 1670 Woodcheanisset p. 19. Wikapeket. p. 25
- Chocksett <sup>271-283</sup> 1658 Woonkechanchisset. p. 213 Wikapeket pp. 605 & 497 & 453
- Chocet. p. 239 &c. <sup>1739 & 1743</sup> Rev. J. Prentiss thus writes the name 1739 & 1743 also 1741 Woonkechanchisset Wikapeket on May p. 555
- "Quassaponokin" p. 175 "Wekapeket" 187
- "Quassoponikin" p. 68 "Wecapacit" 203
- "Quarsoponican" p. 68 "Wekapeket" 399
- Quassaponakin p. 360 & 401
- Quassoponakin p. 795 & 197

In earliest town records I find (Willard wrote it Quassapouiken)  
under date 1655 "Quassapouikin" in 1718 Quassapouiken & for the first  
time the abbreviation Pouikin - & in 1720 Quassapouican

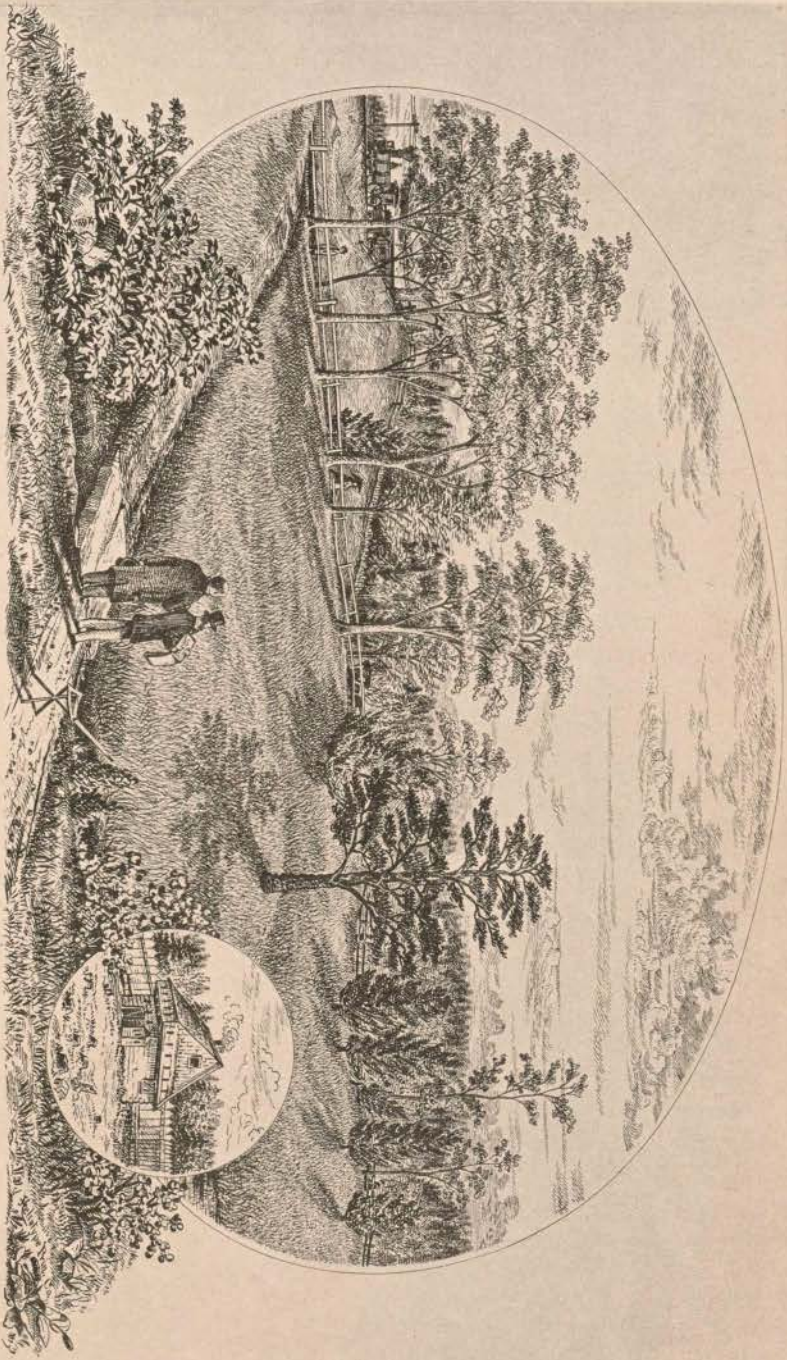
In the engraving of the "Site of the Rowlandson House"  
The present generation even can find but three recogniza-  
ble features - viz: the portrait figure of the author, - that of  
the artist & his tools of trade, - & the locomotive.

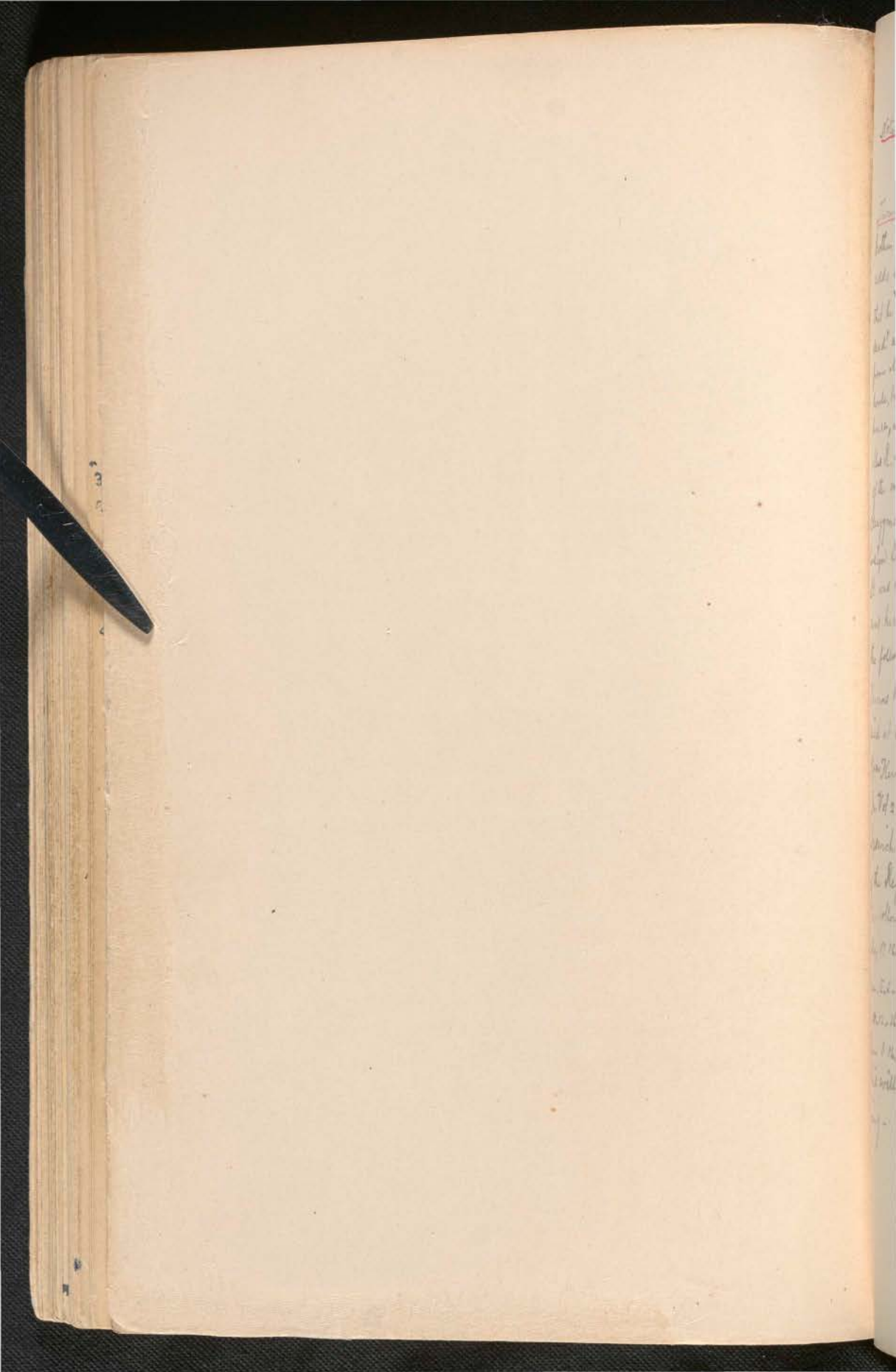
XX This statement made in lines 557 of page 104 -  
is closely copied from Willard (page 38. note) - Not  
withstanding so careful a writer has said it. I  
cannot believe it correct.

Harrington says these men were "at Wheeler's  
Garrison" but in no way locates this garrison -

Mr. Mason has already on p. 73. located Wheeler &  
Jno Houghton in Bolton, - as their first home. but, as  
my note to that statement has been shown, the records  
of the proprietors put them in a very different  
place - Wheeler near his father in law Fairbank,  
& brothers in law - Sawyer & Rugg, as  
would be natural - & Houghton next south of  
him - I find no proof that they had moved  
before 1675 from where they first built - Where  
were the widows Wheeler & Fairbank, shortly after the  
massacre? (see p 111 top) In So. Lancaster garrison?  
Had they been dwellers on Wataquodoc, they would  
have naturally fled in the opposite direction down  
the "Bay Road" with the other fugitives, to their  
relatives & friends in Marlborough Sudbury &  
Watertown. The fact is, the settlement on or  
east of Wataquodoc was of later inception than  
1675; it did not precede, but was a result of the  
massacre. On this point see wording of the  
petition of 1705 p. 142 & 143. where it expressly states that  
those east of the River never had a man killed in the service

SITE OF THE ROWLANDSON GARRISON.





Note R. See pp. 106.. 96.

Willard in his History of Lancaster, says that the Thomas Rowlandson killed in the massacre of 1676. "was brother to the clergyman". Mr. Marvin copies the statement, and adds a description of the manner of his death. (p. 106.) stating that he "had been shot in the neck while in the house; & fell down dead" as he went out of the house. This is of course deduced from Mrs Rowlandson's sentence "No sooner were we out of the house, but my brother-in-law (being before wounded in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead." Nowhere does Mrs R. mention Thomas Rowlandson, & none of the many accounts of the massacre, seem to Willard's speak of a brother of the clergyman. Mrs Rowlandson had a brother-in-law, present, Ensign Divot, who had recently married her sister (Hannah.) It was his death she described, & Thomas Rowlandson was her nephew, a young man not yet twenty-one, as the following authorities seem to prove. There were three Thomas Rowlandsons. Thomas<sup>1st</sup> of Ipswich father of Rev. Joseph died at Lancaster Nov. 17. 1757 & his widow Bridget married, John Herley Sen. Thomas<sup>2nd</sup> was son of Tho<sup>1st</sup> of Salisbury. In Vol 2 p. 57 of N. E. Hist. & Gen Register, is a list of names of "Ipswich Company" 1648. we find "Thos. Rollinson Jr". In Vol 8 of the Register & in Savage's Genealogical Dictionary we learn the following: Thomas<sup>2nd</sup> Rolinson married Dorothy Portland May 17 1654. & had children Elizabeth born 7. 4. 1654. Thomas<sup>3rd</sup> born 5. 5. 1656. Sarah born 5. 6. 1658. Elizabeth<sup>2nd</sup> 26. 12. 1660. Joseph 6. 18. 12. 1663. Mary 24. 6. 1665. Martha 24. 6. 1666. John 20. 1. 1667. Ann 6. 16. 1. 1668. Thomas<sup>3rd</sup> died in Salisbury July 4. or 9. 1682. & his will was proved mentioning Joseph & four daughters living -



(d) Page 105. Harrington p. 13 Century Sermon, says "In which  
there were soldiers & inhabitants to the number of forty two."

Whitney states the same. Mrs. Rowlandson gives the  
number at "thirty seven", but <sup>presumably</sup> does not include the  
soldiers in her count. Hubbard a contemporary historian  
& unjustly of Spanish whence came the Rowlandson family  
who met & conversed with Mrs. Rowlandson after  
her redemption from captivity, states the number at  
forty two. Also a pamphlet of the day printed in London 1676  
called "A true account of the most considerable occurrences &c."

(e) The author's quotations from both Harrington and  
Hubbard are incorrect. Hubbard says "yet the fortifica-  
tion of the house being on the back side closed  
up with fire-wood, the Indians got so near as to  
fire a banner". Harrington's words contain no  
reference to "port holes" or "flankers" and are as  
follows: "As there was no fortification on the back  
of the house, and the English being unable to ply  
their shot on that side; the enemy having loaded  
a Cart with combustible matter pushed it flaming  
to the house;" Let us compare with these, the  
testimony of Mrs Rowlandson: "About two hours  
(according to my observation in that amazing time)  
they had been about the house, before they prevailed  
to fire it. (which they did with flax & hemp which  
they brought out of the barrels, and there being no  
defence about the house, only two flankers  
at opposite corners & one of them not finished.")  
There is no discrepancy in these statements.  
There was a flanker "to cover the rear" but not  
finished, & Hubbard adds "closed up with  
firewood." There was no stockade for  
defence as in ~~that~~ most complete garrison houses.

bridge, and N.  $84^{\circ} 21'$  W. 662.12 feet from the S. W. corner of the Old Burying Ground.

"The S. W. corner of the Old Burying Ground bears  $82^{\circ} 25'$  E. 227.5 feet from the N. E. corner of the Middle or Central Cemetery."

Into this house the people living in the neighborhood, ~~and perhaps some from the Neck~~ hastily ran for protection. <sup>why? →</sup> The enemy tore up the planks of the bridge, to prevent passing, but doubtless there were boats then as well as now on the river. It may be observed that the meeting-house stood where it was visible from every habitation on both sides of the Neck, and in South Lancaster. It is believed that some had taken refuge in other fortified houses, and others had fled to the woods and swamps, as only about one in six of the inhabitants was killed and captured. The remainder were in some way preserved from the fury of the savages.

There were ~~at least~~ <sup>(d?)</sup> forty-two persons, old and young, male and female, in the house of Mr. Rowlandson. This garrison was guarded only on the front, (which probably faced south,) and the two sides, with no flankers to cover the rear, and no port-holes in that direction. This is the statement of <sup>(e?)</sup> Mr. Harrington; but Hubbard, the historian, says that the fortification was on the back side of the building, but covered up with fire-wood, and the Indians got near and burnt a leanto.

The attack was made early in the morning, and says Mrs. Rowlandson, "quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw." The house was defended upwards of two hours with determined bravery. The Indians, "after several unsuccessful attempts to set fire to the building, filled a cart with combustible materials, and approached the defenceless rear. In this manner the house was soon enveloped in flames. According to Mrs. Rowlandson's recollection of that "amazing time," the Indians had been near the house about two hours before setting it on fire. The enemy from the barn, or behind the hills, or any shelter, watched every

opportunity to shoot the defenders, if any one were exposed at window or loophole. "The bullets seemed to fly like hail." Soon one man was wounded, and then another, and then a third. The fire from the combustibles in the cart seized on the house, when one brave man ventured out and quenched the flames. Would that his name was on record! But the fire was again lighted, and soon spread over the house. Some in the house were fighting for their lives, and some wallowing in their blood. The fire was over their heads, and the  
 c "bloody heathen ready to knock all who stirred out on the head." Now might be heard mothers and children crying out for themselves and one another, "Lord, what shall we do?" Then, says Mrs. Rowlandson, in her touching narrative: "I took my children, (and one of my sisters hers,) to go forth and leave the house; but as soon as we came to the door, and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house, as if one had taken a handful of stones and <sup>threw</sup> thrown them, so that we were forced to give back." Their six stout dogs, at other times brave, and ready to fly at an enemy, lost all spirit, and would not stir. The fire increasing behind them, they were forced out of doors, where the Indians were eagerly watching to shoot them. Immediately Thomas Rowlandson, (~~brother~~ <sup>nephew</sup> of the minister,) who had been shot in the neck while in the house, fell down dead, whereupon the enemy shouting fell upon him, and stripped him of his clothes. A bullet went through the side of Mrs. Rowlandson, and also through the hand and bowels of her little daughter, six <sup>or 5 months</sup> years old, by her side. The son <sup>William</sup> of a sister, Mrs. Kerley, wife of Henry Kerley, had his leg broken, when the Indians knocked him on the head. "Thus," says her narrative; "were we butchered by those merciless heathens, standing amazed with the blood running down to our heels." She goes on in these words: "My elder sister being yet in the house, and seeing those woful sights, the infidels hauling mothers one way and children another, and some wallowing in their blood, and her eldest son telling

See Note

R 3 page back

? nephew →

Elizabeth White married Henry Kerley 1654 Nov. 2

? A son Henry was born  
1657 or 1658



of "Eight men lost their lives and were stripped naked by the Indians because they ventured their lives to save Mrs Rowlandson" source unclear. History of the War with the Indians

[F] Harrington does not state this or any exact number. These are his words. "On this the men except one who made his escape were slain or reserved for torture. And about twenty of the women & children were carried into captivity." Notes at the bottom of page give the name of Roper as escaping, and eleven names of slain. A summary of this in the style of a modern battle report would be -

Total in House 42 { Killed 11.  
Prisoners 20. Missing 10  
Escaped 1.

This leaves ten unaccounted for of the forty two in the garrison, who though missing by name in the record, must be added to those killed in battle or by torture afterwards. Of the eleven names here given, two certainly, and probably four or more, were boys. one at least, (Joseph Kerley) an infant 6 or 7 yrs. of age. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that Harrington set these down as men. He would naturally give such names of the killed as he could learn from the old people of his time, who must have been acquainted with the survivors of that terrible day. Mrs Rowlandson does say "twelve were killed". The names but three of these, one being a woman.

Harrington names another woman, Mrs Roper. This leaves perhaps seven or eight nameless dead. among them probably the soldiers if any were present with Lancaster men. The author copies Willard in making "Mrs Kerley" probably

Journal - D. Wood  
written 1745-50  
1750-55

her that her son William was dead, and myself wounded, she said, 'Lord, let me die with them;' which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. ~~Then~~<sup>xxx</sup> the Indians laid hold of us, pulling me one way and the children another, and said, 'come, go along with us.' Of all in the house, whether thirty-seven or forty-two, only one, Ephraim Roper, escaped. Twelve were killed, some shot, some stabbed with spears, and some knocked on the head with hatchets. One was "chopped into the head with a hatchet and stripped naked, and yet was crawling up and down." All of the dead were "stripped naked by a company of hell-hounds, roaring, ~~(raunting)~~<sup>sing-</sup>ing and insulting as if they would have torn our very hearts out."

All accounts speak of the great bravery of the defenders.

Increase  
Walker

One writer tells us that eight men sacrificed their lives in the effort to rescue Mrs. Rowlandson. The true statement is that ten or twelve men, with women and children, took refuge in the garrison with her family, and the men were victims, with one exception. The rest were either put to death on the spot, or were reserved for torture. Mr. Harrington ~~states that there were twelve men, and~~ he gives the names of the eleven following, "Ensign Divoll, Abraham Joslin, Daniel Gains, Thomas Rowlandson, William and Joseph Kerley, John McLoad, John Kettle and two sons, and Josiah Divoll." He adds an "&c.," which completes the twelve. William Kerley was probably the brother of Capt. Henry Kerley. The wife of Ephraim Roper was killed in attempting to escape. Mrs. ~~Drew~~<sup>with her 4 children</sup>, sister of Mrs. Rowlandson, was taken captive; also the wife of Abraham Joslin, and other women and children to the number of about twenty.

et.

(f)

born 1657 -  
or 22-1/2 miles 1678 OS

born 1669

son

? or Divoll

The fight was over. How many of the savages were killed is not recorded, but it was supposed that many were slain or wounded. The remainder, who were numerous, immediately began to plunder the houses, strip the dead of their

John Kettle's wife was carried away captive with 2 children at least probably 3 or more  
Mrs Rowlandson named her in "20th Remove"  
The name Divoll is not found in names of savages.

clothing, and remove every valuable which could be taken away. They also drove off all the live stock that were at hand. Fearing the arrival of troops from Marlborough, they started before night for the summit of George hill. There the hours of darkness were spent by the Indians in savage revelry. The poor captives were kept awake, near the great boulder, by the singing and howling of the victors; and according to the intimation of one writer, by the dying groans of some of the victims. Lurid lights rose from the burning timbers of numerous houses; and the flames where the husbands, and fathers, and brothers were enduring torture, gave a tenfold horror to the darkness.

The women and children were taken into captivity with the purpose of obtaining ransom. And nearly all, after almost incredible sufferings, were restored to their friends. A son and daughter of Mrs. Rowlandson, one sixteen, and the other eleven years of age, were of this number. One woman, Mrs. Joslin, met a different fate. She had a little child about two years old, and expected soon to have another. Wearied by travel through the wilderness and over the snow, after several days of extreme suffering, she was, as we might well suppose, extremely unhappy, and often begged the Indians to return her to her friends. At length, when in or near Bayquage — now Athol, or Orange — impatient with her complainings, they built a fire, deprived her of clothing, killed her child, knocked her on the head, and cast her into the flames. The remainder were spared, though the little child of Mrs. Rowlandson, worn out by wounds, hunger and cold, died on the way. Leaving for the present, the fortunes of the captives, we return to the scene of devastation.

Different accounts vary in regard to the whole number of the slain, and the captured. There were fifty persons at least, and one writer says fifty-five. Nearly one-half of them suffered death on the spot, or in the wilderness. When Mr. Rowlandson, Capt. Kerley and Mr. Drew, all

? Was there a Mr. Drew?  
I can't see ever now.

Capt. Wadsworth's  
band of forty  
had arrived  
early in the day  
according to  
Lyookun.

See Note p. 110

the brother of Capt. Henry: but Willard repented of this idea in a note. & Mr. Marvin has stultified this "probably" by a contradicting "probably" on page 60 of this volume.

(g') This writer was Isaac Goodwin in his oration at Lancaster, Feb. 21, 1826. p. 11 & he said "shrieks of agony" not "dying groans"

(h') The sons name was Joseph, & the daughter's name, whom Mrs. Rowlandson calls "about 10 years old."

(i) Mrs. Rowlandson does not give the name of the place where Mrs. Abraham Jollin was murdered. Whitney says W. enimesset. (now New Braintree). Willard is the authority for "Paquaog" or Miller's River.

(j) Willard & Goodwin mention the number 55. on the authority of a pamphlet on King Philip's War. published in 1676. called "News from New England". Goodwin <sup>copying</sup> Mrs. Rowlandson says twenty four women and children were carried into captivity. Mrs. Rowlandson mentions nine killed & two captured outside of the garrison. & before the attack upon it. The number 55 would therefore seem more likely to be correct than 50.   
 (37 + 5 others)   
 (11 + 4 in garrison = 53 - 1 escaped = 52. Mrs. R's acct.)   
 which would not include John Raper & Harrington

(ee) b. 107 Ephraim Raper escaped only to be killed by the Indians twenty years later Sept 11 1697. with his second wife & child see p. 128.

Another Pamphlet printed in London a month or two later than "News from New England" called "A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England" gives the number "55" - p. 5 (219)

"and yet they killed many, burnt the Town down to the ground and took no less than five and fifty Persons into their merciless Captivity -" "News from N. E." says "taking no less than 55 Persons into their merciless Captivity" -



[K] It is genuine history rather than tradition. Hubbard is very explicit in his narration of this hopefulness of the husband - "yet it pleased God so to uphold his heart, comforting himself in his God, as David at Sikkag, that he would always say, he believed he should see his wife and children again, which did in like manner soon come to pass within five or six months after;" - p. 117, ed. of 1775 - This was published within two years of the Lancaster tragedy, & by one likely to be well acquainted with Mr Rowlandson himself. Hubbard moreover returns to the same idea, on p. 150. in speaking of the redemption & returns of Mrs Rowlandson as "an answer of faith, with which her husband had been upheld, and supported from the day of her captivity." Mathew in his Magnalia copies Hubbard's statement, "This good man, like David at Sikkag, yet believed for the recovery of his relations out of horrible hands" &c

Rev. Tho. Cobbit in "A narrative of New England's Deliverances" speaks of "Goodwife Dicus's (Diock) & Good wife Kettle upon ransom paid" coming in to Concord May 12 1676 & "and Lieutenant Carter's daughter of Lancaster, were set at liberty, and mine more without ransom".

xx "That Mr Rowlandson's daughter was brought to Senecotte, by a captive Squa that got away from the Indians, & got home after Mr Rowlandson's son and his sister Dicus's daughter" x x x "About July 11 Goodwife Kettle's <sup>sister</sup> daughter, about 17 y. old, got away from the Indians, to Marlborough bringing her little sister upon her back almost starved"

See N. H. Hist. & Gen. Register Vol VII p 217-8

brothers-in-law, who had been seeking aid from the general court, in Boston, returned, a scene of horror met their eyes. The anguish they felt cannot be described, yet the tradition (7c') is that the minister was sustained by a strong persuasion that his wife would be restored. But this was uncertain. One child was wounded; the whole three, with their mother, were in captivity, and many of his friends, as well as the friends of his two companions, were killed or taken. Their dwellings had been burned. The wife of one, though he knew it not, was buried in the ruins. The wives of the other two were in the power of the savages, threading their way through the trackless forest in the midst of winter, with no comforts, and no friends to cheer them, either starving with hunger, or preserving life by eating the most loathsome offal, separated from each other, and with nothing but death or hopeless captivity in prospect.

One incident seems affecting almost beyond parallel. When Henry Kerley assisted in burying the dead, there was one woman whose body was burned beyond recognition. He supposed or hoped that Mrs. Kerley was among the captives, and when, about eleven weeks after the event, Mrs. Rowlandson returned, he inquired of her in relation to her sister. He was then informed that the poor, blackened remains which he had helped to bury in the earth, were those of his own wife.

Some of the houses, but not all, were burned on the day of the massacre, as the Indians made haste to escape. The flames glared luridly all over the Neck, on the east and west roads, as far north as the settlement extended, and through South Lancaster as far as Clinton. The cause of the hurried departure of the enemy was their fear<sup>7</sup> of the valiant and famous Capt. Wadsworth, who marched immediately from Marlborough, where he then was, with forty brave men, to the relief of the town. "As there was then a <sup>very</sup> considerable flood," says Mr. Harrington, "and the river of consequence everywhere unpassable but at the bridge; the Indians had

not so.

not so.

\* There is no proof that the 400 were afraid of the 40. or that Wadsworth attempted an attack upon the Indians.

(a) taken from thence the planks to prevent the passing of horsemen, and ambushed to prevent the passing of footmen; but had left their ambushment before the arrival of Capt. Wadsworth, who therefore passed it unmolested, and entered the town undiscovered, and forced the enemy for the present to quit it. He quartered his men in various parts of the town, and tarried some days; but before his departure, lost one of his men by the Indians." This was George Harrington, who was killed ~~or taken~~ at Prescott's mill. *He was of Watertown about 20 yrs of age*

The remaining people soon came from their lurking places, and with the aid of the soldiers, buried their dead. Some of them were probably interred near the spot where they fell. Those who were killed at the minister's garrison house, may have been buried on the spot; but it is supposed that their remains are somewhere in the old burying yard east of the railroad. The survivors would naturally lay the victims with those who had previously passed away, whether moved by sentiment or convenience, as the yard was near. But no mortal knows of their sepulchre. Not a slab, or mound, or group of unlettered stones, give any indication of their resting place. We only know that they were buried, hastily, it may have been, but not without sad and solemn rites, and thus left in "God's acre" till the resurrection.

The survivors took shelter, with what they could gather, whether of goods, provisions, grain or stock, in and near two fortified houses or garrisons; one of them on the land of <sup>Cyprian Stevens</sup> Lawrence Waters, not far from the house of Mr. Symmes, F, and the other at Thomas Sawyer's, not far in the rear of the house now occupied by J. A. Rice, E. In these circumstances, they sent a most moving petition to the governor and council, signed by ~~the~~ occupants of both garrisons. The names of those who were in the garrison on the east side of North river, were Jacob Farrar, John Houghton, sen., John Houghton, jr., John Whitcomb, Job Whitcomb, Jonathan Whitcomb, John Moore and Cyprian Stevens. The signers in Sawyer's garrison were John Prescott, sen., Thomas

(a) The contemporary account of Gookin differs from this of Harrington in essential particulars - Continuing the quotation of note to page 101. "But before he got there the enemy had set fire to the bridge: but Captain Wadsworth got over and beat off the enemy, recovered the garrison house that stood near another bridge belonging to Cyprian Stevens and so through Gods favor prevented the enemy from cutting off the garrison. God strangely preserving that handful with Captain Wadsworth, for the enemy were numerous, about four hundred, and lay in ambushment for him on the common road, but his guides conducted him in a private way and so they got safe to Cyprian Stevens his garrison as above mentioned. But the enemy had taken and burnt another garrison-house very near the other only a bridge and a little ground parting them - This house burnt was the ministers house Mr. Rolanson wherein were slain and taken captive about forty persons, the ministers wife and children amongst them.  
x x x

(ab) Laurence Waters sold this land before 1653 to John Hall. his wife sold to Richard Smith, he to John Tinker, & at this time it was in Cyprian Stevens hands, though probably the property of Major Simon Willard & bought it of Tinker. The garrison house when abandoned was blown up & partially demolished as we learn from a schedule of Major Willard's losses in the war - Cyprian Stevens came from London 1660 when about 14 yrs old. He married Mary daughter of Major Simon Willard 1671 11<sup>mo</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> O.S.

(c) This Petition is in Mass. Archives, p 156 of the 1675-6 volume on military affairs. Mr. Marvin apparently did not discover it, for he copies Willard (see Centennial Address p. 95) omissions alterations & all. The matter omitted is of as much interest as that put in - and the whole petition is as follows:  
over

To the Hon<sup>d</sup> Govern<sup>r</sup> and Councell.

The humble petition of the poor distressed people  
of Lancaster humbly sheweth, that since the enemy mad  
such sad & dismall havoc amongst our deare offeinds  
& Bretheren & we that are left who have our Lienes for  
a — sadly sensible of Gods judgm<sup>t</sup> upon us, this  
with the distress we are now in dur embolden us, to  
present our our humble Requests to yo<sup>r</sup> Honors  
hoping our Conditions may be considered by you &  
our Requests and exceptions with your our State is very deplorable in  
our own capacity to Subsist, as to Remove away we  
can not the enemy has so encompassed us, other-  
wise for want of help, our cattle being the most of  
them Caried away by the barbarous Heathen, & to stay  
disabled for want of food, the Towns people are  
generally gone who felt the judgment but light, & had  
theyr Cattle left them with theyr estats, but we many  
of us heare in this prison, have not bread to last us one  
mouthe & our other provision spent & gone, for the  
generality, our Town is drawn into two Garisons wherein  
we by the Good favours of your Hon<sup>s</sup> Eighteen  
Soulders, which we gladly mayntayn soe long as any  
thing lasts, & if yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>s</sup> should call them off, we  
are certainly a bayt for the enemy, if God do not  
wonderfully prevent, therefore we hope as God has  
mad you fathers over us, so you will have a fathers  
pitty to us & extend your care over us who are yo<sup>r</sup>  
poor distressed subjects. We are sorrowful to leave the  
place, but hopeless to keep it unless mayntayned by  
the Country, it troubles our sperits to give any Incur-  
idgm<sup>t</sup> to the enemy or leave anything for them to  
promot their wicked designe, yet better save our  
Lienes, than lose Life & Estat both. We are in danger  
einemant, the enemy laying about us, way on both  
sides of us, as dur playnly appeare; our womeis Cris  
dur daily Increase beyond expression which dur  
not only fill our ears but our hearts full of Greefe,  
which makes us humbly Request yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>s</sup> to send  
a Gard of men & that if you please so Command  
we may have Carts about fourteen will Remove  
the whoole, light of which has been pressed long  
at Sudbury but never came for want of a small  
gard of men, the whoole, that is all that are in  
the on Garison, kept in Major Willard's house

which is all from yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>'s</sup> humble servants &  
Suplicants.

Lancast<sup>r</sup> March 11 1675  
76

Jacob ffarraxar  
John Loughton sen<sup>r</sup>  
John Moore  
John Whitcomb  
Job Whitcomb  
Jonathan Whitcomb  
John Loughton jun<sup>r</sup>  
Cyprian Stevens "

(Cyprian Stevens  
wrote the petition)

"The other on Garrison are in the like distress  
& doe humbly desire yo<sup>r</sup> like pity & ffatherly  
Car, having widows & many ffatherlesse  
children the Number of Carts to Carry away  
this Garrison is twenty Carts."

yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>'s</sup> Humble petition<sup>'s</sup>.

John Prescott sen<sup>r</sup>  
Tho Sanger sen<sup>r</sup>  
Tho Sanger jun<sup>r</sup>  
Jonathan Prescott  
Tho. Wilder  
John Wilder  
Sarah Wheeler wid.  
Widow ffarrbanks  
John Rigby  
Nathaniel Wilder  
John Roofer  
Widow Roofer 77

The soldiers (18) above named were probably Capt. Sills' Company.  
as in Vol 5 p 75 Mass. Province Records. we find order  
of Court Feb. 21. 1675 "It is ordered on request of Captains  
Scyll that the Committee for the war doe forthwith send  
twenty pounds of tobacco & three gallons of rum for the  
Supply of the Company that now resides at Lancast<sup>r</sup>."

Mag. Savage was at this time out with 600 men  
pursuing the Indians - & on p 75. Same Vol. Feb 25  
1675 we learn that Mr Rowlandson had been given  
an opportunity to go with him. "Mr Rowlandson not  
being disposed to accept of the motion of ye Court  
to goe out w<sup>th</sup> the forces as preacher, it is ordered  
that Mr Samuel Nowell be intreated to goe" x x x

(m m). The widow Michelle received notice from General Court  
 Oct 22 1677 as follows. "The Court on view of Widdow  
Michelle's bill of Lancaster. of disbursements signed by the  
 Comptroller for ye Country doe order & grant her payment from  
 the Treasurer of six pounds nine shillings & eight pence.

Sept 6 1676. Mass Records Vol. 8.  
 In answer to the petition of Ralph Houghton of  
 Lancaster it is ordered that the petitioner be paid for  
 his disbursements mentioned in his petition by the executors  
 of the late Treasurer x x x his own rate amounting to  
 six pounds to the country being disemphed."

"Drew" never was otherwise than absent from Lancaster.  
 The Jamies had been dead 15 yrs. & left no wife nor children so  
 far as I can find.

Steven Gates died in 1662 & his children were living in  
 Cambridge & Sudbury at this date.

Oct 12 1676. a petition of John Houghton was answered  
 by this action. This Court being informed by certificate under  
 the hand of Capt. Daniell Hunk's mans that when he was  
 out in the service of the Country at Lancaster, they had  
 occasion to make use of an oxe for a supply of the  
 forces under his command, which said oxe was valued  
 by indifferent persons at five pounds in Country pay, on  
 a motion made in the behalfe of the owner of the oxe  
John Houghton, it is ordered that the Treasurer of the  
 Country make payment to the said Houghton for the  
 said oxe accordingly. p. 122 5th Vol Mass Records.

(S) In Middlesex Records as printed in Hist. Gen  
 Register. 180 Births are noted between May 1647  
 & Aug. 1674. There were probably at least two  
 earlier, & several later, but before 1676, besides  
 some others that failed of record. During the  
 same period, in the town were recorded thirty  
 one marriages & forty-eight deaths.

(m') Harrington says this was "about six weeks  
 after the assault of the town" He also states  
 that John Roper was killed by the Indians the  
 very day of departure. Who then was the  
 Widow Roper who signed the petition with John - in  
 Camp's garrison?

Sawyer, sen., Thomas Sawyer, jr., Jonathan Prescott, Thomas Wilder, John Wilder, Nathaniell Wilder, John Rigby, John Roper, and widows <sup>Sarah</sup> Wheeler, Fairbanks and Roper. The absence of several names will be remarked, as White, James, Parker, Gates, Rugg, Kerley, Drew, Rowlandson, (211) and others who were still alive. The probability is that many families who were "burned out of house and home," left as soon as possible for the lower towns. The petition of those who remained implored the governor and council that a guard of men with carts might be ordered to Lancaster, to remove them to a place of safety. They go on to say: "Our state is very deplorable in our incapacity to subsist; as to Remove away we cannot, the enemy has so encompassed us; otherwise for want of help, <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>out</sup> ~~and~~ cattle, being most of them carried away by the barbarous heathen; and to stay disenabled for want of food, The Town's people are Generally gone, who felt the Judgment but light, and had their cattle left them with their estates, But we, many of us here in this prison, have not bread to last us one month, and our other provisions spent and gone for the generality. ~~xxx~~ We are so ~~xxx~~ sorrowful to leave this place ~~xxx~~ Our women's cries does daily increase beyond expression; which does not only fill our ears, but our hearts full of grief." The above was drawn up by those in garrison on the east side of North river. Those on the other side add touchingly, "We are in <sup>the</sup> like distress, and so <sup>the</sup> humbly desire your like pity and fatherly care, having widows and many fatherless children." According to Mr. Willard, "more than a hundred and seventy births are recorded" before the year 1676, (S1) and many of these were young at the time of the massacre. The parents of others had died in their beds, so that the fatherless, as well as the widows, were numerous in proportion to the whole population.

The place being considered untenable, troops were sent up with carts, who transported the people, with their remaining movable property, to the eastern towns, where they



found homes with their friends. Then the Indians, who seemed to have been lurking around, came out of their lairs, and set fire to the buildings still standing; and with the exception of the house of God and one dwelling, when they ceased to burn, there was nothing left but smoking and blackened ruins in this lovely valley. The settlers in the outskirts of the town, as well as in the center, withdrew under the protection of the soldiers. The settlement was abandoned. The town was destroyed. For a year or two it was without a white inhabitant. Thus closes the second act in this awful drama; this carnival of arson and murder. Both acts were included in the latter half of the year 1675, according to the computation then in vogue, when the year began in March. From August 22, to February 10, 1675, old style; or from September 2, 1675, to February 21, 1676, new style, the town was a scene of alarm, violence and death. And thus was brought to pass a result which may be expressed in words of ancient writ: "I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it upside down!"

Two or three matters require a brief notice before closing this chapter. The sufferings and release of Mrs. Rowlandson are known to thousands who have read her "Removes." It may be said here, that after being taken, by slow but painful marches, as far north as Fort Dummer, below Brattleboro', according to some authorities, or even to Charleston, N. H., according to others, less trustworthy, she was slowly brought back <sup>towards</sup> to Lancaster, where she was met by Mr. Hoar, of Concord, who took her, on horseback, to her husband and friends. She, her surviving children, and her sister, Mrs. <sup>Evell</sup> Drew, were all ransomed.

Quite a number of aged people escaped massacre or captivity by previous decease. In this number Mr. Willard places "Joane the wife of goodman John White, and mother of Madam Rowlandson; Mary, the wife of goodman Richard Smith; Mary, the wife of goodman John Smith; Elizabeth,

Singularly Mr. Morison omits to tell the length of Mrs. Rowlandson's Captivity. She reached Boston May 3. It was 11 weeks & five days from the date of Capture Feby. 10. <sup>1654</sup> <sup>1659</sup> To the day of release.

Willard in his Historical Sketch says the inhabitants themselves destroyed "all the houses but two" - but in his Centennial Address (p. 96) adopts the view here given, whiches Harringtons modified <sup>by a group of the quakers.</sup>  
 (o) And in this state of Desolation the town continued for about four years" - Century Sermon p. 14.

(p) Mrs Rowlandson was not brought to - but towards Lancaster three or four miles from Wachuset. where Mr John Hoar met her. They journeyed to Lancaster, arriving "about the sun's going down" & "went on to a farm house that was yet standing" where they passed the night. This was May 2<sup>d</sup> & on the next day they reached Boston. It is a mistake to say all who ransomed for Mary Rowlandson, the daughter, escaped without ransom. - see "Removes" 10<sup>th</sup> ed p. 50. The ransom of Mrs Rowlandson was 20 £. of the son Joseph. J. L.

The action of the General Court looking to the redemption of the Captives is narrated in Vol. 5 of the Colonial Records (secret copy) of 93 pp. 82. being written instructions given Mr Seth Perry "our messenger to the sachems at Wachuset", and the Courts "letter to the Indian Sagamores Phillip, John, Sam Washaken, Old Lucen & Pounhouse".  
 N.B. The Governor & Council had sent messengers & letters earlier.

Hubbard's Narration respecting the ransoming is brief. (See p. 150 ed. of 1775) "A Person formerly acquainted with the Indians about Lancaster, did adventure upon the forementioned overtures, to go amongst them to try if he could not prevail with them for the redemption of the minister's wife, taken Captive in February last, from Lancaster, and through the favour of him who having the hearts of all in his hand inclines them as he pleases, obtained the desired end upon an inconsiderable sum,

(John Hoar went for Mr R. with the Indian Goods) John (Doublett) Christian - Indians of Concord - then under Mr Hoar's Charge - Tom Doublett however had been first sent down.

(Sith Perry)  
Tom + Doublet

A Native Indian

Interesting letters concerning exchange  
& ransom of captives will be found in  
Drake's History & Biography of American Indians  
including one from Gov. Severett & others from Council  
& the Indians

which gave encouragement to the Council to send  
two messengers on the like errand the same week  
to procure the redemption of others, not without  
success: The former, viz: Mrs Rowlandson, being  
brought to Boston upon the election day May 30.  
it was generally looked at as a miracle of  
Providence, and doubtless was a return of prayer,  
and answer of faith, with which her husband  
had been upheld, and supported from the day  
of her captivity; his two children also were returned  
back not long after, more by the over-ruling hand  
of God (that turns the captivity of his people as the  
streams of the South; and sometimes inclining them  
to pity his servants, that are of themselves more  
cruel than the sea monsters; than by any other  
continuance of man's policy."

(1676-May 5) A second time messengers were sent. see  
page 93. Vol 5. of Colonial Records. The messengers  
were Jonathan Prescott + Peter Gardner. They  
conveyed a letter to the chiefs. & were themselves  
furnished by the General Court with written  
instructions - Peter was ~~probably~~ an Indian Guide -

(a) How does the author reconcile these numbers  
with Gookin's statement respecting the Nashaways  
in 1674? "There have been a great people in former  
times: but of late years have been consumed by  
the Maquas' wars and other ways: and are not  
above fifteen or sixteen families." See 1<sup>st</sup> Vol Mass.  
Hist. Col. p. 193. The fact is, Mr Darwin is here quoting Hubbard's  
statement which referred not to the Nashaways alone but to  
all the Indians who took part with Philip in the war, '03 Hubbard  
says: "Whether Nipnet, Nashaway, Pacontuck, Hadley or Springfield  
Indians" On page 103 moreover Mr Darwin numbers them "150 to 180 persons"

From Gookin's History of Christian Indians.

"Mr Rowlandson minister of Lancaster (a pious and good man having his wife children and several friends in captivity among the enemy, being surprised at Lancaster as is before touched; himself and several other ministers in his behalf had some time since petitioned the Council to use what means they could for the redemption of his wife &c. Which the Council consented to, and in pursuance thereof ordered Major Gookin to Endeavour to procure at Deer Island one or two Indians that for a reward might adventure to go with a message to the enemy to offer for the redemption of our Captives particularly Mrs Rowlandson. But although the Major went to the Island and did his utmost endeavours to procure an Indian to adventure upon this service at that time, yet could not prevail with any; so the matter lay dormant a good space of time. But on the 23<sup>d</sup> of June some friends advised Mr Rowlandson to make another petition to revive the former motion: which he did that day. The Council declared themselves ready to promote it, and send a messenger if any could be procured. Major Gookin who stirred up Mr Rowlandson herunto, was informed that one of the Indians lately brought down from Anand named

Tom Dublet alias Nipponit had some inclination to run that adventure: of which the Major informing the Council they ordered Capt. Hinchman to treat and agree with him which he accordingly did and brought him up from Deer Island some few days after: and he was according to the order of the Council, fitted & furnished for this enterprise: and had a letter from the Council to the enemy concerning the redemption of the Captives, and upon Monday April 3<sup>d</sup> he was sent away from Cambridge upon his journey, and he did effect it with Care and prudence, and returned again upon the 12<sup>th</sup> of April with this answer in writing from the Enemy—"We now give answer by this one man but if you like my answer send one more man besides this one Tom Nippanet, and send with all true heart and with all your mind by two men; because you know and we know your heart great sorrowful with crying for your lost many many hundred men and all your house, and all your land, and woman, child and Cattle as all your thing that you have lost and on your backside stand"

This is in Drake's Indian Factory 274

Signed by " Sam Sackem  
Kutqueen and  
Quanohit Sagamore

also this at same time

" Mr Rowlandson, your wife & all your child is well but one eye; your sister is well and her 3 child - John Kittell your wife and all your child is all well, and all them prisoners taken at Nashua is all well. Mr Rowlandson see your loving sister his hand. And old Kittell wif his hand & C. Hanah  
Brother Rowlandson pray send three pound of Tobacco for me if you can - my loving husband pray send three pound of Tobacco for me -  
This writing by your Enemies Samuel Uskathungur and Samashit two Indian Sagamores

the wife of goodman Edmund Parker; Ann, the wife of goodman John Moore; Martha, <sup>1657</sup> the wife of goodman John Rugg, surviving one of her twins but six days, and dying on the same day with the other; Ann, <sup>1653</sup> and after her, Bridget, <sup>1657</sup> the wives of goodman William Kerley, senior." Not only the matrons, but the fathers of the settlement had been thinned out by the reaper death. Richard Linton, <sup>1665</sup> the old man of the settlement, who had built the first house on the southeast corner of the Neck, Thomas James, <sup>1660</sup> John Smith, <sup>1667</sup> William Kerley, sen., <sup>1670</sup> together with Thomas Joslin, <sup>1661</sup> John White, sen., <sup>1673</sup> John Whitcomb, sen., <sup>1662</sup> Thomas Wilder, <sup>1667</sup> and Thomas Rowlandson, <sup>1657</sup> the father of the minister, had all passed to their long home. The old burying yard held their ashes, where not a single lettered stone marks their resting-place.

*Sarah wife of  
Thos Sawyer 1672  
Frances wife  
of Jno. Whitcomb  
1671*

*Wm Lewis 1671  
John Farre 1669*

*Nashaway's*

The fate of the Nashua Indians cannot be read without a feeling of sadness. For though there is no proof that the fathers of the town ever violated their agreement with the natives, or treated them unjustly, yet there is something painful in the thought that the first occupants of these plains, hills and forests were involved in a contest, by the arts of Philip, which led to their death, or dispersion. Some were killed in Philip's war; some were sold into slavery with other Indians; some were dealt with as malefactors; and the rest abandoned the homes of their childhood, and the graves of their fathers. Some joined the Nipmucks and other Indians, to the number of two hundred and fifty fighting men, besides women and children. They fled westward, were overtaken beyond Westfield, and many of them slain or captured. More than two hundred crossed the Hudson below Albany and became incorporated with a tribe of Indians in that vicinity. Another part of the tribe took their way eastward to the right bank of the Piscataqua, where they were surprised by the troops, and those who had been engaged in the war were separated from the rest, taken to Boston, and sold into perpetual slavery in the West Indies.

*(2)*

*!*

(q') Shoshani<sup>m</sup> and several other leaders were executed, a fate which they preferred, doubtless, to banishment and servitude. Those Indians who escaped capture, took refuge among the Penn<sup>a</sup>cooks, and nevermore returned, unless as stragglers, to revisit the scenes of childhood, and drop a tear over a mother's grave.

(91) "1676 Sept. 26 Tuesday Sagamore Sam & Daniel Goble is drawn in a cart upon bed cloaths to execution. x x One eyed John Malionpo, Sagamore of Suapanz, General at Lancaster, & Jethro (the Father) walk to the gallows. <sup>note</sup> Daniel & Stephen Goble were white men, executed for killing three friendly Indians - of Concord. See note p. 155 abt. Sagamore Sam was the Sachem.

Diary of Samuel Sewall. Vol. 1 p. 22. Sachem.

Some acct. of Shoshamin & fellowes will be found in Drake's History & Biography of American Indians -

(1) Perhaps this is <sup>purely</sup> sentimental, but all our ethnographers from the days of Capt. John Smith to General Sheridan, have insisted upon it that the aboriginal American is apparently devoid of tear ducts; or at least too much of a stoic, to drop a tear over anything, and certainly - over a woman's grave.

Moreover, 25 years after this, we find Sholan's nephew Tabanto & Mary Anisocanny, deeding a township with three Indian witnesses present. Again in 1710 an Indian woman joining the church. Here their "straggled" drooping tears? See also p. 155. John Womozgan 1689, a wolf hunter to Cyprus.

Stearns 1682 selling straggled to Indians. Probably in A.D. 1822 the last Indian gained

a home in Lancaster. His name was Sam Harris. He was one of "Red jacket's tribe" from Buffalo N.Y. & was taken sick passing through South Lancaster. He was picked up in the street by Capt Joseph Willard's family & cared for until he died. Dr Thayer conducted his funeral services & he was buried in extreme East corner of the Middle Cemetery.

Nov. 19. 1710 Hannah Womozgan (Indian) owned the Covenant & was baptized" by Rev. John Prentice. The name seems similar to that attached with Tabanto's to the deed of 1708. Perhaps meant for the same. (See p. 150 note -) In its various forms Owasumog - Womozgan - Owasumog - Anisocanny, Anwasumog, Anwasumog, Anwasumog &c Barry claims the name as of the Natick tribe. Was not Hannah the Indian leave of Capt Thomas Carter.



(S<sup>1</sup>) - These dates are both wrong. He died  
November<sup>23<sup>rd</sup></sup> 24 1678. (See Harvard Triennial & Willard's Address  
p 113) - He was installed April 7. 1677, as successor  
to Rev. Gerthom Bulkeley. The town allowed  
the widow "so long as she shall remain a widow amongst us"  
"thirty pounds a year".

Sibley gives the action of the town above  
referred to in full.

Nov. 27 1678.

"Voted that Mrs Rowlandson shall have  
allowed for this present year, Mr Rowlandson's whole  
year's rate, and what was formerly promised - which  
in all, will amount to six score pounds: and  
from henceforth the Town shall allow the said Mrs  
Rowlandson thirty pounds a year so long as she  
shall remain a widow amongst us"

S. see note opposite page 90 (a)

## CHAPTER V.

### REBUILDING. KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

IN a few hours the work of a generation had been burned, and many of the workers slain, while the remainder were scattered. Cultivated farms, gardens and orchards had redoubled the natural loveliness of the valley; but these were left without cultivation. The lowing of cattle, and the friendly greeting of neighbors, and the voice of song were heard no more. Besides one dwelling, the location of which is unknown, the meeting-house stood alone, on the brow of the Middle Cemetery hill, keeping watch and ward over the scene of desolation. It has come down to us that the Indians feared to set fire to "God's house." Therefore it remained, inviting the former worshipers within its plain, but hallowed walls to return.

But for years they did not come. The minister received an invitation to settle with the large and intelligent congregation in Wethersfield, Conn., and not knowing when, if ever, his people would rebuild the old wastes, he accepted the call, and in 1678 entered on his ministry there. But his time of service was brief, since his death occurred in 1680. The church provided liberally for Mrs. Rowlandson and the children. They became connected by marriage with respectable families in the place, and descendants were there in the early part of the present century.

One relic of the family of Master Rowlandson remains, and came into the possession of the town recently in so singular a manner, that it properly finds mention in this connection. Early in the year 1876, the Postmaster of Lancaster,

Did it?  
S

(S')  
Nov. 23 or 24  
1678.

Mr. Humphrey Barrett, received a letter from J. W. Dunlap of South Hadley, saying that he had in his possession an article of furniture that once belonged to the Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, and that he would sell it for the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars, though reluctant to part with it on account of its history. The Library Committee, on learning the facts, requested one of their number, Horatio D. Humphrey, to visit the owner, see what he had to sell, and learn, if possible, its descent; or in other words, its connection with the first settled minister of the town. The quest was successful. The article, whether bureau, buffet, sideboard or locker, <sup>is</sup> was of solid English oak. It <sup>is</sup> was four feet and seven inches high, four feet and one inch long, and nineteen inches deep. It had <sup>5</sup> drawers, and a closet or cupboard, and other capabilities of a useful piece of household furniture. There <sup>is</sup> was considerable carving on the doors, and it <sup>is</sup> was adorned with egg-shaped balls made of a softer wood. The ownership was traced directly back to Mr. Rowlandson. Mr. Humphrey being authorized to give one hundred dollars, made the offer which was accepted.

Happily the committee did not have to draw from the annual income of the Library. Miss Mary Whitney, in her will, had left one hundred dollars for the library, to be used according to the discretion of the committee. It had been their intention to purchase some costly, illustrated work, and inscribe her name upon it in lasting honor. It now seemed that the best use to which the money could be applied, would be to exchange it for the antique sideboard or locker. This was done. The article was covered with <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> coats of <sup>(t)</sup> paint, and two of varnish. An ingenious painter removed the covering and brought out the real surface. It stands now in the cabinet, in Memorial Hall, with a suitable inscription in reference to Miss Whitney. The Chairman of the Committee, Rev. Mr. Bartol, with great felicity, selected the following motto for the plate which is fastened to the furniture. *Sic siti Lares laetantur.* \*

(4) The locker had been painted red. - the ornamentation being colored black. - but subsequently had been covered with a dingy yellow paint. The "ingenious" painter simply scrubbed them off. with scraper sandpaper + spirits. - This is undoubtedly an importation from England. resembling in many particulars, similar articles of furniture highly valued for historic associations. - and especially the Locker which has long stood in the President's Room at Harvard College. Known as the Desk of John Eliot the "Apostle to the Indians" -

7"  
- Mr Bartol says of this

x See Prynne's Royal Residences II. - where it is related that this motto was inscribed in the centre of the entablature of the Eastern front of Buckingham House, since Buckingham Palace.

## Furniture.

In old inventories we find the names of articles in general domestic use among the forefathers, and while noting the frugal supply & the scant variety of domestic utensils even among the well-to-do, we also discover sundry chattels the names or utility of which have long disappeared from among us.

- E.g. "Powdering Tubbs" - (wherein meat was salted.)  
"Mault Mills." "Still" - "Beer Casks" { "Vats to wet Barley in"  
"Pillion" "Pannel" { spelled "ffalls" some  
times.  
"Spitt"  
"Fire-fork" - "Brasse, Putter" - I.e. (Beers & Pewter ware)  
"Flarkett"  
"Settle Bed"  
"Warming Pan"  
"Skillett" "Peggin" "Rundlet" "Noggin" "Trammels"  
"Pieces of Pewter" "Porringers"  
"Spinning Wheels." "Brake" "Hatchel." "Sawigh" "Loom"  
"Kneeding Trough" "Quarves" (i.e. handmills)

The above are chiefly from Miles Standish's inventory

We find from numerous inventories that generally there was a "bedsted in the Parlour", and not infrequently a single or double "Ancker of strong waters" in the cellar.

One "pewter platter" or "one silver spoon" and "the great Bible" are items often found in bequests. Incessor cloathes acquainted his son among other things a "pendulum watch" & "my silver tankard" Commonly all receptacles of "linnen", "cloathes" etc are called by the comprehensive name "chests", though "trunk" is also rarely found.

One interesting question remained to be decided, if it were admitted that Mr. Rowlandson was formerly the owner. The question was this. Was the article ever in Lancaster? It was the general opinion that the furniture was burned in the universal conflagration. Therefore the probability was that the locker, if such it may be called, was bought when Mr. Rowlandson began house-keeping in Wethersfield. But inquiry elicited the <sup>statement</sup> fact that it had belonged to John White, who brought it from England. He came over in the early years of the colony. The minister married Mary, the daughter of Mr. White. The latter died not long before the massacre. Hence it follows that the article was brought to Lancaster, and at the division of Mr. White's personal estate, probably fell to the Rowlandsons. The connection was complete. It is supposed that the sideboard had valuables in it, and that the Indians, after getting possession of the burning garrison, hastily carried it out, in order to save its contents from the fire, and then rifled it at their leisure. These things being so, Memorial Hall, Lancaster, is the fittest depository for it in all the earth, and truly as well as classically may it be said to rejoice in being so placed.

It is too late to learn what became of the other fugitives during the years of their absence. And a thousand thrilling incidents and anecdotes, which once were told around roaring fireplaces, till the children's hair stood on end, have passed from human remembrance. The orators of the town, at successive commemorations, from Mr. Harrington onward to more recent times, have referred to these events, as well known to their hearers, but have failed to commit them to paper. Tradition has been fading out, in each succeeding generation, till now nothing but the shadow of a shade remains of all that once was stamped deep on the memory of the sufferers and their descendants.

Nor have we any Records of the town to instruct us in regard to this portion of our history. From 1670 to 1717, a

period of forty-seven years, there is a total hiatus in the town and the Proprietors' Records. A volume of Records was (u') "mysteriously lost," says Willard, about ninety years ago. The "Book of Lands" gives the patient searcher a few stray facts; but the main dependence of the historian, for these years, is the history of the Province, and the Records in the State House in Boston. These last are rich in facts, and well reward the explorer.

u" It is not possible to fix the date when the rebuilding of the town began. In the fifth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, page 270, it appears that the Middlesex county court, in October, 1679, by authority of a law then existing, appointed a committee to renew the settlement. The names of this committee were Capt. Thomas Prentice, distinguished as a cavalry officer in Philip's war, Dea. John Stone and William Bond. What service they rendered is not on record. (A French traveler went through the town in 1679 and found a few families.) It is certain that quite a number of the proprietors had returned, and begun to build as early as 1681, because we find in the Records at the State House, the following petition, dated February 28, 1682, <sup>MS</sup> which shows how many were on the ground at that time. It is headed: <sup>the</sup> "Petition of the poor <sup>of</sup> inhabitants of Lancaster," and goes on to show, "That whereas your poor petitioners, by the late Indian war were much Ruined, our houses and other buildings and fences burned, and most of our substance wasted, and some of our Children slain and some carried into Captivity by the enemy, and some never Returned; and we with the Rest forced to fly for our lives, and to leave our places of living to seek shelter in other towns where we could, and have gone through many straits and difficulties upon that account, so that few towns in the country have suffered the like; and now through the good hand of God about seventeen or eighteen families have again returned, with a desire to rebuild the plantation again; and through many difficulties by Reason of our poverty, are about build-

who? This  
must be an  
error. I fear.

Mass. Archives  
Vol. 112 p 330

24 What Willard does say is "unaccountably disappeared"

ii" This fact does not appear in 5<sup>th</sup> Vol. Mass. Hist. Coll. p. 270!!! The author quotes from Willard's Hist. of L. p. 40. the statement about this Committee. & Willard refers at the end of his note to Mass. Hist. Coll. because of a brief account therein of Capt. Thos. Prentiss' exploits. There is in that article no mention of Middlesex Court or of this Committee respecting Lancaster. nor does Willard's language imply that there is -

The appointment of the Committee "for to order and settle the rebuilding of Lancaster" can be found in Mass. Records Vol III p. 306.

The original order of court can be however readily found attached to the petition of the Lancaster inhabitants who desired it in the Middlesex Court Files for Oct 1679. Here follows a copy of the paper.

"To the honored County Court sitting at Cambridge Oct. 7. 1679. ye humble petition of those whose names are here underwritten, ye Inhabitants of Lancaster before o<sup>r</sup> removal from thence by reason of ye late warres,



in or owne & others behalfe ye proprietors of  
ye said place as followeth.

Whereas there was an order made the  
last hono<sup>rd</sup> generall Court yt places  
deserted should not be againe inhab-  
ited, till the people first make application  
unto the Govern<sup>r</sup> & Council, or to the County  
Court within whose jurisdiction they be  
for a Committee to order matters concern-  
ing ye place, as in the said Law is  
expressed, wee yo<sup>r</sup> petitioners with divers  
others purposing (if ye Lord please) to  
returne to Lancaster from whence we have  
bene scattered, doe humbly request this Court  
that they will be pleased to nominate &  
appoint an able & discreet Committee for  
that end, who may w<sup>th</sup> all convenient  
speed attend the said Revisors, that soe we  
may proceed to settle the place w<sup>th</sup> Comfort &  
encouragement & yo<sup>r</sup> petitioners shall pray  
for the Lords gracious presence w<sup>th</sup> you in

all yo<sup>r</sup>. Administrat<sup>o</sup>ns.  
[in another handwriting] and the persons  
which were under —<sup>?</sup> doe nomenat  
if this honored Court se cause to approve  
of them is. Deacon Ward of marelborough,  
lieutenant haines of Satbury and Comit  
Woodes of Concord.

John Prescot Senior

John Moore

Thomas Sawyer Senior

John Rugg

John Prescott Junior

Jonath<sup>n</sup> Prescott

Thomas Wilder

Thomas Sawyer Junior

Josiah White ("Whist")

Endorsed. " 7<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 79.

In Answer to ye motion of ye within  
named subscribers the Court do nomenate  
Capt Prentice, Deacon Stors & Corporall Wm  
Bond to be a Committee to settle ye re-  
building of Lanchester as the order of

Court provides. Capt. Prentice to  
appoint ye time & place of meeting  
& all persons concerned to attend."

(a) See Colonial Records Vol 4 p 341. 1691-2

(a') See note top of page opposite p. 90.

aa. June 18 1683 an inquest was held over the  
drowned John Whitcomb, & eleven citizens  
names are attached to the verdict. in Middlebury  
Court Files. These are the names.

John Moore Sen

Thomas Sawyer Sen

John Rugg

Thomas Sawyer Jun

Yonah White

Daniel Hudson

Joseph Waters

John Beaman

James Snow

James Houghton

John Houghton Jun.

From Mass. Archives Vol 112. p 366.

ing and fencing, that so<sup>e</sup> they may provide for their families, and not be troublesome and burdensome to other towns, which of necessity must have <sup>been</sup> done if we had continued where we were, ~~And~~ this year<sup>e</sup> the <sup>honoured</sup> Hon. Treasurer sent his warrant for a countries Rate; and though<sup>t</sup> it be but a little, yet to our griefe we must say, we are not able to pay it. Therefore your poor petitioners humbly crave this <sup>Honoured</sup> Court to remit this Rate, and grant an exemption from countries Rates for the future for some years, — so<sup>e</sup> many as this Honoured Court may judge meet. And in so<sup>e</sup> doing you will oblige your poor petitioners, as in duty<sup>e</sup> we are bound for ever to pray for a blessing upon all the Concerns of this Honoured Court." This paper was drawn up and signed by Ralph Houghton, "by a generall desire and <sup>voice</sup> vo<sup>l</sup>te." The rate was  
 x remitted for two years. a

It is a matter of regret that the inhabitants did not sign the petition, and thus leave their names on record as the first planters of the resuscitated town.

The next definite date is June 8, 1684, when there was a  
 move made towards building a new meeting-house. All  
 historical accounts of the town which refer to the subject, affirm that the first meeting-house remained till the thirty-first of July, 1704, when in the words of Mr. Willard, "it was burned by the Indians." But this is a mistake. A new house was erected, probably in 1684<sup>1-4</sup>, which continued till 1704. The action of the town in relation to the matter is reported in these words. aa

os - " <sup>May 28</sup> June 11, 1684, the Town<sup>e</sup> being mett together upon adjournment of a public<sup>que</sup> meeting, The Town<sup>e</sup> made choise of Josiah White, and gave him order to gather in all ~~the~~ Rates Due from all that live out of town<sup>e</sup> to the meeting-house and ministry in this last year's Rates. This was confirmed by a vote of the town<sup>e</sup>" A petition was sent to the general court, dated September 21, <sup>1683</sup> 1683, praying for legislative interposition. It reads: "Josiah White, in behalfe of the Town of Lancaster, now upon a resettlement, humbly Prayeth this a"

a <sup>able</sup> honored court's order, (if it may seem <sup>e</sup> good,) for the confirmation and strengthening of the <sup>vote</sup> order passed by the Town as above written, that all those who are Proprietors of Lands lying within said Town, although not dwelling there, may be assessed in proportion to the value of their Estates as the said Inhabitants are, towards the erecting of a meeting-house, maintenance of a minister, and other public charges; the rate for this year being made as above. And that you be pleased to <sup>order</sup> grant the levying of the same." The petition was granted, and all "persons, <sup>or</sup> their heirs, executors or administrators" concerned, were levied upon to build the house, and support public worship. The papers contain the signatures of John Houghton and Josiah White. The names of the absentees show that many had not yet returned. Some of them never took up their abode here. Here follow the names: Henry Kimball, Thomas Swift, Stephen Waters, Edmund Parker, Archelos Corser, Daniel Gains, Simon Gates, Thomas Gates, <sup>Adm.</sup> Major Willard, Mr. Robinson, <sup>for</sup> William Lewis, John Lewis, Christopher Lewis, <sup>for</sup> Mordecai Mukload, <sup>for</sup> John Divoll, Thomas Harris, Jeremiah Rogers, Jonas Fairbank, George Adams, <sup>for</sup> Ben Allen, Lawrence Waters.

This action of the town and of the general court does not prove that a meeting-house was built in 1685, or the next year; but there is other proof. At the time when the house of worship was built on the Old Common, in 1704, there was a question whether it should not be built where a meeting-house had been built "twice before."

The process of rebuilding went forward from year to year, former settlers returning, and new settlers taking up new land, or purchasing of those who had found a permanent home elsewhere. It is not probable that the population increased very fast by migration, because the state of the country was still unsettled, the town was on the frontier, and the long-lived revenge of the baffled Indians might lead them back to inflict stealthy vengeance.

Joseph Rowlandson Jr. seems to have come to Lancaster & to have rebuilt the paternal household. January 20. 1687 he deeded a dwelling house and ministerial lands on the west of the river, and also the 'right pastures' to Philip Luce, etc. Rowlandson was one of the original proprietors of Rutland in 1686.

a

Wm Lewis was dead

Ben Allen was dead

Maj: Willard was dead & the word 'Adm.' (Administrator) is here inserted

x. a <sup>(Claudecai elliptica)</sup> Daniel Gains, who was killed in the massacres of 1676.  
Tomas Fairbank  
Tos D'Woll

Lawrence Waters the first settler died in Boston or Charleston 1687. A son of the first settler had the same name born 1635. Stephen another son was born 1643.

Thomas Harris was probably the butcher of Boston whose second wife was the daughter of the first Abraham Jordin. He is once called the "blackie" in town records. He had purchased the rights of John Ball's heirs 1682.

George Adams was of Watertown probably. He had a grant from Susan, Matthew & James of "Washpage Hill" - ? Washpage Hill.

H. Robinson, Kimball, Swift, & Christopher Lewis

I find nothing <sup>certain</sup> in Savage. The other names have been noticed in Chapter 3 p 58. seq.

(Hathaniel Robinson.)

There were two Thos Swifts, Father & Son, of Orcheston, the father died 1675. He had a daughter Mary marry a John White perhaps the second John of Lancaster.

Christopher was I suppose of Wm Lewis a first settler, brother of John. There was a Benj. Allen of Esotom. Daniel in L. 1662-68 - Thomas & Simon Gates sons of 1<sup>st</sup> Stephen. The Gates had property & lived in Cambridge Stow & Lancaster, now here, now there, it would seem as inclination or profit led them.

a Sir Wm Phips

The ministry asked Mathew to nominate a proper person for governor. & the King appointed the nominated - who was Mathew's near friend. Palfrey's differs very much from Mathew's estimate of Phips character, & standing before his people. 2.9: "Phips had entered on his administration with no great support of popular favor, and what there was of it fell off" p 146 Vol 4. Certain it is that his administration was so unsatisfactory, that after enduring only two and one half years, he was recalled to England to defend himself against numerous complaints. Though an honest man, he possessed very little ability in the management of public affairs, was quarrelsome & lacked dignity of character.

In the meantime great changes were occurring in the mother country, which affected deeply the welfare of the colony. The reign of Charles II., base in its progress, had come to a welcome end. James II. had succeeded him, in 1685, and by a course of arbitrary and cruel rule, had raised regrets that Charles was dead.

While the fathers of the new town were building a house in which to worship God, after the Puritan fashion, James was madly trying to revolutionize Great Britain, and restore the supremacy of Roman Catholicism. But his attempt failed. ~~In the autumn~~<sup>Nov. 5</sup> of 1688 the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and ~~marched~~ towards London. James fled the country, and ~~in the early part of the next year~~<sup>February 13 1689</sup>, William and Mary were firmly seated on the throne of England. The news was received in Boston with unbounded delight. The king and queen were proclaimed, and the news of their accession was hailed with joy throughout the colony.

Andros and Randolph, the minions of tyranny, were defeated. They had used every art to subvert the liberties of the people, but their master was an exile, and the Rev. Increase Mather had returned from England with a new Charter. The new royal Governor, Sir William Phipps, <sup>a</sup> by permission of the king, had been named by Mather. He was a native of the soil, and in perfect sympathy, politically, religiously and socially with the people. While faithful to his sovereign, his only aim seemed to be how he might best promote the well-being of the colony.

The new charter was a great event in our history. This is not the place to narrate the means by which it was secured. It is only necessary to state that the chief agent in securing it, Dr. Mather, was the first man in the colony, as regards education, ability, and address, and that, while he failed to secure all he aimed at, and all which the people wished, he did obtain an instrument which guarded all the great and primal rights and interests of the colonists. In one respect, the change was important. The king and queen were friends of



religious liberty. Mary was a protestant and a member of the church of England. William was a protestant who conformed to the national church, but at the same time, was a Calvinist with presbyterian affinities. In this state of things it was impossible to obtain a charter which would confine political ascendancy to a single sect or denomination. The basis of suffrage was extended. The head of the church of England would not authorize the colonists to exclude its members from citizenship and office. And thus, in spite of the reluctance of the ruling influence in the colony, its charter was an advance on its predecessor, and the way was opened for the enfranchisement of all the people.

But while the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, and indeed all New England, the middle and the southern colonies, had occasion to welcome the accession of William and Mary, yet this event involved them in serious calamities. William was the head, heart and soul of the league of European powers at war with France. His accession was followed with hostilities, which extended to our shores. The French power menaced our fathers on the north and west, and could infest the trackless forests with sly and ruthless enemies. The effects were soon visible.

<sup>a</sup> In the summer of 1689 the inhabitants of Lancaster were alarmed. Then began a course of hostilities which continued, with intervals of peace, till 1759, when Wolfe broke the power of the French in America, on the heights of Abraham. On the fourteenth day of July, 1689, a town meeting was held, which took the following action. "Whereas we the inhabitants of Lancaster, being under some fears of being surpris'd by the Indians, we being by former experience sensible of their malice and cruelty, and being at present destitute of any officers in power to order the military affairs of the town; they do mutually nominate Mr. Thomas Wilder for a Lieutenant, and sergeant John Moore to be Ensign; and doe hereby address ourselves to our

a - In "New York Colonial Manuscripts" Vol III - p. 557 &c  
is a Letter of Captain Francis Nicholson, dated  
Boston August the 31<sup>st</sup> 1688.

from which I extract the following passage.

x x At night I came to Dunstable (about 30 miles  
from hence) from thence I sent two English men and  
an Indian to Penecoate being sixty miles up the  
river Merrimack: The men told me they should be  
there <sup>3</sup> dayes in doing of it; Soe next day I went  
through Exeter and Lancaster where the people were  
very much afraid (being out towns) butt I told them  
as I did other places that they should not be soe  
much cast down, for that they had the happiness  
of being subjects of a victorious King who could  
protect them from all their enemies " x x

(a) Mass. Archives Volume 107 page 171 -

\* The revolution began in November 1688. King James abdicated his throne December 11, 1688. William + Mary accepted the crown Feb'y 13, 1689. Andros was seized by the people in Boston April 18, 1689, and news from England of the proclaiming Wm + Mary sovereigns of Great Britain arrived in Boston May 26, 1689.

a' Mass Archives Volume 107 p. 15.

honored Council for allowance and confirmation of the same. By order of the town<sup>e</sup> John Houghton, clerk." The petition<sup>a</sup> was granted.

This was the sequel to more significant action taken by the town on the seventeenth of the preceding May. The reader of our revolutionary history is often impressed by the sagacity and heroism of the people living in our country-towns as evinced by their votes and resolutions in support of the provincial congress and the general congress of the United Colonies. They bade defiance to the mother country, and pledged fortune and life for the defence of their liberties. But their action had been anticipated by their great-grandfathers one hundred years before. Thus when the news came of the revolution of 1688 in England, but before the settlement of William and Mary was known, the people of Lancaster joined with Boston, and the other towns in espousing the cause represented by the prince of Orange. The following extract from the town Records found in the Archives at the State House, reveals the free revolutionary spirit of our forefathers.

<sup>3d</sup> "Lancaster May 6. 1689  
 "The inhabitants of Lancaster, meeting together, — <sup>read</sup> May 17, — according to advice from the honorable Council given at Boston, May 13<sup>th</sup> 1689, do accordingly choose and impower Mr. Ralph Houghton to serve with the Council on the Town's behalf<sup>e</sup> as occasion shall require; which was confirmed by a vote of the Towne<sup>e</sup>. The Town's desire and expectation is, that our honored governor and assistants that were elected by the freemen of this colony in May, 1686, or so many of them as by the said honored governor and company shall be Judged meet together with the Deputies that shall be sent down from the several Respective Towns, shall Resume and exercise the government as a general Court, according to our Charter, for the year ensuing, or untill that orders from his highness, the Prince of Orange, appear for the settlement of our affairs; which was declared by a vote of the Towne as attests John Houghton, Towne Clerk."

<sup>a</sup>  
 John Houghton  
 Towne Clerk.

*Mass Archives  
Vol 91* This was the final farewell to the house of Stuart by the freemen of Lancaster. The town had already chosen military officers, in view of threatened hostilities, and on the twelfth of July, the general court sent up a party of soldiers to guard Lancaster, and places adjacent, and to discover, surprise and destroy the enemy.

v" During these troublous times the people were not destitute of the "ministry of the word." Mr. Harrington states that "after the re-settlement, divers gentlemen for the space of seven years supplied the pulpit." This covers the time from 1681 to 1688. The names of four ministers are given, viz., Rev. Messrs. Carter, Denison, Woodroffe and Oakes. Samuel Carter graduated at Harvard in 1660, and Edward Oakes in 1679. These men may have been temporary supplies in Lancaster. Mr. Woodroffe or Woodrop was one of the two thousand ministers turned out of their benefices, under the act of conformity in 1662, when Baxter, Howe, and other great lights of the English pulpit were put under the ban. Mr. Woodrop came to New England, in the words of Cotton Mather, "after the persecution which then hurried x such as were non-conformists." It is hard to imagine how the people in their poverty and hardships could support a minister; but in February, 1688, they had the courage to invite Mr. John Whiting to "preach on probation." He continued to preach and perform pastoral duty until November, 1690, when he was invited "to settle in the ministry."

(v') (Xs) He accepted the invitation, and it is believed was ordained *December 14<sup>th</sup>* soon after. This is an instance of the caution of the ancient churches in settling ministers, and it goes far to account for the stability, influence, and usefulness of the clergy in those early days. It is also an illustration of that regard for a faithful ministry of the gospel which distinguished our pious ancestry. The formation of a church, and the services of a minister seemed to be the first public action of a settlement. According to Capt. Edward Johnson, in his book entitled, "Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour, in New

(V) "Wednesday Dec 3. 1690 A Church is gathered & the  
John Whiting ordained minister at Lancaster. Mr  
Sam. Whitney gives him his charge. Mr Estabrooks  
gives the right hand of Fellowship: Mr Beersmead  
& others there "

Diary of Samuel Sewall. Vol. 1. p. 337.

This date S.S. would be December 14. 1690.  
John Whiting? son of Rev. Saml. Whiting of Billerica - a graduate of Harvard  
1685. Killed at the age of 33. Sept. 11. 1697. - see note top of next page.

v. Samuel Carter son of Thomas Carter the minister of  
Woburn. born 1640 died 1693 was a resident of  
Lancaster. Members of his family are named on  
page 34 in Lieut Nath. Wilder's Garrison. & descendants  
have lived in that section of the town until late in  
this century - He married Eunice Brooks in 1672.  
& was called to the ministry in Groton 1692.  
He was a teacher in Woburn. See Sibley's Harvard Graduates  
& may have been here, though of Vol. 2 p. 65-67  
this I find no record

Samuel Carter's widow married John Kendall.

She had 5 sons & 4 daughters by Carter -

The Inventory of Samuel Carter's Estate filed 17 Oct. 1693  
amounts to 133 £ 19 s. "wif Eunice" was appointed Administratrix.  
One item of inventory is "Brooks 15 £ 10 s"  
For Genealogy of Carter family see Historical & Genealogical Register  
Volume 17 p. 51

Rev. Mr Whiting was a man of considerable property.  
His inventory foots up 221 £ 9 s. He had lands in Cambridge  
as well as Lancaster. His books were valued 7 £ 14 s -  
He had a very much more varied supply of household gear  
than is customarily found in the inventories of that period.  
His children "Alice & Fanie" died before their father but a  
brief time & Eunice died in November -

x The exact words are "after the re-establishment of  
the Episcopalian church-government in England, and  
the persecution which then hurried oned such as  
were non-conformists unto that establishment."'  
See Hildreth Hist. U.S. 1. 454. Magnolia Book 111.

a

The author forgets to record anything about Rev. John Whiting's family history. He was the son of Rev. Samuel Whiting H. 26. 1653 who was "Faithful Minister of the Gospel in the New English Town of Billerica" for 55 years. dying 1713 - John was educated at Cambridge in class of 1685. He left widow Alice (Cook) daughter of Joseph Cook of Cambridge & two little daughters Alice <sup>or Fanny</sup> who died May 14 1697 aged 2 yrs 10 m & Eunice died Nov. 4 1697 aged 1 year - The widow 1701 married Rev<sup>d</sup> Timothy Stevens From Oliver Whiting (who is sometimes called "of Lancaster") the brother of Rev. John - were descended the family of Whiting's in Lancaster during the present century, Timothy the grandson of Oliver - having come from Billerica. hither, about 1782 -

The English progenitor of the American family was Hon. John Whiting Mayor of Boston England in 1600 & 1608, Rev Samuel Whiting the Elder being his son.

(b). In this Colonial practice of rewarding military service by grants of public lands, we see the origin of a custom now become national. It was not until 1733. that grants of townships were actually made to soldiers or their families, but the promise of such bounty was made in 1676 when the troops mustered on Dedham Plain, for the expedition against the Narragansets.

a \* see note opposite p. 175 which belongs here

See Vol. 16 p. 149 of Genealogical Register -  
 x a / John Pope (son of John of Dorchester) born married  
 Beatrice Houghton 1683. His wife  
 (Beatrice Pope! we find (p 133) of Capt Wilder's garrison.  
 Also in same "James Atterton of Harvard in the Right of his Uncle Joseph Atterton"

England," it was as "unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able Minister, as for a Smith to work his iron without a fire; therefore this people that went about placing down a Town began the foundation-stone, with earnest seeking of the Lord's assistance, by humbling of their Souls before him in daies of prayer: *imploving his aid in so aright a work.*"

The "Canada Expedition," under Gov. Phipps, fills a sad page in our early history. Many impediments concurred to make it a failure. By its casualties homes were made desolate in all the eastern colonies. One circumstance connected it with the origin of many towns forty or fifty years later. The soldiers were not fully paid, but their claims were acknowledged by the general court, when the survivors or their heirs, nearly fifty years afterwards, were made the grantees of large sections of land. In this way Ashburnham, Winchendon and many other towns were settled. The soldiers from Dorchester had a tract called, "Dorchester Canada," now Ashburnham, and the soldiers from Ipswich had a tract styled, "Ipswich Canada," now Winchendon. Lancaster had been settled long before, but her soldiers in the expedition had claims which were recognized by the general court. In 1738, a petition was sent to the general court in "behalf of those who went in the Canada Expedition of 1690, under Capt. John Withington." The names of the petitioners were as follows.

"Oliver Wilder, <sup>of Lancaster</sup> in right of his Wife, Mary, daughter of Jona<sup>h</sup>. Fairbank, who <sup>served</sup> went under Capt. Champne<sup>x</sup>."

Thomas Wilder, <sup>of Lancaster</sup> in the right of John Pope, His Wife's father.

Joseph Wilder, <sup>of Lancaster</sup> in right of His Uncle, Samuel Wheeler, His mother's Brother, who served under Major Wade. x a'

Joseph Wheelock, <sup>of Lancaster</sup> in right of his Uncle, Timothy Wheelock, who served under Capt. Anderson."

These four men, viz., Jona. Fairbank, John Pope, Samuel Wheeler, and Timothy Wheelock, were the first soldiers of Lancaster who went on long expeditions. They had many successors in after years.



Though the frontier towns had been alarmed from the opening of the war between England and France in 1689, no attack was made on the inhabitants of this town before 1692, when, on the twenty-ninth of July, the "Indians assaulted the house of Mr. Peter Joslin, who was at his labor in the field, and knew nothing of it till entering the house, found his wife and three children and a woman, — the widow Whitcomb, — that lived in his family, barbarously butchered by their hatchets, and weltering in their gore." His wife's sister, Elizabeth How, continues Mr. Harrington, "with another of his children, were carried into captivity; but that child was murdered in the wilderness. Thus was he stript naked, and called to bitter weeping and lamentation."

There are faint traditions connected with this massacre which have some human interest even to this day. The location is commonly supposed to be where Mr. McNeil now resides; but in all probability it was on or near the site of Mr. Frederick Johnson. The former lives on the old lot of John Gates, and the latter on the lot of Nathaniel Joslin. Somewhere between the houses of Mr. McNeil and Mr. Johnson, and a little farther west of the road, was probably the scene of the bloody deed.

It has come down to us, on what authority is not given, that the Indians did not intend murder when they entered the house; but that they were provoked by the sharp tongue, and the long oven-shovel of Mrs. Joslin, and in their rage, slew her and the other victims. This is quite credible, because the Indians were accustomed to enter houses freely, and in an insolent and lordly way, demand food, drink and whatever they desired. Besides, they had no patience with scolding women or crying children. The proper resentment of a spirited woman might have been the occasion of a ruthless massacre, by men who had no self-control.

The other tradition brings out an Indian trait. With all their saturnine gravity, the natives had a turn for boisterous mirth and jollity. It is related that two of the Indians, at

(W) Elizabeth Howe was sixteen years old when captured, and remained in Canada four years, when she was ransomed by the government. (1696). She returned home & about <sup>Dec. 23<sup>rd</sup> 1698</sup> two years after married Thomas Hoys, residing in Marlboro<sup>d</sup> during life, dying at the age of 87 yrs. See Genealogy of the Hoys family published 1880. & Hudson's History of Marlborough p. 100.

In Genealogical Register Vol 4 p 64. she is said to have died Aug 18 1764 act 90 - but 87 accords better with above statements. When she returned, she had acquired many Indian habits & usages, such as their way of sitting, but these she soon lost. She however, the tradition is retained, great skill in certain needlework learned in Canada. When she reached Boston, coming from captivity by way of Casco, Governor Stoughton sent for, & asked her many questions. That she could give sharply intelligent replies is proved by one which has come down to us. When the Governor pretended some surprise that she had not been ransomed before, as he had ordered all the captives purchased or exchanged several times, she remarked, "that if she had been a beaver skin, she would have been redeemed much earlier".

April 17 1701 a Resolve was passed by the General Court allowing "Three Pounds Eighteen Shillings" to be paid "Mr Thomas Howe the having paid so much for the Redemption of Elizabeth Howe who was Captive to an Indian".  
Mass. Archives Vol. 71 p 518-

X<sup>1</sup> This is a serpentine simile indeed!!  
"which like a wounded snake drags its slow length along"

Watagadock

(a) supposition only. for his inventory seems to prove  
that he could not have lived in the place hinted at  
unless the Washua used to run over Watagadock,  
for he is therein credited with -

"House Lott 12 acres & housing upon it. L10

X X X  
"three acres of Intervale Swamp at ye River by ye house."

"Hudson belonged to Thomas Sawyer's garrison, and was so listed  
1692.

X<sup>2</sup> I can find no authority for this location. Willard  
says "probably a little north of the house of Samuel Flagg Esq."  
Flagg in 1826 lived in the house now owned by Rice,  
but the barn is west of the house. A lady, native of South  
Lancaster, about 90 yrs. of age, says she always understood that  
Sawyer's garrison was where Mr. Kilbourn now lives, but Sawyer's  
land was farther south, between the "narrow lane"  
(which was its southern limit) & Daniel Gosses house.  
Hudson's garrison was where Kilbourn lives.

this time, mounted a horse with a boy between them, — perhaps the child taken captive, — and that, as they trotted along, feeling the pressure before and behind, he struck his elbows into them with great vigor. Pleased with the pluck of the boy, they rode along shouting with laughter. And so the whole scene vanishes from our view; but fear rested on many homes, and grief in many hearts for many a year.

Three years passed, when, <sup>in 1695</sup> on a "Lord's day morning, Mr. Abraham Wheeler, going from garrison to his own house, on some occasion, was there shot by an enemy that had lain in ambush for him." Though mortally wounded, Wheeler wrested the gun from the Indian, and carried it towards the garrison till he was met by his friends. This was the only act of violence done at the time, and whether it was an outbreak of private revenge, or the single eruption of a general, but frustrated plan of attack, is not recorded.

? ~~Wheeler's home is supposed to have been on the southwest slope of Watoquadoe, in Bolton.~~ a

In September, 1697, one of the greatest calamities that ever befel the town, was experienced. And the event seems doubly sad because peace had already been declared between the great belligerent parties in Europe. Before dawn, on the eleventh of September, the treaty had been signed. But in those days of slow communication, war, like a wounded serpent, though killed in the head, could continue to strike with its far-reaching extremities. The good news of peace was many weeks in coming to our shores. x'

On the twenty-second of September, eleven days after the signature of the treaty, and eight days after London had hailed the event with bon-fires, bell-rings and general rejoicings, the Indians entered Lancaster under five leaders, but one chief. They had been lurking in the "woods for some time, sending in <sup>their</sup> scouts by night to observe the posture of the town. <sup>And</sup> Having done this, they determined to begin the attack on Mr. Thomas Sawyer's garrison." This was near the barn of John A. Rice, in South Lancaster. The x<sup>2</sup>

Harrington

a

x'

Harrington

x<sup>2</sup>

firing there was to be a signal to all the other divisions "to fall on in their respective stations." When the inhabitants, on the morning of the twenty-second, "suspicious of no enemy," says Harrington, from whom we often quote, "were gone out to their labor, they came in several companies into the town, and were very near surprising said Sawyer's garrison, both the gates being left open; but that Mr. Jabez Fairbank, who was at his own house half a mile's distance, and designing to bring his little son from said garrison, mounted his horse which came running to him in a fright, and rode full speed into the gate, but yet nothing suspicious of an enemy." The Indians, who were just ready to rush through the open gates into the garrison, supposing they were discovered, desisted from their design upon Sawyer's garrison, but in their retreat, fired upon the people working in the fields.

Detached parties seem to have made havoc in different parts of the town, to such an extent, that at no time, according to Willard, "excepting when the town was destroyed, was ever so much injury perpetrated, or so many lives lost."

(y) The Rev. John Whiting was met at a distance from his garrison, B, by the enemy, who surprised and killed him. He was offered quarter, but "chose rather to fight to the last than resign himself to those whose tender mercies are cruelty."

At the same time, twenty others were killed; two were wounded, but not mortally, and six were carried away as captives, of whom five returned. Here follow the names of those who were killed. Rev. Mr. Whiting, Daniel Hudson,

his wife and two daughters; Ephraim Roper, wife <sup>Hannah</sup> and daughter; John Skait and wife; Joseph Rugg, his wife and three children; the widow <sup>Hannah</sup> Rugg; Jonathan Fairbank and two children.

(z) The captured were the wife <sup>Elizabith aged about 14.</sup> of Jonathan Fairbank, widow Wheeler, Mary Glasier, and a son each of Ephraim Roper, John Skait and Joseph Rugg. The names indicate that the larger part of those killed and captured belonged <sup>all or</sup> to South Lancaster. At the same time two garrison houses <sup>Ropers & Fairbanks</sup>

+ a John "Scate or Skate" was a dealer of leather in Boston in 1678. + had son John born by wife Sarah. in 1659 <sup>he</sup> who perhaps was this victim. He lived on George Hill.

Ephraim Ropers son captured was Ephraim by name - Was not Joseph Ruggs captive "son" a daughter "Hannah"? Hannah R. of L. was Captive at Albany 1695

(17) "Sabbath Sept. 12 1697 We hear of the daughter made  
at Lancaster yesterday."

"Sept. 13 At Roxbury, Mr Danforth tells me  
that Mr Whiting the <sup>minister</sup> was dead & buried: Indians  
shot and scalped him about noon."

Diary of Samuel Sewall Vol. 1. p. 457.

Whitings grave & memorial stone are in the old Cemetery. 1

(2) The author omits from the list of Harrington  
"and two children of Nathaniel Hudson" which  
make up the twenty one slain.

A few other particulars are told in Niles'  
History of the Indian & French Wars. (written  
about 1760) in 3<sup>d</sup> Series Vol. 6 of the Mass. Historical  
Society's Collections - p. 244. "We come now to  
the year 1698. On September 11 a party of the  
enemy fell upon the town of Lancaster and  
killed twenty people, among whom was  
Mr John Whiting, the minister of the town,  
& burnt three houses with several aged  
people in them: five were carried captive  
Captain Brown pursued them but by the  
barking of some dogs with the Indians, they  
rose in the night, and fled in haste, but  
first stripped and scalped a captive  
woman."

Jonathan Fairbanks & his daughter Grace have a memorial  
stone in the old Cemetery (see p. 657 also son Jonas.

Ephraim Ripley it will be remembered lost his first wife  
in the Massacre Feb. 10, 1696, but himself escaped. <sup>His 2<sup>d</sup> wife</sup>  
was ~~Abigail~~ Hannah Goble widow of that Stephen Goble who was executed 1676 Sep. 22  
for the murder of three friends by Indians.

Daniel Hudson came to L. from Watertown 1664. His wife's  
name was Joanna. They had six children when they came,  
and five were born in L. probably. The two children (see 2)  
of Nathaniel were Daniel's grandchildren. They lived on Gibson's Hill  
(now the Ripley homestead). Hudson bought of Major Willard (140 £) (1701)

Copies wholly from Nathaniel Magogah's

Probably

The two daughters killed were Elizabeth & Johanna aged about 39 & 37 yrs. - Hudson had also bought 20 acres of John Moore.

We find in Middlesex probate records that Eph. Rogers' daughter killed was probably Elizabeth aged about 14 & that another daughter was wounded. His son captured was Wherami aged about 12 yrs.

24 p. 128

The story of this disaster is told in Mather's Magnalia Vol. 2 p. 639 - "On Sept. 11 a party of the enemy came upon the town of Lancaster, then prepared for mischief by a wonderful security, and they did no little mischief unto it. Near twenty were killed, and among the rest Mr John Whiting the pastor of the church there. Five were carried captive, two or three houses were burnt and several old people in them. Capt. Brown with fifty men pursued them till the night stopped their pursuit; but it seems a strange dog or two unknown to the company, did by their barking alarm the enemy to rise in the night and strip and scalp an English Captive woman and fly so far into the woods that after two days bootless labour our men returned."

In a mss. journal belonging to the Mass. Historical Soc. supposed to be John Marshalls. I find the following -  
"1697. Sept. On the Saturday following the Indians did a great deal of mischief at Lancaster. they beset the town about noon. Burned 10 houses, killed and captivated about 20 persons of which the chief was the Reverend Mr John Whiting pastor of yr church of Christ there."

From the same journal date May 1697. "In the latter end of this month a woman the wife of Lieutenant Willder of Lancaster distrode her-self in a fit of melancholly. She was in her life time esteemed a truly pious woman by them yt knew her."

and two barns were burned. "On this sorrowful occasion," says Mr. Harrington, "the town set apart a day for prayer and fasting." There was mourning in many households, and sympathy in all; and doubtless as the people crowded their house of worship, on that day, and joined with some neighboring minister who stood in their beloved pastor's place, leading them in their devotions, their tears fell fast. Their only comfort was unfaltering faith in God.

The peace of Ryswick, signed in September, 1697, lasted until 1702, when war was renewed between England and France. About the same time, king William died, and was succeeded by queen Anne.

## 9

Gov. Stoughton wrote to Gov. & Council of Connecticut  
 "Upon ye 11<sup>th</sup> instant a party of Indians to ye number of about  
 forty as was judged about twelve o'clock the same day, Surprised  
 and Kild about 26 persons at Lancaster, of which the minister  
 of the town was one, burnt two Garrisonhouses and two Bames,  
 the Garrison being left open and ye Inhabitant surprised  
 in their Fields." See Mass. Archives Vol 2 p 257.



## CHAPTER VI.

INDIAN WAR IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE. TRAGICAL DEATH  
OF MR. GARDNER. THIRD MEETING-HOUSE. GARRISONS.  
NEW TERRITORY.

QUEEN ANNE came to the throne of England on the eighth of March, 1702, and reigned about twelve years. Joseph Dudley was governor of the colony. The queen inherited the war which had broken out just before the death of William III. The origin of the war was such as to unite all true Englishmen in its prosecution. It was this. William, after a severe contest, had been acknowledged by the court of France, as king of Great Britain and Ireland. At the decease of James II., Louis XIV., in a moment of foolish weakness, acknowledged the pretender, in violation of his treaty. William resented the perfidious act, recalled his ambassador from France, and ordered the French minister to leave London. The nation took up the quarrel with spirit and energy, and the king was about to enter on a campaign when death cut short his career. Marlborough became the general-in-chief of Anne and her allies, and waged the war till the pride of Louis was humbled. The great battles were fought on a narrow section of Europe, extending from the North Sea to the upper Danube, but the remotest dependencies of England and France were involved. The English colonists on the Atlantic coast, and the French settlers on the St. Lawrence, with their Indian allies, were forced into deadly collision.

But the flame of war did not reach this lovely valley till the summer of 1704. In the meantime matters of interest to the

In Mass Archives p 125. Vol 2 Ecclesiastical (11). is the following Petition.  
"To the Rt Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lieut Gov<sup>r</sup> the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council & Representatives Convened in  
Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly at Boston October 13 1697.

The Humble Petition of John Houghton in behalfe of the Inhabitants of the Towne  
of Lancaster Humbly sheweth - That fforasmuch as the Righteous God hath permitted  
the heathen Indian enemies to Kill & destroy many of our people in a cruel &  
barbarous manner both formerly and lately to the great terror and amazement  
of those that survive & to our great loss & Damage & especially in having  
our minister taken away by such an awfull stroke, we greatly feare  
we shall not prevail with any to com & settle with us in the work  
of the ministry because of the present troubles & also as being left  
few in number & brought very low by the long continued troubles  
all which is ready to cause us to despair of any longer continu-  
ance in said Towne except we may have some encouragement &  
Reliefe which moveth yo<sup>r</sup> petition<sup>r</sup> Humbly to Request you<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>rs</sup>.  
to Consider our distressed Condition & that one part of the tax last  
granted may be Remitted there being so many of the persons  
on whom it was levied & their estates destroyed & that we may  
be freed from paying taxes whilst wee Remained under such troubles  
& that if we may be p<sup>r</sup>mitted, through Gods goodnes to continue  
there for the future we pray that we may have your hon<sup>rs</sup> advise  
and help in the procuring & settlement of a minister, without  
which we cannot at present of ourselves do it, & that we may be  
supported with souldiers. for we are no long<sup>r</sup> able of ourselves  
to beare up under such a wasting & desolating War. all which  
being by you<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>rs</sup> considered it is hoped you will be meet to  
grant our Request as above which will greatly encourage  
Said Inhabitants & yo<sup>r</sup> petition<sup>r</sup> as in duty bound shall pray &c

John Houghton "

This is endorsed.

"In the House of Representatives Oct 19 1697 Rec<sup>d</sup>  
Read ye 26 Oct. 97 In ye house of Representatives  
Voted, That for encouraging & enabling ye said  
Towne to get a Minister if there be twenty pounds pay<sup>d</sup>  
out of ye publick Treasury of this province to ye minister  
if shall be procured to live there for ye first year

Sent up for Assurance

In Council

Pam Townsend Speaker

26<sup>th</sup> Oct 1697

Y<sup>o</sup> Assurance

Jo<sup>h</sup>n Addington Secy.

\* Note in Havering's Century Sermon

John Robinson graduate of 1695 Harvard  
at John Jones was graduate 1690 but not noted as a clergyman  
Samuel Whitman graduate 1696

Robinson was settled at Duxbury & died 1731

(a) Mass. Archives Volume 11 Ecclesiastical 2 pp 183-4

community had taken place. After the murder of Rev. Mr. Whiting, several ministers had supplied the pulpit, viz., Rev. Messrs. Robinson, Jones and Whitman. "Mr. Jones was invited to settle, but <sup>x</sup> difficulties arising, his ordination was prevented, and he removed." In May, 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner came here to preach, and in the succeeding September was invited to settle in the ministry. He remained, but for some unrecorded reason, was not ordained before his untimely death prevented the consummation of the mutual wish of himself and his people.

In the <sup>May 28<sup>th</sup></sup> spring of 1703, a portion of the tax-payers of the town sent the following petition to the general court, stating: "That in or about the year 1653 <sup>a</sup> The Inhabitants of the <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> Town did agree among <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> themselves to pay to, and for the use of, the <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> Minister of the Town, the sum of ten shillings a year, in consideration of their <sup>me</sup> house lots; and if that should fall short of a maintenance, then to make up the same by an equal <sup>me</sup> Rates upon their Goods, and other Improved Lands, in such way and order as the country rates was raised; which way and method was equal so long as the Inhabitants of the <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> Town continued upon their home lots. But now so it is, may it please your excellency and honors, that <sup>Several</sup> some of the <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> Inhabitants are removed from their home-lots, (which are left destitute and unimproved, and thereby disabled to pay any rate at all,) to their second <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> Division of Lots which pay no Rates, and the Charge of the Maintenance of the <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> Minister wholly falls upon your <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> Petitioners, to their great wrong and damage; and if not timely rectified by your <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> honors, will be of standing and intolerable inconvenience, and matter of Division in the said town, for that they are not able to bear the charge thereof. And forasmuch as the <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> said Town had never any Settlement made by Law, but such <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> agreement as above, which is neither binding nor equal; and whereas <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> said Town cannot agree among themselves how to raise their minister's salary; therefore your <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> Petitioners <sup>therefore</sup> humbly pray that your <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> excellency and honors will be pleased to take the Premises into your serious Consideration, and

settle the maintenance of the minister of the town in such methods and ways as to your <sup>Excell<sup>y</sup> and</sup> honors, shall, in <sup>sa</sup> great wisdom, <sup>yo<sup>r</sup></sup> seem to be most equal, just and right, and which may be binding <sup>up</sup> on them and their posterity forever." ~~xx~~ Benjamin Bellows, John Johnson, Joseph Glazear, Simon Stevens, Nathaniel Wilder, Peter Joslin, Josiah White, Samuel Bennet, William Divoll, Jonathan Whitcomb, Nathaniel Sawyer, Joseph Wheelock, John Glazear, George Glazier, Thomas Rosse, Samuel Prescott, Ephraim Wilder, Nathaniel Hudson, Samuel Carter, Daniel Rugg<sup>e</sup>, Cyprian St<sup>e</sup>vens.

The petition was dated May 28, <sup>1703</sup> and on the second of June the deputies, or lower house resolved "that inasmuch as the Inhabitants of the Town of Lancaster within mentioned, were driven out by the Enemy, and the Place wholly Deserted, their former Agreement for the maintenance of the <sup>er</sup> Minister is now null and void, and they ought to proceed to levy their minister's Rate upon their Inhabitants in equal Proportion, as the law Directs." This was sent up for concurrence. Under the date of September 7, this entry is found, "The other side having been heard, Ordered, That the Minister's Salary in the Town of Lancaster be Levied and Collected of the Several Inhabitants by the same Rules, and in the same proportions with the Province Tax for the <sup>s</sup> present year." This arrangement continued for several generations.

By the necessity of the times the matter of establishing garrisons had been reduced to a system. The following copy of a public document, in the possession of Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of South Boston, was kindly furnished by Samuel A. Green, M. D., city physician of Boston. It shows how many garrisons were in Lancaster, in 1704, and how many men were assigned to each garrison. It is given here in the form in which it came, with one obvious correction.

"Pursuant to Command from his Excellency bearing date April 15, 1704, for the Settling of Garrisons in ye Towne of Lancaster, and ordering men to ye same, We<sup>e</sup> the Subscribers do hereby Direct and Command you ye Inhabitants of sd

Ephraim Stevens married Mary daughter of Major Willard  
1671 - He occupied the homestead, which he received perhaps as  
dowry with Mary - His children were Mary, born 1672,  
in Lancaster - Simon born 1677 or 8 in Boston, who lived  
in Lancaster, but removed to Plainfield Conn. about 1723.  
& again to Marlborough in 1731 -

Dorothy died an infant -

Elizabeth born about 1681 married Capt Ephraim Wilder -  
They lived together 61 years -

Joseph resided in Lancaster a few years. e.g. 1716-18-19.  
Died at Rutland 1769 - His father Ephraim, was one of the  
original proprietors of Rutland -

John Moore & Jonathan were brothers sons of the 2<sup>d</sup> John who signed  
the covenant in 1654 - Their graves are in the old Ballton  
yard

The Glascocks (4) were probably from Woburn.  
where John had been <sup>Zachary</sup> John, Samuel & George. George of 2 sons & 3 daughters  
Sold the Edward Beck lot in 1726. to Col. Saml. Willard -

George Hervey (5) I find no mention of elsewhere.  
No such name appears in Proprietor's Record of  
Lands. It should be Hewes. though Dr Fox's copy has  
"Hervey" It is Hewes or Hues on p/p 137 + 143  
George Hewes married Lidia, the widow of George Bennett,  
(slain 1675) at Concord 3.5.1679.

The Benjamin Bellows of (7) was son of John  
b. 1678 at Marlborough married Dorcas widow of Henry son of Major  
Willard. There is a place near Still River. even  
now called Bellows' Hole - His son Benjamin,  
settled Walpole NH & gave name to Bellows' Falls.

Simon 1678-1706 John 1682-1761. Henry 1675-1747? Hezekiah  
& Joseph. were sons of Henry Willard who died 1701. He  
owned the Still River farm of his father the Major.

Lancaster to Repaire to your <sup>eff</sup> Several Garrisons according to appointment as follows, and attend your duties therein. Dat. 20 April, 1704.

(1.)		(5.)	
On ye east side of ye River.		Ensign Peter Joslin a garrison.	
	p'rsons	Himselfe commander.	1
John Moore and Jonathan Moore		Will'm Divoll	1
Allowed a Garrison, ye said		John Beaman, jr.	1
John Moore commander.	2	John Johnson	1
Jonathan Moore	1	Cyprian Stevens	1
Will'm Sawyer	1	Simon Stevens	1
Joseph Sawyer	1	Sam'l Bennitt	1
Josiah Wheeler	1	Jonathan Whetcomb	1 son of Jonathan
John Hinds	2	George Hervey	1 9.
James Keyes	1 9.		
(2.)		(6.)	
Josiah Whetcomb, sen allowed a Garrison, himself commander, 2		On ye east side Nashaway River.	
		p'rsons	
Josiah Whetcomb, jr. 1		Capt. Thomas Wilder and	
David Whetcomb 1		John Houghton, sen. allowed a	
Hezekiah Whetcomb 1		Garrison, Capt. Wilder command 3	
Jacob Houghton 1		John Houghton, sen.	2 son of John 14
Henry Houghton 1		John Wilder, jr.	2
John Wilder, jr. 1 8.		Jonas Houghton	2
		Robert Houghton	2
		John Rugg	1
		Tho. Wilder	1 son of John
		Beatrix Pope, widow	
		John Houghton, jr.	1
		Joseph Houghton	1 15. son of Ralph!
(3.)		(7.)	
Bare Hill.		Simon Willard and Benjamin	
John Priest, sen.	2	Bellows allowed a Garrison,	
John Priest, jr.	1	Said Simon Willard command'r 1	
John Warner	3	Benjamin Bellows 1	
Caleb Sawyer son of 1 <sup>st</sup> Tho	2	John Willard 1 brother of Simon	
James Atherton, sen.	1	Joshua Atherton 1	
James Atherton, jr.	1 10.	Henry Willard 1 son of Henry	
(4.)		James Houghton 3 son of Ralph	
On ye west side Penicook river called ye Neck.		Joseph Hutchins 1	
		Joseph Waters son of Lawrence 1	
Sergt Josiah White a Garrison, p'rsons		Hezekiah Willard 1 son of Henry	
Himselfe commander 3		James Smith 1 12.	
Joseph Wheelock 1			
John Glazier 1			
George Glazier 1			
Joseph Glazier 1 7.			

x I am sure "Henry" should be Henses though Dr Foggs copy has Henry. See page



(8.)		(10)	
		On ye west side Nashaway River.	
Lieut Nath'l Wilder a Garrison.		Mr. Andrew Gardner	
himselfe commander.	3	Thomas Sawyer, jr. a Garrison.	
Sam <sup>u</sup> el Carter	1	Thomas Sawyer Commander	3
Ephraim Wilder	1	Mr. Gardner	1
Thomas Ross	1	Jabez Fairbank	1
John Carter	1	7. Nath'l Sawyer	1
		John Harriss	1
		Daniell Rugg	1
		Sam'l Prescott	1 9.
		(11.)	
		At ye Corne Mill.	
(9.)		John Prescott, sen.	1
Gamaliell Beaman	2	John Prescott, jr.	1
John Beaman, jr. Sen. <sup>r</sup>	1	John Keyes	1
James Snow, sen.	2	8. Ebenezer Prescott	1 4.
James Snow, jr.	1		
Jeremiah Willson	1		
James Buttler	1		

JONATHAN TYNG,  
THO. BROWNE,  
JOHN LANE,  
JERAHMEL BOWERS.

A few words of explanation are needed. Here are eleven garrisons, and ninety<sup>eight</sup> men. Where figures 2 or 3 are in line with a name, probably we are to understand that a family supplied more than one soldier.

I have taken the liberty to number the garrisons. No. 1 was on or southeast of <sup>Wattoquadock</sup> the Old Common. No. 2 was probably on the southwest of Wattoquadock hill, one seat of the Whitcombs. No. 3 was on Bare hill in Harvard. No. 4 was on the east Neck road, near the house of Edward Houghton. No. 5 was on the west Neck road, near the house of William H. McNeil. No. 6 was on the north side of the Old Common, near the center of the Industrial School buildings. The Wilders and Houghtons had settled there before this date. No. 7 must have been at Still River in Harvard. No. 8 was on George hill, not far from Frank Taylor's place. No. 9 was probably near the house of Charles Safford, for a long time the home of the Beaman family. Some of them moved to Sterling, but it is doubtful if they had moved at this early

Thomas Ross (8) probably son of Thomas of Cambridge

John Beaman Jr (5) & (9) There could not have been 2 J.B. Jr's. The one at (5) was probably Jun. & the two at (9) brothers - sons of Samuil Sen. for we find p. 143. John Beaman Jr. on the neck in 1705.

No 1 was, I think, prob on old Common. but see "Wataquodock" or towards Marlborough. "Indique John Moore in 1667 had his house at "south end of Wataquodock" bounded east by Marlborough highway near "where some time Simon Pipo had a planting field" (Jonathan Moore, John Hinds, and Josiah Wheeler moreover were "near Hog Swamp".)

X.B. \* See note (cc) p 104. for spellings of Wataquodock. The graves of John & Jonathan Moore, Mrs Sawyer, Jas. & Mrs Wheeler & Hy. Houghton are in old Bolton yard, east of Wataquodock.

No 6. Willard says this, the chief garrison, was "warty rods back of the house" known as the Robertsons place.

No 8 - Willard says it was much further west - where Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder lived on the Toombi place now occupied by B.W. Smith & the author says elsewhere that Nathaniel Wilder lived here. See bottom of pag 135.

No 9. Wilson Butler, Beaman & Snow had lands near each other east or southeast side of Wataquodock, and there garrison No 9 probably stood. An "old garrison house" stood in Bolton until quite modern date, on the highway to Boston perhaps half a mile east of Church - Perhaps this was No 9 or No 2

2 See bottom of page  
x 7

In Govin's History of the "Praying Indians". (See p. 513 Am. Antiq. Soc. Transactions vol. 2). The detailed account of the cruel murders, referred to below, is given. The murdered were "two squaws, wives to two of our Indian Soldiers, the one named Andrew Pitime the Captain of the Indians; & the other, his sister (wife to one Thomas Speen, and one young woman, and three children whereof one was a nursing infant; and all the children of Thomas Speen aforesaid!" The murder was done "at a place called Hurtleberry Hill about four miles from Watertown" - When the women were missed by their friends "A long search discovered the bodies, "not far from one another cruelly murdered, some shot through, others their brains beat out with hatchets. x x "and the four murderers seized tried and condemned, and two of the four executed, and the other two pardoned by the General Court. x x x "This murder was very much decried by all good men, and it was some satisfaction that some of them are made examples. I know the murderers pretended to a law to warrant the act but the jurys and judge were not of their mind in the matter." -

See bottom of page  
xx 3 Daniel & Stephen Noble of Concord, had been executed in Sept 1676 for the same crime. Showing the iron justice of the times, notwithstanding the general excitement & rage natural after the many frightful massacres of that year. There was a grave suspicion among the people that the "friendly" or "praying" Indians, secretly abetted or aided the enemy. Mrs Rowlandson in "first remove" gives some proof of this - They were proved innocent however.

The Daniel Hoare condemned & pardoned with Nath Wilder probably was the only son of John Hoar (so influential in securing the release of Ellis Rowlandson) - born 1650 - Jonathan Prescott married Elizabeth the daughter of John Hoar.

{ The Nobles

xx' } Nathanil Wilder and Daniel Hoare, not far from the date of the massacre of 1676. Killed ~~some~~ Indian women & children in Watertown & being accused & found guilty <sup>all</sup> were sentenced to be hanged - Perhaps because of their youth they were pardoned. Wilder was at that time about 21 yrs. of age.

The Colonial Records. 11 Oct. 1676. p 117 - "Upon the humble petition of Daniel Hoare & Nathanill Wilder presented to this Court, acknowledging the justice of this Court & begging pardon for their lines the Court have granted their petition and accordingly doe remitt the sentence of death passed against them, and order, that they pay prison charges and tenne pounds apiece money, halfe towards the charge of witnesses to be payd to the Treasurer of the country and the other halfe to Andrew Pitime & Swagon of Indians prosecuting against them - On payment whereof they are discharged!" See above.

day. No. 10 is headed in the document "on ye east side Nashaway River." But this is an obvious mistake, as ~~Mr.~~ Rev. Andrew Gardner, the Sawyers, Fairbank, Rugg, etc., all lived near each other in South Lancaster. No. 11, "at ye Corne Mill," was in Clinton, the headquarters of the Prescott family, though Samuel Prescott still lived in South Lancaster. *on The "Rye field" - probably, near where H. Humphrey now lives.*

Though the people lived in constant apprehension of danger, yet the enemy made no attack on the town before the summer of 1704. Mr. Harrington states that an army of seven hundred French and Indians came from Canada, under the command of Monsieur Boocore, — spelling the name by the sound, — with the design of assailing Northampton. By information received from a deserter, the people were put on their guard, and the "western frontiers were seasonably strengthened." The allied French and Indians were weakened by a mutiny which arose respecting the division of plunder. So violent was the contention that over two hundred returned home. The remainder, on their approach to Northampton, learned from their scouts, that the English were ready in great numbers, to give them a warm reception. Therefore in a council of war, they abandoned the original plan of the campaign, and raised a large volunteer force to attack Lancaster.

On the thirtieth of July, old style, or the tenth of August, new style, they came within two miles of the town, (probably from the west,) and encamped for the night. While the people were sleeping, Indian spies were abroad like night-birds, searching for the exposed places where assault would be most promising of success. Early in the morning they fell with savage fury on that part of the town which extends from the Middle Cemetery westward up the side of George hill. In their first onset they killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, youngest son of the first Thomas Wilder, near the gate of his garrison, which stood north by west of the house now owned by E. Warren Smith. During the day, three others, — Abraham

*A soldier of the garrison*

*He spelled it as Penhallows did. quoting from him.*

*xx 1.2.3*

?

How, Benjamin Hutchins and John Spaulding, — were killed. The two former belonged to Marlborough. Perhaps they were here on garrison duty.

a<sup>2</sup> The people of Lancaster defended themselves with spirit. They were assisted by Capt. <sup>Wm</sup> Tyng of Dunstable, who had command of the garrison. Moreover, Capt. How of Marlborough, on the alarm being given, marched with "what men he could suddenly raise" to their relief. But the enemy greatly outnumbered the English, and obliged them to retreat into the garrison. The besiegers then sent out parties who burned the meeting-house, several dwellings and barns, and destroyed much live stock, hay and grain. The alarm soon spread into neighboring towns, and before night such numbers poured in that the enemy were alarmed, and hastily retreated. It was thought, at the time, that if they had waited, like those in 1697, till the inhabitants had gone into the fields, they "might in all human probability, have done much greater mischief, if they had not entirely destroyed the town. But God had mercy on his people."

The following contemporary account of the attack, taken from the *Boston News Letter* of October 30, 1704, old style, gives additional facts. "On Monday morning past, the enemy, French and Indians, fell upon Lancaster, about four hundred of them, assaulted six garrisons at once, where the people defended themselves very well, until assistance came in from all parts, by the governor's order, so that in the evening there were three hundred men in the town. And the enemy was beaten off with loss, but are yet hovering on the head of those towns, to make some further impression, if not prevented."

Nothing but a detailed statement can give us an idea of the losses caused by such a raid upon a peaceful settlement. The easterly slope of George hill for more than a mile north and south, was all ablaze that day, besides the burning meeting-house. The blow was a severe one to Lancaster, and was deeply felt. A petition was sent to the general court, in behalf of the inhabitants, representing the destitute condition

(a<sup>2</sup>). What was 'thought at the time', we have no means of knowing. This was Harrington's idea & his language is quoted.

See also Niles History of French & Indian Wars, in Mass. Hist. Collections 3<sup>d</sup> Series. Vol. 6. p. 259 & Penhallow p. 35 (1859 edition)

Penhallow's account is. " Their whole body was seven hundred, with two Friars, under the command of Monsieur Boocore who in their march began to mutiny about the plunder which they had in view - and expected to be master of: forgetting the proverb about dividing the skin before the bear was killed. Their dissention at last was so great, that upwards of two hundred returned in discontent. However the rest came on and sent Scouts before to observe the posture of the English, who reported that they were as thick as the trees in the woods. Upon which their spirits failed, and more of their number deserted. They then called a council of war who resolved to desist from the enterprise yet some staid, and afterwards fell on Lancaster and Groton, where they did some spoil, but not what they expected, for that these towns were reasonably strengthened?

Capt. Tyng and Capt. How entertained a warm dispute with them for some time, but being much inferior in number, were forced to retreat with some loss: yet those that were slain of the enemy, were more than those of ours. One of them was an officer of some distinction which so exasperated their spirits, that in revenge, they fired the meeting house, killed several cattle, and burnt many out houses. x x x x And yet a little while after they fell on Groton & Nashua, where they killed Lieut Wyke and several more. It was not then.

Known how many of the enemy were slain, it being customary among them to carry off their dead: however it was afterwards, affirmed that they lost sixteen, besides several that were wounded  
+ x x x x x

Harrington criticises Peukallow's account of mischief done in Lancaster as "imperfect" and "very erroneous": There is however no very grave discrepancy apparent between it & his own statement.

See Mass Archives Volume 113

(a) <sup>c</sup> All which creatures were then killed by ye Indians & Housing burnt by them, & many more creatures wounded & severall Horses that cannot yet be found, though some of the men that have been out have found where some horses have been killed and Rosted, also those Cattell are yet preserved are in great hazard to be Lost for want of Hay, especially many of those on ye west side of ye River, for most of ye Inhabitants on y<sup>e</sup> side have had but little or no help or protection in their Garrisons but have been necessitated to watch & ward a third part of their time at least, besides Ranging the woods after when Rumours & Alarms have happened so that more halfe our time is spent in actual service & when we are about our own work we cannot keep to it, but lose a

of the town, in general terms, and praying for a remission of the tax of eighty-six pounds. Being informed that a more particular account was desired, the following was sent by John Houghton, dated October 25.

"July<sup>se</sup> 31. 1704, <sup>ye</sup>The Indians besett the Town<sup>e</sup> in several places, and particularly Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder's Garrison, where early in the morning one of ~~the said~~ Indians shot him in the thigh, of which wound he dyed the same day; and ~~the said~~ Indians killed of his cattle<sup>all</sup> six oxen, five cows, three calves, sixteen sheep, twelve swine, and burnt his Barn<sup>e</sup> and about twelve load<sup>s</sup> of good English hay.

"Of Ephraim Wilder, one ox, two calves, three cows, one horse, fifteen sheep, two swine, and <sup>one</sup> good dwelling house with two fires.

"Of Jonathan Wilder, two oxen, one horse.

"John Carter, three oxen, one cow, one horse, three swine.

"Samuel Carter, three oxen, one cow, one horse, two calves, two swine, and one good dwelling house with two fires.

"Thomas Ross, one cow, two calves, one swine, one dwelling house with one fire.

"John Houghton, <sup>ye</sup>three swine, one large dwelling house with three fires, belonging to him and Philip Goss, and about sixteen pounds of personal estate, belonging to <sup>ye</sup>said Houghton, <sup>but</sup> in the house.

*Heewes* "George Stevens, two oxen, two cows.

"Samuel Bennett three oxen, two cows.

"Jonathan Whitcomb, two sheep.

"Simon Stevens, one horse.

"Jonas Houghton, one ox.

"Jabez Fairbank, one new barn<sup>e</sup> with about eight loads of good English hay.

"Thomas Sawyer, <sup>ye</sup>one heifer.

"John Priest, <sup>ye</sup>one heifer.

"Other cattle wounded, and horses injured, or stolen, and killed." *A*

The petition states that there were "frequent alarms" on the "west side;" and that the men were on "watch and ward" near a third of their time, besides "ranging the woods when rumors called them out." They were hindered in their work "by peril of their lives," having "little peace day or night." Many were "greatly impoverished," and now the town must build a meeting-house to replace that burned by the Indians. Moreover, the people feared the return of the enemy. In



their privations they felt like "new beginners," with "spirits ready to sink," and almost despaired of subsisting another year. But under God, they relied on the favorable protection of the government. The tax was remitted, but did not make up a sixth part of the loss.

x<sup>2</sup> The historians of Lancaster state that it was never known what numbers of the enemy were killed, either in the field, or at the other garrisons, as the Indians were always careful to remove their slain, and conceal their loss. It was believed, however, that their loss was considerable. Among the rest a "French officer of some distinction was mortally wounded, which greatly exasperated their spirits." A ray of light is thrown on this matter of the losses of the French and Indians, by a petition of the Capt. Thomas How, above mentioned, who came with his company to the rescue of Lancaster. He states that he "defended the <sup>town</sup> from the <sup>insults</sup> of so cruel & barbarous an enemy" and lost two men. He took no scalps, but several barns were burnt, and on the spot were found the "bones of <sup>several</sup> ~~several~~ of the enemy that were slain by <sup>your</sup> the petitioners." Besides, "many <sup>more supposed to be</sup> ~~Indians~~ were wounded."

25<sup>th</sup> Oct -  
x<sup>3</sup> Scarcely had the petition presented by John Houghton, been heard by the general court, before the fears of the petitioners were again excited by the approach of the enemy. On the ~~sixth of November~~ a party of them was discovered at Still River, and the soldiers and inhabitants belonging to Rev. Mr. Gardner's garrison, with others, went in pursuit. They found no enemy, and returned at night much fatigued by the wearisome march. Then occurred, all things considered, the saddest death in the history of the town. The relation of Mr. Harrington is in these words. "Mr. Gardner, in compassion, took the watch that night upon himself; and coming out of the box late at night, on some occasion, was heard by one — Samuel Prescott — between sleeping and waking in the house, who supposing him an enemy, seized the first gun which came to hand, and shot him through the body, in the parade. But the fatal mistake immediately appeared, and he,

a great part of our Labour for being forced to get our bread with the peril of our lives which hang in Doubt continually & but little peace day or night. & many of us have formerly been greatly Impoverished by ye Indians. & see no probability but if they come againe it will be so for the future, & having lost our meeting house, being now burnt by them this summer which is a general loss, & also ye los of our late minister so that we are on all account as new beginners, & under such discouraging circumstances that our spirits are Ready to sink, & almost despair of subsisting another year, except we may be under better circumstances, but still under Gods Relying on your favourable protection & Reliefe hoping for ye Remission of ye said Tax prayed for in the aforesaid Petition &c &c

x Hiles, however, in his account, says, "It was afterwards upon good credit reported, the enemy lost in this action, sixteen besides several wounded."

He also states that the loss of "an officer of some distinction" & "so encouraged them that they burnt the meeting house & several other buildings & killed many cattle" see Mass Hist. Coll. p 257 of Vol 6 3<sup>d</sup> Series - Hiles copied Penhallow almost literally.

x<sup>2</sup> How's Petition is in Mass Archives Volume 30

x<sup>3</sup> Mr Gardner was killed on the night of Oct. 25. Mr Marvin seems to have copied the date of some newspaper giving the fact, and not that of the accident.

Samuel Prescott married Abner Wheeler May 5, 1698 had son Amos and six or eight daughters. He d July 25, 1758 aged 84.

Samuel Prescott was the oldest son of Jonathan born ~~between 1671 &~~ 1674. He seems to have been the only one of the name left in this section of the town, where his grandfather first made his home. He owned the "Rye Field" given him by his father & lived somewhere upon it, probably at its easterly end. (It was a 20 acre lot 40 rods by 80 rods embracing present (1881) lands of Rufus Eger G. Chandler, Rice, & Howard, Gals etc. Prescott was entirely exonerated by a Coroners jury of his towns men, but recovered from Lancaster, selling his home to Rev. John Prentiss. 1708.

The account of News Letter quoted on page 139. will be found in N. E. Hist. & Gen Register Vol. 10 1856 p. 33.

The first report in News Letter of Oct 30. 1704 (No 28) was this - "On Thursday night the Reverend Mr Gardner Minister of Lancaster, was unfortunately shot by the Sentinel on the Watch, sup- posing him to be an Indian climbing over the Walls of the Fortification; of which wound he dyed in an hours space or little more"

See also Penhallow's Indian Wars. p 37 of the Edition of 1857 - whose account is essentially the same.  
(Copy in Vol 4)

The account of Mr. Gardner's death given in Hildes' History of the Indian & French Wars written about 1760 - may have been taken from this statement of the News Letter. It has one or two points of difference however. "But to return to the westward where the enemy did some mischief which alarmed the people of Lancaster, and was the occasion of their worthy minister's death, the Rev. Mr Gardner in the prime and bloom of his age: the circumstance which was briefly this. The men in the garrison had been tired with scouting in the woods to discover the enemy and with watching for defence against them Mr Gardner proposed to watch that night and give the soldiers opportunity to take some rest and did so: but in the night perhaps being cold and willing to warm himself or from some other reason, he came out of his watch box. One of the men, either not perfectly awake or from a surprising fear shot him in the back. He called to open the door for he was wounded. He fainted with the effusion of blood, but then reviving a little, he enquired who it was that shot him and they told him. He prayed God to forgive him as he also forgave him, supposing it was not done with any design against him. He comforted his sorrowful spouse commanding her & his bereaved flock to God, and about an hour after expired greatly lamented by family flock & all who knew him."

See 3d Series Vol 6 Mass Hist Soc. Coll p. 261

being carried into the house, forgave the person that shot him; and in an hour or two expired, to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him."

The reader will gladly take this additional report of the distressing event, from the *Boston News Letter*, of November 20, O. S. 1704. A previous number of the paper had stated the accident which caused Mr. Gardner's death. The publisher then took pains to get a "perfect and exact Account <sup>xx</sup> from Eye and Ear Witnesses." Here it is. Hearing "That a man being Killed the day before between Groton and Lancaster, and the Indians having been seen ~~in~~ the night before nigh the Town, Mr. Gardner, (three of the men belonging to his Garrison being gone out of Town, and two of the remaining three being ~~by~~ with Watching and Traveling in the Woods after the Indians that day,) being a very careful as well as courageous man, concluded to Watch that night himself; and accordingly went out into the little Watch-house that was over one of the Harkers, and there stayed till late in the night; when ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~whence~~ he was coming down, (as it was thought,) to warm him. The man that shot him, who was not long before sleeping by the fire, came out, and whether between sleeping and waking, or surprized with an excess of fear, fired upon him as he was coming down out of the Watch-house, through a little Trap-door into the Harker, where no man having the exercise of his Reason could suspect the coming of an Enemy, or <sup>sup</sup> expect him to be so, when in a clear Moonlight night he was ~~so~~ nigh ~~to~~ him. Mr. Gardner, (though his <sup>his</sup> Wound was in the breast, being shot through the Vitals,) came to the door; ~~and~~ bid them open it, for he was wounded; after he came in, he fainted away; but coming to himself again, asked who it was that Shot him; and when they told him, he prayed God to forgive him, and forgave him himself, for he believed he did not do it on purpose; and with a composed Christian frame of Spirit, desired them that were bitterly lamenting over him, not to weep, but to pray for him; and comforted his sorrowful Wife,

telling her he was going to <sup>G</sup>glory, advising her to follow him; and in about an hour <sup>D</sup>ied, leaving his <sup>sorrowful</sup> friends to lament the loss of so worthy and desirable a <sup>P</sup>erson."

Hostilities in the vicinity ceased for nearly a year, but the memory of sufferings endured lasted a lifetime. In their distress the people again appealed to the general court. Between the years 1697 and 1705 the town had no delegate in the house of deputies; but on this occasion they sent a petition signed by John and Jonas Houghton, bearing date <sup>O.S. October 25</sup> November 13, 1704, which "Sheweth, <sup>of</sup> that the distressed Inhabitants of Lancaster, being under the Awful Rebukes of God's hand in the manifest Tokens of his Displeasure <sup>against</sup> towards us, In permitting those Barbarous Heathen to be such a Scourge to us," etc. stating in particular that many had sustained losses, and some were "almost ruined as to their estate," and that their meeting-house was destroyed by fire. They continue in these words: "The late awfull stroke of God's Hand, the last week in the loss of our Reverend Minister, who was very <sup>worthy</sup> worthy and desirable; whose Loss is Ready to sink our spirits, <sup>also we</sup> and having <sup>been at great charge formerly in settling the ministry & haveing</sup> formerly one minister slain by the Indians, and now another taken away by a more awfull stroke;" the poor people felt the need of help. The petition closed with the prayer that the tax of eighty-six pounds might be remitted.

The government of the colony, with a mixture of caution and public spirit granted that the sum of Forty Pounds be allowed, and paid out of the <sup>publick</sup> treasury, to the Town of Lancaster, towards Building a Meeting-House, as soon as they shall have erected a frame for the same, and Paid the Taxes already <sup>levied</sup> upon them."

<sup>at</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> William Tyng reported to the same general court, in November, that when he was on the expedition to Lancaster, John Spalding, a youthful soldier, was killed. He was a good soldier, though a youth. He was poor, and his gun was taken by the Indians. At the same time, the horse of the colonel <sup>Captain</sup> was killed by the Indians. For this loss he asked pay, and the court granted him four pounds, and twenty shillings <sup>to Spalding's</sup>

The town made a grant of lands to Mr Gardner  
& one afterwards to his widow. Up to 1748 the land was  
not let apart. (See record of April town meeting 1748.)  
Mrs Gardner then had her grant allowed. See p 265.

The account of the death of Mr Gardner, in the  
Journal of Rev. John Pike is curious. - "Oct. 25 1704  
Mr Andrew Gardner, minister of Lancaster coming down  
from ye watch box in ye night w<sup>th</sup> a darkish Coloured  
gown, was mistaken for an Indian & solemnly slain by  
a sorry souldier belonging to ye Garrison - nomine Prestet"

(a) This petition is in Mass. Archives Volume 113 pp 363-4.

x Capt. Wm Truys's petition is in Mass. Archives Volume 71 - p. 105-6  
The General Court granted him "Four Pounds". & the sum of  
Twenty Shillings to John Spalding father of John Spalding dec<sup>d</sup> x x

16  
Lancaster June 18. On Thursday last Mr John Willard Sen.  
being hoeing in his field of Corn about a mile from the  
Garrison, he espied an Indian between him and the  
Garrison, about 7 rod off him, and not knowing but  
there might be more he ran another way to the  
Garrison and got safe into it and mist the  
Indian". Boston News Letter 25 June 1705.

a See Mass. Archives Vol. 71. p. 128. The author's comments  
are as unexact as his copying. The leguors were  
for the funeral hospitality chiefly. Funeral expenses  
did bear heavily then, as now, upon a family, if  
they chose to be in fashion. "But the bill needs no  
comment!"

(d) On the contrary a petition of John Houghton's in  
Mass. Archives Vol. 11 Ecclesiastical 2. p. 218 - Expressly  
tells us that for two years, they had "been necessitated  
to meet (on the Sabbath) at the Ministers House which  
will not containe halfe ye Inhabitants, but many  
of them must stand abroad in all weathers, which  
is very grievous, nor can they heare the minister  
with that benefitt that otherwise they might"

The following bill of funeral charges in the case of John Carter, of Lancaster, dated March<sup>26</sup> 1704-5, shows how a soldier was cared for by the public, and also what was supposed to be necessary in case of sickness in ancient times. The "<sup>Wine</sup>rum," "syder" and "spice" were probably as much valued by the nurses as by the patient. But the bill needs no comment.!

"To two <del>J</del> urneys to Concord for ye Doctor,	00-7s. 0d.
To one <del>J</del> urney to Boston for things for said Carter in his sickness,	0-11-0
To Nursing one week,	0-10-0
To 4 Gallons <sup>Wine</sup> rum, Wine at	0-15-9
← ½ a barrèll Syder,	0-4-0
To Sugar, fruit and Spice,	0-5-6
To 6 pair of Gloves,	0-9-0
To ye Coffin and Grave,	0-8-0
	$\frac{3}{4} = \frac{1}{8} = 3$
NATHANIEL SAWYER, EPHRAIM WILDER.	

The gloves were a present to the bearers according to the custom of the time. It did not beggar a poor family to have a funeral in those days.

The people, since August, 1704, had been without a sanctuary. Doubtless they had meetings on the Sabbath, but neither history or tradition informs us how they were accommodated. We can imagine them in the pleasant season of the year, meeting on the lawn near the minister's garrison, and under the young elms, which tradition reports, were set out not far from the time when Mr. Whiting's house was built. It is probable that in the winter, the meetings were held in Mr. Gardner's garrison-house, or in the commodious houses of other inhabitants living in South Lancaster, or on the Neck.

But though there was a felt need for a new house of worship, there was delay in meeting the want, growing out of a difference in regard to the location. Two houses had already been built on the brow of the hill just southwest of the first burying yard. Some wanted the new house where, in their



language, it had been "built twice before." Others wanted it on the east side of the river. Especially, there was a strong party in favor of the Old Common. Some doubtless would have preferred a location on the Neck. All on the east side of the river? (~~including the Neck,~~) the Old Common, Harvard and Bolton, combined, and outvoted those living on the west side of the river, including <sup>the Neck</sup> South Lancaster, George Hill, and the southern parts of the town. The majority fixed the site on the northwestern point of the Old Common, as near to the meeting of the rivers as possible before descending into the low land of the intervale. This was just opposite the cemetery on the Old Common.

But the people of the west side struggled resolutely against the transfer, and in a petition to the general court, gave strong reasons to justify their course. In the following words dated <sup>Nov 29 05</sup> December, 1705, they represented "that your Petitioners dwell on the West side of the River, fronting towards the Enemy, and have suffered very much, and are diminished in their number, several heads of families having been cutoff within these few years, and when the enemy were there about seventeen or eighteen months ago, they burnt down the meeting-house which always stood on the West side ~~of~~ the River. Now so it is, (may it please <sup>this great</sup> the governor and General assembly) that those of the Inhabitants who dwell on this [that is, the east] side ~~of~~ the River, (several of whom are removed, for fear of the enemy, <sup>even</sup> down to the bounds of Marlborough,) use all their Endeavor to have the Meeting-house built on this side; whereas the Meeting-house Ground, and the Ministerial Land and Meadow are both on the other [west] side; and moreover, should the Meeting-house be built on this [east] side, the Enemy might come, when the Inhabitants <sup>were</sup> are attending, and destroy the whole Western part, and <sup>seize</sup> seize the Bridge so that nobody should be able to resist them, or deliver their friends. But the Meeting-house being built on the <sup>west</sup> exposed side, (as it used to be,) the Inhabitants on that side are a Guard to the others on this side, as well as to themselves."

The Petition of Mary Gardner is of more interest than some of those here commented upon. It is found in Mass. Archives Volume 71 pp 157-8.

X X X "The humble petition of Mary Gardner of Lancaster humbly sheweth. That whereas there was yesterday an account laid before ye Court signed by ye worshipfull Colonnell Tailor. of money due to me from ye Country for entertaineing of souldiers & damage done by their horses. who at coming up to Lancaster. when ye atlaque was made upon it by ye enemy, who in a hurry put these horses into a field of ry whereby an acre was immediatly destroyed for which damage & entertainement of souldiers this honorable hous saw cause to allow me but fiftene shillings, when besides that they drank a burrell of boyled Cyder & a burrell of strong beer. Besides Mr Gardner his going out Chaplain with ye army in that expedition after ye enemy for all which we have Received nothing. your humble petitioner being a desolate widdow prayeth that Justice may be done her. & that she may <sup>have due</sup> recompence for those things which ye Country is more able to bear than herself who hath always bin & is redy to undergoe any trouble laid upon her for ye service of ye Country. your Granting my petition herein will greatly oblige your humble petitioner.

Mary Gardner //

Three pounds four shillings & six pence  
was the sum allowed her - June 29 1705

x Does Mr Darwin think it proved these families had moved west of the North Branch? or what is his meaning? These families settled at first on the neck, & that is "west side" in this Church controversy - We have the citizens of the Neck, George Hill & South Lancaster battling the Old Common & Watagoodoc & Still River - Reference to the list on p. 133 - gives the census craved, in the next sentence, substituting 1704 for 1705 - Benj Bellow's home was in Still River. See Garrison 7. p 133.

There was a George Hewes fr. Salisbury - I find no G. Hewes. See note p. 133.

*Notwithstanding*  
 In addition to these reasons, (which <sup>the</sup> petitioners humbly  
 hope <sup>it</sup> would have their due Consideration) <sup>in this Honorable House</sup> they stated also  
 that those living on the east side, having <sup>of this</sup> never had a man  
 killed in the service <sup>are</sup> and grown so numerous that they out-  
 voted <sup>the</sup> those on the west side, and <sup>your Petitioners</sup> carried it against them at  
 their Town Meetings." They therefore prayed the general  
 court to "make a final ending of this controversy, and the Re-  
 building of the Meeting-house in its usual place." The sig-  
 natures are copied below because they inform us in regard to  
 the families living on the west side. [They prove also that  
 members of the White, Whitcomb and Joslin families had  
 settled on the west of the river.] A similar paper signed by  
 the residents on the east side, would enable us to make out  
 the census of the town in 1705. Samuel Bennett, John John-  
 son, Benjamin Bellows, Simon Stevens, Joseph Glazier,  
 Bezaleel Saywear, Jonathan Whitcomb, Ephraim Wilder,  
 Philip Goss, John Prescott, sen., Jonathan Wilder, Cyprian  
 Stevens, Thomas Ross, John Prescott, jr., Peter Joslin, John  
 Keyes, John Beman, jr., Nathaniel Sawyer, John Harris,  
 William Divoll, Josiah White, jr., George Hues [~~Hugh~~s]. *Hervey on*

A committee was appointed by the government to examine  
 and report. <sup>Two</sup> of them, <sup>Col. Tyng & Major Converse</sup> reported in favor of  
 the petitioners; but the other two reported in the negative.  
 A new petition was sent down, at the May session of the  
 court, when it was voted to hear both sides before the whole  
 court, on the seventh of June, 1706. The result in the upper  
 house is given in these lines. "June 12. Upon full hearing  
 of both parties of the Town of Lancaster, by their Committees,  
 Resolved, that the meeting-house be erected and set up at or  
 near the place where the old Meeting-house stood, and has  
 been twice before built." This was sent to the deputies for  
 concurrence. The town had a representative this year, as in  
 the year preceding, in the person of John Houghton. The  
 house voted that the meeting-house should be placed on the  
 east side, where two-thirds of the inhabitants lived, and also  
 laid the charge of building on the rates. The council non-  
 concurred in this action.

x

p 133

Another petition, signed in behalf of the town, by Thomas Wilder, John Houghton, John Wilder, Joseph Wheelock and Josiah Whitcomb, signified to the general court, same session, that the large majority would be pleased to see the house on the east side; that more than twenty families on the east side had to go farther to meeting than any on the west side; and that none on the west side had to go more than two miles.

The subject was ~~again~~ referred to a committee, ~~the majority~~ of whom, James Minott and Thomas Brown, reported in favor of the east side. The court sent up word stopping all proceedings.

*Now  
Their reports  
were those  
of page 143.  
Brown dated  
March 3 1706  
Minott, June 5.*

Another petition went to the court, by the hand of John Houghton, at its fall session, praying that the court would remove restrictions, and let the town proceed to build on the east side. This prayer was granted by the house on the first of November, and concurred in, next day, by the council. The house was accordingly built on the west end of the Old Common, south side of the road, where it stood and was occupied as a place of worship until 1743. Thomas and John Wilder, whose names are on one of the petitions above recited, were sons of the first Thomas Wilder, who came hither in 1659, and died in 1667. As the father settled on the west side, it would seem that these sons had moved over to the east side of the river; probably to the Old Common, where a branch of the Wilder family long had a home. John Houghton, second of that name, now lived on the south side of the Old Common, and gave the land on which the meeting-house was placed.

While the sections of the town were engaged in fixing the location of their meeting-house and center, the Indians were on the watch for prey. On the twenty-sixth of October, 1705, Mr. Thomas Sawyer, his son, Elias Sawyer, and John Biglo or Bigelow, were captured and taken to Canada. The facts in regard to their condition in that province, are derived from Whitney's History of Worcester County. It appears that Sawyer was a very brave man, as well as a good mechanic.

*OS.  
15<sup>th</sup> Oct 1705  
b<sup>2</sup>*

(b<sup>2</sup>)<sup>16</sup> 1705 October 15 Three men are carried away  
from Mr Sawyer's Sawmill (by Indians)"

"Oct 16 Hear the bad news from Lancaster"

Samuel Sewall's Diary Vol 2

Sawyer's youngest son aged 14 yrs. is said to have  
escaped through a window.

The graves with inscribed headstones, are in the old  
Cemetery of both Thomas the father & Thomas the  
one carried a prisoner to Canada. They both lived to the  
age of 89 years or more. The grave of the grandsons  
lies in the Old Common Cemetery - (see note below) b<sup>2</sup>

b<sup>1</sup> Robert Houghton was probably the chief mechanic  
in construction of the Church - for he received thirty  
seven acres of land for labor upon it & for "building  
the pulpit" - He was son of John - Ralph H. had a son John b:1655  
& John another John. b -

b<sup>2</sup> Bigelow was a Marlborough man - a carpenter - Sawyer  
being a blacksmith by trade. Sawyer had a mill on Beans  
(now Goodrich) brook & the capture was made at the mill, in  
all probability, as Sewall's contemporary record, given at top of this  
page, goes to prove. Whitney (1793) says they were captured "at  
his garrison house", & is authority for the story of the escape  
of the youngest son of Sawyer.

John Bigelow lived to the age of 95 dying in 1769 -

<sup>a</sup> "Sawyer's Mill" was on "Dean's Brook" now  
called Goodridge or Goodridge Hill Brook - and  
stood in site of present dam at the ponds  
near "Deers horns" - A "Goodridge" large maple  
until within a year or two marked the site of  
the Goodridge house - A depression in the ground  
on the hill near the R.R. bridge over the highway  
now shows where it stood. Mr John Goodridge died  
1774. Perhaps this was his home.

\* The name has been variously spelled in  
past times - as "Gutteridge" or "Gudderidge"  
"Gouteridge" & "Goodrich". But in Lancaster  
Records it is found oftenest "Goodridge" &  
the family here probable so spelled it.

A Thomas Sawyer, of Bolton built the first Corn  
mill in Templeton abt. 1754.

<sup>a</sup> Afterward Judge Joseph. The petition is in Mass  
Archives Vol. 71 p. 378. Only 4 pair of the Snowthroats  
were used by Col. Tyng - Fifteen pair were taken  
by Capt Benjamin Willard.

The name of Sawyer has been associated with "mills" in every generation. When the party reached Montreal, Sawyer offered to put up a mill on the river Chambly on condition that the French governor would obtain a release of all the captives. There was no difficulty in effecting the ransom of Bigelow and young Sawyer; but the Indians were determined that Thomas Sawyer should be put to death by lingering torture. Management was called in to secure his release. A friar appeared suddenly, doubtless by arrangement with the governor, stating that he held the key of purgatory in his hand, and that if they did not release the prisoner without delay, he would unlock the gate and cast them in headlong. Their superstitious fears being aroused, they unloosed Sawyer, who was already tied to the stake, and yielded him to the governor. He finished the mill, which was the first one built in Canada, before the year was out, and was sent home, in company with Bigelow. Elias Sawyer was detained <sup>one year longer</sup> awhile to teach the Canadians "the art of sawing and keeping the mill in order, and then was dismissed with rich presents." A grandson of Elias Sawyer, named Jotham, according to Willard, was alive in 1826, aged eighty-six, and "recalled riding horseback behind his mother to church to hear Mr. Harrington's century sermon, May 28, 1753." What a mass of local history and tradition he might have left to us!

Nearly two years passed when the Indians made their presence felt by the killing of Jonathan White, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1707.

In the month of August Joseph Wilder petitioned the general court for pay for "snow shoes" which he had provided for the use of Col. Tyng. The colonel had used them, in shoeing his soldiers, but had not paid Wilder. The use of snow shoes was a necessity in winter campaigns against the Indians. The court, in November, allowed four pounds and fifteen shillings.

The next act of violence was on the thirtieth of August, when Jonathan Wilder was killed. The circumstances, as



a
 given by Harrington, were as follows. Wilder had lately moved to Marlborough. He was son to the Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, who was killed in 1704. On the twenty-ninth of August, twenty-four stout Indians, who according to their own account, says Harrington, "had all been captains, came to Marlborough, and captivated Mr. Jonathan Wilder." The next day they were pursued by about thirty of Marlborough and Lancaster men, who overtook them in the northwestern part of Sterling, at a place since known by the name of the "Indian fight." The van of the pursuers came upon the enemy before they had the least suspicion that they were tracked. They were unprepared for fighting, as their packs were all slung, and the day being misty, their cases were on their guns. They might easily have been destroyed, and the captive rescued, if the pursuers had rushed upon them in a body, when first surprised. They had determined, it seems, "to resign themselves to the mercy" of the English. But observing that only "ten of the thirty came down upon them, they took courage, unslung their packs, and fought like men, having first dispatched their captive." It is somewhere stated that the head of young Wilder was pressed against a rock, and the sutures of his skull were separated by some instrument of iron. Nine of the Indians were killed, and all their packs were taken. The rest escaped. Two of the attacking party, — Ephraim Wilder, brother of the slain captive, and Samuel Stevens — were wounded, and two, viz., John Farrar of Marlborough and a Mr. Singletary, <sup>x</sup>were killed. The <sup>x</sup>remissness of the twenty men who failed to assist the ten heroes of the fight appears to have made a deep impression. Mr. Harrington, after closing the account, returns to this fact, and says: "it ought to be observed again, that but ten of our men were in the action." The scene of the combat is between two and three miles northwest of the center of Sterling. Ephraim Wilder, though he survived, and had a numerous posterity, including the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, must have been severely hurt. A petition was before the general court, in June,

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(a)

The Contemporary account in News Letter 25 Aug 1707 is as follows: "On Monday last the 16<sup>th</sup> Current, Thirteen Indians on the Frontiers surprised two men at their labours in the Meadows at Marlborough about four miles distant from the body of the Town, took them both alive; and as they parted out of the Town took a woman also in their marching off, whom they killed. However, one of the Prisoners broke away in a scuffle, and brought home the Indians Gun and Hatchet, and acquainted the Garrison and Inhabitants, who speedily followed them, and were joined by 20 from Lancaster, being in all 40 odd. Came up with the Enemy who were also increased to 36, and on Tuesday at ten of the Clock found them, and in two hours exchanged ten shot a man, in which skirmish we lost two men and had two slightly wounded, and no doubt we killed several of the Enemy, whose Tracks of being dragged away we saw, but recovered but one of them, tho' tis probably conjectured, that we killed 10 or 12 at least! We took 24 of their Packs, and drove them off their ground, and are yet pursued by two Parties of the Forces from Lancaster and Groton, at our Forces overtaking and attacking the Enemy they barbarously murdered the Captive."

\* The charge of "remissness" of the twenty men" is rather lightly made when no suggestion of blame is found in the contemporary statements. above + on next page. The officer in charge may have been over cautious, but even this is not on the records.

\* Richard Singletary - This John Farran, known as Ensign Farran, was son of Jacob Farran jr. killed by Indians in Lancaster Aug 22<sup>o</sup> 1675 - and was born in Lancaster 1672. married Elizabeth Merriam 1699 - On Brigham's petition, (mentioned at top of page 147) June 11, 1708 - the widow was allowed by the General Court, for her husband's gun lost, thirty shillings.

The wound did not seriously shorten his days, since he lived to the age of 94, dying Dec 13, 1769. He received from General Court upon Brigham's petition 3<sup>l</sup> for cure of wound & 5<sup>l</sup> for loss of hand. Saml. Stevens was shot through both hands, losing several joints. He was a joiner, as stated in his petition for aid.

See Mass. Archives Vols 51 p 174  
" 71 p 421-3 } Relating  
" 71 p 454 } to above.

In Mass. Archives Vol. 51. page 174. is the  
official announcement of the "Indian Fight" to the Governor.

" Lancaster August ye 19 1707  
May it Please your Excell<sup>y</sup>.

Wee are sorry that we have such News to  
acquaint you with, in yt in our Pursuit & Engagement  
with ye enemy, we lost 2 men of marlborough besides  
Wilder which was taken, which is killed; One of  
Lancaster and one of marlborough is wounded:

We overtook them about 8 or 9 mile wide of  
Lancaster this day, about 9 a clock this day, where we  
fought them about 2 hours, the enemy having  
a great advantage of us when we came up with  
them: there being about thirty of them as we  
suppose, at length we wholly routed them and  
took all their Packs and provision & have  
slain severall of them without any doubt, but we  
had not time to find them, we have sent  
about thirty men to waylay them or head them  
if they can, being in great haste we subscribe

your Excell<sup>y</sup>'s Most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Praying your further direct<sup>s</sup>. That Howe  
Josiah Coverle

(a) The same petition! + the matter given below is substance  
of indorsement upon the same piece of paper, and the  
receipted bill thereto attached, in Mass. Archives Vol 71 p. 565.

1708, from Samuel <sup>Brigham</sup> Bridgman, for expenses incurred in the nursing of Wilder, "wounded in the thigh in August last, and sick ten weeks."

The following petition exhibits most strikingly a phase of life in Lancaster in the early part of the eighteenth century. The people were in continual anxiety; they were often out scouting, or serving in garrisons, or engaged in combats; they "subsisted" the soldiers quartered upon them; and then were kept out of their pay. All this was in addition to daily toil. Life was indeed a burden; yet we have no doubt that their lot had many compensations, and that there was true happiness in their households. A life of struggle with difficulties, inspired by faith in God, enriches and strengthens the character. Here follows <sup>a part of</sup> the petition. Oct 28 1709

× × × We Inhabitants <sup>^</sup> on the West part of the Town of Lancaster, being the extreme front, (and having subsisted Capt. William Tyng's men) are kept out of our Money to our very Great damage. \* Some of us being poor, and under Engagements which cannot be answered for want hereof, which exposes to the penalty of the law, we have none to address ourselves but to your Honors, <sup>as</sup> and the fathers of our Israel. \* Jabez Fairbanks, Joseph Hutchins, John Glazear, John Prescott, Cyprian Stevens, Simon Stevens, Josiah White, Nathaniel Sawyer.

Mass Archives  
Vol 71 p 565

In this connection comes in another petition, probably relating to the same business. It was before the court in November, <sup>10</sup> 1709, asking for pay <sup>a</sup> for billeting the men of Col. <sup>Tyng + his son</sup> William Tyng in the years 1707-8. The whole claim was more than twenty-eight pounds. The court resolved that Col. Tyng should not be paid until these petitioners had satisfaction. They obtained their money, and receipted to Tyng before the end of the month.

The last act of Indian violence in Lancaster occurred on the sixteenth of August, 1710, and the scene of it was on the eastern side of George hill. Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder had four sons. Jonathan was killed, as related above; and Ephraim

a was severely wounded. The attack was now made upon the other two, Nathaniel and Oliver. They were at work in the field, with an Indian servant, when a party of the enemy, taking advantage of the bushes, came very near and fired upon them. They escaped to the garrison, but the servant was killed. Thus the last act of Indian warfare against this town, resulted in the killing of an Indian. But though the ravages of savage war never invaded the borders of the town again, yet the property and the sons of Lancaster were not exempt from demands, and the people were not entirely free from anxiety till the battle of Quebec gave supremacy to the English in North America.

! One enterprise in this war engaged the interest of all New England. This was the expedition to Port Royal, ~~the spacious port of Cape Breton~~, in 1710, when Massachusetts sent fourteen transports with troops and supplies, and the other colonies in proportion. The place was captured on the twenty-second of October. How many men went from Lancaster is unknown; but that one of her sons was there is evident from the settlement of the estate of Ralph Houghton. The first Ralph Houghton had a son James. This James had a son Ralph and another son, named James. This last James was, in the year 1711, administrator on the estate of his brother Ralph, grandson of the first Ralph. The appraisers were Peter Joslin, Josiah White, jr., and John Houghton, jr. In the Inventory is this item. "Wages due to said Ralph Houghton, at the time of his decease, for his services in the late expedition to Port Royal, £5. 14. 11." Such bits of private history show how the families of Lancaster were involved in all the hardships of the colony.

Peace was concluded between England and France ~~in~~ <sup>April 11</sup> 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht. In the meantime, our people were on guard against surprises. Garrisoning the town seems to have been perfected by placing a garrison in a group of families. The garrisons now numbered twenty-seven. The following table found in the Archives of the state shows the

2  
Nathaniel was at this time 35 yrs old, having been born in the year of the massacre. He had a wife + two children, two boys, 2 yrs old. He afterwards lived in Sterling, but finally (1743) moved to Peterborough. He had twelve children.

Olive was but 16 yrs. old at this date. He is known in after time as "Colonel Olive", + probably always lived near his birthplace. He married Mary Fairbank + had ten children.

Their brother Ephraim, + sister Dorothy (wife of Samuel Carter) lived probably in the same neighborhood. (see petition on page 137) having houses of their own, destroyed by the Indians in the raid of 1704.

! Port Royal, now Annapolis is not on Cape Breton, but distant from it the whole length of Nova Scotia.

Mrs Houghton was the widow of James, who had recently died. Her garrisoned house was (and it is yet standing) at the south end of Still River village where E. W. Houghton now lives.

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number of souls, of men, of families, of garrisons, and of soldiers to guard them in the year 1711.

*Mass. Archives  
Vol 71 p 876*

		Families.	Men inhab- itants.	Soldiers.	Souls.
	Hezekiah Willard, <i>Still River</i>	3	4	1	8
<i>Mrs</i>	Wm. Houghton, "	4	5	1	25
	Capt. Wilder, <i>Thomas Old Common</i>	7	11	1	47
	Mr. Houghton, "	2	4	1	13
	Mr. White, <i>Josiah Neak</i>	6	8	2	38
<i>Lieut.</i>	Lt. Jöslin, <i>(Peter?)</i>	3	3	2	18
	Mr. Bowers, <i>John</i>	3	3	1	9
	Mr. Bennet, <i>John</i>	3	7	3	34
	Mr. Stevens, <i>Gideon Simon</i>	4	4	2	19
	Mr. Prentice, <i>John So Lancaster</i>	2	2	0	9
	Ensign Wilder, <i>Nathaniel George Hill</i>	4	4	2	18
	Mr. Sawyer, <i>Nathaniel So Lancaster</i>	3	7	1	23
	Mr. Prescott, <i>John Clinton</i>	3	4	2	15
	Mr. Beaman, <i>John Wataquodock</i>	3	4	0	14
	Mr. Snow, <i>James</i>	3	4	0	15
	Henry Houghton, "	3	2	0	15
	Mr. Prüst, <i>John Bare Hill</i>	6	7	0	25
	Caleb Sawyer, "	2	3	1	11
	William Sawyer, "	3	3	0	12
	Mr. Whitcomb, <i>Josiah Bolton</i>	4	4	0	17
	Mr. More, <i>Josathan</i>	1	1	0	8
	John More, "	2	2	0	7
	Mr. Houghton, <i>John Jr.</i>	1	1	1	3
	Mr. Wilson, <i>Jeremiah</i>	1	3	0	11
	John Whitcomb, "	2	2	0	7
	Mr. Whigeler, <i>Josiah</i>	3	4	0	17
	Mr. Fairbank, <i>Jabez</i>	2	5	0	25
		27	83	21	458

The reader must locate the garrisons as best he can. The absence of Christian names makes it difficult in some cases.

A very large addition was confirmed to the town, on the west, in the year 1713. The purchase, as already stated, was made of George Tahanto, an Indian chief. The general court gave confirmation to the grant in 1713. The delay has been ascribed to the "distraction of the times," growing out of the Indian wars.

A copy of the Indian Bond is here inserted as it will always have a historical value. "Know all men by these



presents, that I, George Tahanto, Indian Sagamore, for and in consideration of what money, namely, twelve pounds, was formerly paid to Sholan, my uncle, sometime sagamore of Nashuah, for the purchase of said township, and also forty-six shillings formerly paid by *Insigne* John Moore and John Houghton of said Nashua, to James Wiser, *alias* Quenepennett, now deceased, but especially for and in consideration of eighteen pound<sup>s</sup> paid part, and the rest secured to be paid, by John Houghton and Nathaniel Wilder, their heirs, executors and assigns forever, a certain tract of land on the west side of the westward line of Nashua township, adjoining to said line, and butts southerly for the most part on Nashuah river, bearing westerly towards Wachusett Hills, and runs northerly as far as Nashuah township, and which lands and meadows, be it more or less, to be to the said *Insigne* John Moore, John Houghton, and Nathaniel Wilder, their heirs and assigns, to have and to hold forever. And I, the said George Tahanto, do hereby promise and engage to procure an order from the honored General Court, for their allowance and confirmation of the sale of said land<sup>s</sup> as aforesaid, and also that I will show and mark out the bounds of said land in convenient time, not exceeding four months, and also to make such deeds and conveyances, as may be necessary for the confirmation of the premises, and that also I, the said George Tahanto, do by these presents, fully <sup>ratify</sup> ~~ratify~~ and confirm, all and every, the said township of Nashua, *alias* Lancaster, to the inhabitants and proprietors thereof according as it was formerly granted to them or their ancestors by my uncle Sholan, and laid out to them by Ensign Thomas Noyes, and confirmed by the Hon. General Court. For the performance of all the above-said, I, the said George Tahanto, have set my hand and seal, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the 13th year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, William the Third, over England, &c. King. Anno Domini, 1701."

(c')

This document was properly signed and sealed. The grant<sup>(c)</sup> was confirmed by the general court, at the May session, 1713,

(C) The signatures are worth preserving.

" Signed & sealed in  
presence of -

John Wonsquon, his mark.

John Aquitticus, his mark.

Peter Puckataugh, his mark.

Jonathan Wilder

John Guild "

George Tahawto, his mark.

Mary Aunsocaming, her mark.

Within the two pages 149- and 150, the  
same simple fact, - of the confirmation of this  
grant in 1713 is three times stated by the  
author -

(d<sup>2</sup>) This was signed by John Prentice, James Mills  
and 96 others -

Several grants to individuals had long before  
been made of territory included in this "New grant"  
e.g. to Richard Wait - Richard Russell. - George  
& Francis Adams - farms near the Washacum  
Ponds - to John Prescott et. al -

Notes in 1666. Surveyed 500 acres, on the borders of  
"Washacum Pond" for grant to "Capt. Francis Horton  
& the Nicholas Davison of Charles Town".

There was much trouble finally in deciding  
upon the proper bounds of the new grant.

In 1720, a surveying Committee, went back  
to General Court disgusted with an unsuccessful  
attempt to lay out the Grant in accordance with  
the report of the Committee of 1711. see Mass.  
Archives Vol 113 p 649 -

x x

"Weshakim alias Washaway near unto  
an English town called Lancaster" says Gookin  
see Mass Hist. Col. Vol 1.

in these words: "Read and ordered that the tract of land above described, be added and confirmed to the township of Lancaster, as a part of the township, not prejudicing any former grant."

This act of the general court made the new grant a part of the township of Lancaster, but by a vote of the town, February 5, 1711, it was provided "that all such as were inhabitants, might join in the purchase of the Indian Land, and all such as would do it, should signify the same by signing a contract which contained the following stipulation. "We, the subscribers, do hereby bind ourselves and our heirs to pay each one his equal share of the purchase of said lands and all charges that have or shall be expended about the same, and to run equal hazard of obtaining said land, provided, that if said land be obtained, we shall each one have an equal share."

By this it appears that neither the town as a corporation, nor the body of proprietors, nor the inhabitants of the town simply as inhabitants, were the owners of the "new grant;" but those inhabitants of Lancaster who joined in the purchase became the owners in equal shares.

The grant of Tahanto included the home or capital of Sholan, the sachem, who invited the whites to the valley of the Nashua. The original grant did not cover or include that place. The western boundary of Lancaster, old township, was east of Sholan's headquarters. His capital was between East and West Washacum lakes, on a gentle elevation, overlooking both those beautiful sheets of water. The stream which takes the water from East to West Washacum, runs a few rods north of the mound or rise of land. The brook is bordered by swampy land. The home of the chief was bounded and guarded on three sides, and was a fine strategic point, which could be easily defended. There is a ditch on the south side of the little hill, but that is probably the work of the white man.

As the new grant included both ponds, the Indian capital came under the jurisdiction of the town, but this did not

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(cl<sup>2</sup>)

? by what.

interfere with the right of the natives to plant, hunt or fish, which was their original and sole condition, in dealing with the first settlers.

The site of the home or fort of the Indian chief, and the iron mine north of the pond are well worth visiting by the curious.

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“There glided the corn-dance, the council-fire shone,  
And against the red war-post the hatchet was thrown.

There the old smoked in silence their pipes, and the young  
To the pike and the white-perch their baited lines flung;  
There the boy shaped his arrows, and there the shy maid  
Wove her many-hued baskets and bright wampum braid.”

\* Whittier. *The Bridal of Pennacook* — 1. the Merrimac.

(e<sup>2</sup>) A repetition from page 18. which see for  
proof of corrections -

## CHAPTER VII.

ANNALS. POPULATION FROM 1690 TO 1714. REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GENERAL COURT. THE STATE OF EDUCATION. THE CHURCH. MINISTERS. SETTLEMENT OF REV. JOHN PRENTICE.

THE new territory, or "additional grant" on the west, contained about forty square miles, though the survey was far from being exact. The town had now reached its full dimensions, being <sup>50</sup>ten miles north and south, <sup>11</sup>twelve miles on its northern boundary, and about ten miles from east to west, <sup>3</sup>(e<sup>2</sup>) on the southern line. The whole township contained not far from one hundred and <sup>30</sup>ten square miles of land. Many years later an addition was made by the annexation of "Shrewsbury Leg," so called, but before that event, a large section had been taken from the eastern side of the town, to help form the towns of Harvard, Bolton and Berlin. The close of the war, near the end of queen Anne's reign, was favorable to the increase of population in the frontier towns, and Lancaster began to enjoy unusual prosperity.

Before proceeding farther it will be convenient to bring up the Annals of the town to this point, and ascertain the number of the people dwelling here, as near as possible, at the commencement of the reign of the Brunswick family over the British empire. These points, with the state of education, and the settlement of the Rev. John Prentice as pastor of the church, will be attended to in the present chapter.

The following are detached facts occurring from time to time, which illustrate the past, and show the character of the people in the primitive days of New England.



a' In 1652 Ralph Houghton, John Prescott and others, took the "oath of fidelity." This indicates that Prescott, whatever his theoretical views, accepted the government and laws, as a good citizen.

a v In early times the period of military service was between sixteen or ~~eighteen~~<sup>such</sup> and forty-five. But in seasons of peril, the time was extended towards old age. Hence the significance of such entries on the Records as the following. In 1662<sup>4</sup> Lawrence Waters was released from "ordinary traynings," on condition of paying five shillings per annum. Not far from the same time, the aged John White was relieved, on account of advanced years.

b 1659<sup>4</sup> At the session<sup>s</sup> of the Middlesex County ~~Probate~~ Court, in 1662, the town of Lancaster was presented to the court held in Cambridge, in April, for "defect in weights and measures," and enjoined to provide a remedy on penalty of forty shillings.

c. In 1672 a complaint was entered against Edmund Parker, for "entertaining" a bastard child of Silvanus, a negro, belonging to Roxbury, contrary to order. The case reached the ~~general~~<sup>County</sup> court, where it was ordered that while the child was in the place, the selectmen should take care "that it be provided for as humanity and religion" required. Parker ~~gave~~<sup>was ordered to</sup> bonds in £100 to save the town from damages, and to support the child, or return it to Roxbury. <sup>five</sup>

The next paragraph may help to explain the above, as it reveals something in respect to Parker's fitness to bring up a child, whether his own, or that of another man. In 1674, Edmund Parker was before the court, on complaint, and was convicted of "neglect of God's worship, <sup>in public</sup> on the Lord's day." Both himself and his family were admonished. The court commended it to the selectmen "diligently to inspect his family, and observe their manner for the future." If there was no amendment, the selectmen were "ordered and empowered to dispose of his son to service <sup>ne</sup> where he <sup>may</sup> be better taught and governed." ^

a  
It indicates that probably, but we also know that if they had declined to take the oath they could have enjoyed no rights of property or privileges of persons under the existing state government, other than those permitted the savages

a x "16 to 60" by law of 1652 May 27. All of military age were required to provide themselves with arms & ammunition. & if too poor to purchase them the towns were to furnish the means.

Lawrence Waters was about 60 years old at this time. As he became blind within a few years after, perhaps his exemption was owing to this growing physical disability -

William Lewis was released from "all ordinary trainings" 1661 - on paying for shut of him to the military company of the Towne where he lives.

The arms in use were of course of the Cromwellian types - Matchlocks with rests & pikes, with a spear point. Some sort of quilted armor, & Corlets were for a time in use, & probably served well against the missiles of the Indians - Officers carried swords & pistols. Trainings were on Saturdays & quite frequent.

b ? I find in Middlesex Co. Records, 2<sup>nd</sup> 1659, Lancaster was presented "for want of Weights & Measures" and "defect in highways" by William Lewis -

c The bastard child was that of his own daughter Elizabeth who was at service in Roxbury, where the child was born. I do not find that the "Reputed father" is named in Court files - Parker was very poor, utterly shiftless, and lived in a shanty that afforded little protection from the weather, half fed & half clothed, with a son Abram, & this daughter Elizabeth - In Court Records the waif is called "the Bastard Child of Silvanus negro, late servt. to Deacon Mr. Parks of Roxbury"

a The law dates back as far as 1654. against selling liquor to Indians. imposing a fine of 20<sup>s</sup> for each pint so sold by persons not specially licensed. In 1657 the fine was increased to 40<sup>s</sup> per pint sold & one third of fine to go to informer. In 1666 Drunken Indians were to be punished with confiscation of their liquors & 10<sup>s</sup> fine or to be whipt 10 stripes, & imprisoned until they told who sold them the liquor. In 1673 any person selling liquor to Indians, who on conviction cannot pay the fine, may be punished by whipping at discretion of judge.

b Stevens was appointed Clerk of the writs in 1682. - deposed in 1686. but reinstated.

(a<sup>2</sup>) If the author had taken the trouble to look up the law of the land at the time he need not have left it to conjecture. The law of 1653. gave for each wolf killed 30<sup>s</sup> if by an Englishman 20<sup>s</sup> if brought in by an Indian. The "Country" treasury paying 10<sup>s</sup> of the amount in either case. In 1662. the Country was required to pay 20<sup>s</sup> the town 10<sup>s</sup>. The law was so changed 1717-18 that Indians received the same bounties as white men. See notes to pp 33 & 197

a<sup>3</sup> The prisoner was Robert Crosley. a privatersman. Stevens was probably neither careless nor in collusion with him. but he & his deputies were afraid of a desperate man armed with two pistols & a sword. & Crosley got to his horse & galloped off. He finally was captured at Dorchester by Stevens - Middlesex Court Records.

*of Woburn not of Lancaster*

The next year John Johnson was fined twenty shillings, and six shillings costs, "for abstaining from public worship."

The Middlesex Court, in April, 1682, convicted Cyprian Stevens of "selling strong drink" to the Indians. He was fined twenty shillings, money, and to pay costs to two Indian witnesses, three shillings. The prohibitory law of those times was intended to shield the Indians from harm in the use of strong drink.

In 1686 Stevens had a successor in Nathaniel Wilder, who was licensed by the Court of Pleas, and General Sessions of the Peace, to "retail wine, beere, aile, cyder, rum," etc. At the same time Stevens was appointed clerk to take account of all births and deaths in Lancaster.

As the town had neglected to pay Nathaniel Wilder for "sixteen wolves by him killed in 1684-5," the general court signified to the said town, "that the change of government does not discharge them from their duty in such cases," and they had to "satisfie" the petitioner. The change of government alluded to was the usurpation of Andros. That was not to insure immunity to wolves.

In 1688 Josiah White was allowed, by the county, twenty shillings for "killing one growne wolf" in Lancaster. Nathaniel Wilder was allowed forty shillings for killing two "growne wolves," and John Womsquan, an Indian, ten shillings for killing one "growne wolf." (Why the Indian received only half as much as a white man for killing a "growne" wolf, is left to conjecture. Perhaps the wolf was not full "growne;" and possibly the whites wished to monopolize the business.)

Cyprian Stevens, constable, in 1690, allowed a prisoner to escape. He was arraigned and convicted. He was either careless; or else in collusion with the prisoner. But the court was not to be trifled with, and he soon fulfilled his warrant. In consequence he was discharged on paying costs.

A petition was sent to the general court, in February, 1693, setting forth that the town had suffered greatly from war, and

*Stevens was unlicensed -**1682 6**a<sup>2</sup>**a<sup>3</sup>*

a praying for allowance for "their great charges in fortifying themselves in this Troublesome time." The court allowed £20 out of the assessments of the preceding year.

In 1695 <sup>Cyprian Stevens Constable</sup> the town represented to the legislature that several persons had moved away, and others had died, before the year 1690. ~~The town prayed to be relieved from paying their taxes.~~ This petition is chiefly interesting as showing a change in the inhabitants, as nearly all the names cited, belong to old and well-known families. They are as follows: Cyprian Stevens, William Huttson, [Hudson,] Samuel Wheeler, Benjamin Willard, Joseph Waters, Nathaniel Harwood, Samuel Parker, Arthur Tooker.

a' This leads to the remark that the population of the town had not only increased, but had become widely distributed since the re-settlement. The number of inhabitants, at the time of the massacre, in 1676, has been variously estimated from three hundred to three hundred and fifty. There were in the town over fifty families. In 1684, there were about eighteen families on the ground; which would give from ninety to one hundred persons. There was a steady increase from this time for several years. New families came into the town, and children were born into those which had returned. By March, 1687, according to Willard, there "had been thirty births." A list of names, made in the next year, numbered eighty, mostly heads of families. The larger part of these belonged to Lancaster. Suppose that sixty of these names represented the male heads of families, the population would be about three hundred and thirty. And this would not be an unreasonable conclusion. By that time nearly all the absentees would have returned, except the few who had settled elsewhere, or had fallen by death. These last ten years had been free from Indian hostilities. But now war broke out again, and the increase was retarded, first by the partial stoppage of migration, and secondly by the many fatal casualties between 1688 and 1710.

a See Mass. Archives Volume 100 p 466.

a' ? Nathaniel Hoagwood ~~probably~~ as the name appeared in old grave  
yard in Bolton etc. The Petition is in Mass. Archives  
Volume 101 page 33 - The petition is from Cyrrinus Stevens the  
Constable of Lancaster 1690. & not from Lancaster as a town, the  
selectmen merely attesting to the truth of Stevens' statements.  
The names of selectmen 1695. were { John Moore Senr  
Joseph White Senr  
John Moore Junr

a''

There are 30 recorded in Lancaster (Middlesex Co.)  
Records. Several other births in Lancaster families  
occurred in towns where they were as refugees - as in  
Sudbury three children of Nathaniel Wieden &c

The list on page 133. dated 1704. Contains

1 the names of 76 heads of families. and  
 calls for 98 soldiers. This would indicate a  
 larger population then, than Mr Maron estimates in  
 1708 + gives an increase of seven families in seven  
 years. (This result is not improbable or surprising; it seems to be the fact  
 + not a guess-like that at the top of page 157.)

2 Josiah White deserves large credit for this  
 rapid increase, his wife Abigail White comb  
 augmenting the Census by the following list  
 of names -

	Mary born 1707	lived to the age of 86 yrs
	Jonathan " 1709	" 80 "
	Hannah " 1700	" 77 "
	Abigail " 1712	" 86 "
	Josiah " 1714	" 94 "
	Ruth " 1716	" 40 "
	Martha " 1717	" 94 "
	Joseph " 1719	" 60 "
	Joanna " 1721	" 75 "
	Jonathan " 1723	" 87 "
	Selence " 1725	" 75 "
	John + James 1728	died in infancy?
	John 1729	91 "
	Elisha 1731 -	90 "

Deacon Josiah White son of Josiah + grandson of the 1st  
 John White was born 1682 and made Deacon 1729  
 died 1772 aged 90. His wife Abigail died  
 the year before.

See p. 617.

In Mr. Willard's Centennial Address, page 101, he says that an "ancient authority states that there were seventy-nine ratable polls here in 1708." He does not give the authority, nor vouch for it. Allowing one ratable poll to every four and a half inhabitants, the population would be about three hundred and fifty-six. That is, the number of inhabitants had increased in twenty years to the number of about twenty-six.

From 1708 the increase was quite rapid, since we find, from the table of garrisons, on a preceding page<sup>149</sup>, that in 1711, there were in the town, eighty-three families, one hundred and eleven men inhabitants, and four hundred and fifty-eight souls. This gives very nearly five and one-half souls to a family, and shows the increase to have been, if the data are correct, about one hundred in three years. (This result is not improbable or surprising.) No person was killed by the Indians, in this town, after 1707 except an Indian boy. There was comparative safety here, and the people from the lower towns flocked into this beautiful section in large numbers.

At the same time there was a great change in the distribution of families. Before the massacre, nearly all the people lived in <sup>on George Hill</sup> South Lancaster, and on the Neck, or Center. There were, perhaps, a few families in the part which now forms Bolton and Berlin. But in 1711 there were several families on the eastern slope of George hill, (and some in the south end of the town, towards Sawyer's mill, now in Boylston. The number who had settled in what is now Harvard, Bolton and Berlin, was still larger. There were scattered families also on the road to Still River [and the road towards Lunenburg.] There is reason to think that the population in the Center and South Lancaster, was less dense than at the first settlement. As yet Leominster and Sterling belonged to the unsettled wilderness.

It was optional with the towns to be represented in the general court. Lancaster sent no delegate previous to the year 1673 though represented by Mr. Thomas Brattle, of Cam

2

I think it is  
see note 1 -

?

2 only  
Butler's & Mores

no such thing

cols? notes  
is here?



- bridge or Boston, in 1671.<sup>f2</sup> While Major Willard resided here, he as a member of the governor's council, doubtless looked after the interests of his neighbors. The name of the representative in 1673, is given as "Mr. Howton." This was either Ralph or John Houghton; ~~probably the former.~~ The town was not represented again until 1689, when Ralph Houghton and John Moor<sup>Sen. & Jr.</sup> were sent. The successive representatives from that date to 1725, when the town Records begin again to help us, have been found by examining the manuscript and printed Minutes of the general court. There was no representation in the years not mentioned. In 1690 John Houghton, ~~junior or second,~~ was delegate. In 1692, John Moor and John Houghton. In 1693, 1697, 1705 and 1706, John Houghton. Thomas Sawyer was sent in 1707. John Houghton followed in 1708. In 1710, Josiah Whitcomb served. John Houghton was delegate in the years 1711, 1712, 1716 to 1719, and also in 1721 and 1724. Jabez Fairbank was sent in 1714,<sup>21</sup> 1722 and 1723.<sup>27-38</sup> Joseph Wilder was delegate in 1720 and 1725.<sup>26</sup> The court always had a spring and fall session, but the representatives did not always attend both sessions. The towns paid their own delegates, according to the time they served, and probably did not insist upon their attendance beyond what was necessary for local or general good.

f3  
 Nothing very definite can be known in regard to the schools in Lancaster at this period of its history. There is no reason however, to doubt that the requirements of the law were complied with as well as in other towns. The Records, soon after this period, show that schools were in operation, and that the town was in the habit of raising an annual tax for supporting them.

There is a notion, quite current in some quarters, that the times now under review may be termed the "dark age" of New England. It is said that the first generation which brought a certain amount of culture and refinement from the old country, and had imparted some flavor thereof to their

Lieut.  
 John W. M.  
 1710-1711

(F<sup>2</sup>) In the first or clay session it was given as "Mr Howton,"  
in the Sept session as Mr Ralph Howton - There  
were five Courts summoned in 1689. at two of  
which Ralph Houghton represented the town. While  
John Moore jr served in two Courts before 1690.5  
John Moore Sen. was sent in December. In 1690  
John Moore Sen. served at the Feby. Session John Houghton  
Dec. 10 -

F<sup>3</sup> This John Houghton was son of 1<sup>st</sup> John, born about  
1650-1 - afterwards Justice Houghton. He lived on the  
Old Common. At this time he was neither "jr" nor "sr" his  
father having died 1674 & his cousin Ralph's John being  
two years the younger <sup>+ died 1679</sup> - He was now John Senior  
therefore & his son John jr - as they are set down  
in Garrison's 6 p. 133 -

In a letter of his concerning renewing his license  
as an Dunholder in 1715. he speaks of himself  
as "concerned with writing of Deeds & Bonds &  
other Publique Concerns of the Town affaires, which  
Occasion Persons often to Come to my House, in  
order to Signing & Issuing such things" (see next note)

f<sup>4</sup> The town was presented for want of a School-  
master in 1710. & the Selectmen reply in extenuation  
March 9 1710 "There are humbly to acquaint you  
Hon<sup>d</sup> that before the presentment we had appointed a  
Towne Meeting in order to ye procuring of a Schoolmaster  
& accordingly have agreed with Mr John Houghton Sen  
for the years ensuing who is now actually engaged for & in  
said work. & hath formerly been employed by the Towne  
in said service & instructed some in Writing, but under

" our present Dangerous Circumstances it is very  
 hazardous sending our children to schools, being  
 so scattering, yet we are willing to do herein what  
 Possibly is to be done, not only to answer ye Law but  
 for our own benefit & therefore humbly pray there  
 may be no farther Proceedings upon said Present-  
 ment - Dated Law<sup>r</sup> March ye 9<sup>th</sup> 1710/11

By yr. Hon<sup>r</sup>s most Humble servants

From  
 Court of Sessions Files )

Thomas Wilder }  
 Ephraim Wilder } Selectmen  
 Joseph Wilder }  
 Jacob Houghton } "

The Court accepted their excuse -

In 1715 another letter of similar nature  
 appears in Court files -

" These are to acquaint your Hon<sup>r</sup>s. that for as  
 much as we understand that the Towne of Law-  
 caster is under Presentment for want of a  
 Grammar Schooll & some of ye Selectmen of said  
 Towne are Required to appear in order to Answer  
 thereto we have accordingly appointed Capt Jolin &  
 Mr Hooker Osgood to informe your Hon<sup>r</sup>s that we  
 having no Grand Jury man, had no knowledge of ye  
 Presentment, till we were summoned to answer, yet  
 nevertheless the Towne for these severall months have  
 Indevoured to Procure a Schoole matter that may  
 benefit ye Towne & answer ye Law, & have agreed with a young  
 Gentleman, Viz. Mr Perpont of Roxbury who had now probably  
 been actually in said service but his indisposition of Body  
 hinders, we would crave leave further to acquaint your Hon<sup>r</sup>s  
 that we are humbly of opinion that we are scarcely Liabll  
 to Presentment, for we have but very lately had ye number of  
 families ye Law Requires, & a Considerable number of them are  
 either single Persons, widows or poor families, norways able to contribute  
 to ye charge nor yet subsist without Reliefe, therefore humbly pray that  
 no fine may be imposed upon us, nor be as yet enjoined to be constantly provided  
 with a Grammar Schoolemaster, but that a writing Schoole may answer till our  
 number be Increased - In behalfe of the Selectmen of Lawcaster John Houghton  
 Towne Clerk

Dated Law<sup>r</sup> Decemb<sup>r</sup> ye 12 1715 "

children, were now succeeded by a generation comparatively ignorant, rustic and superstitious. The darkness of interminable woods, filled with wild beasts and savage men, it is alleged, predisposed the people to wild imaginings and dark forebodings. Hence the prevalence of the witch delusion, and the intolerance of a bigoted church and ministry. But all this is itself mostly the spawn of imagination. Doubtless the third generation may have lacked some of the refinement of their grandfathers and grandmothers. But that the third and fourth generations were less educated than the first and second is a groundless supposition. The fathers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, at once established a system of education which reached all the children; a state of things unknown in England, at that time, and not enjoyed by the present generation of children. A college was opened at Cambridge by men who had received the best training that Oxford and Cambridge could give. Neighborhood schools, grammar schools, and a college trained the most intelligent and quick-witted people in the world. No people were so little infected with superstition; or so little deluded by witchcraft, or so free from bigotry and intolerance. These evils prevailed in the world, whether heathen, Mohammedan or Christian. They were felt here, for a time, but with ever diminishing force, until they were expelled by the healthy growth of a sound mental and religious constitution.

The people of Lancaster shared in this general enlightenment. An ignorant people do not voluntarily choose and sustain a learned and godly ministry. Religious leaders they will have; but these will be ignorant like themselves, or pander to their vices, while fostering their ignorance. Not so with our predecessors in these fair and fertile fields. Whether transient or permanent, their ministers were always University scholars. So far as known, they were men of abilities and culture above the average in their profession. In character they were pure; in reputation, unspotted. Rowlandson, Whiting and Gardner, all won and retained the respect and love of the church, and the community.

The affectionate esteem in which the clergymen of this town were regarded, is shown by a kind and graceful deed which illustrates the year 1688. The Rev. John Whiting was ministering here with a view to settlement. He needed a house, and the people agreed to build one for him in part by subscription. The paper contained <sup>79</sup>about eighty names. These names belonged, with few exceptions, to residents in Lancaster. And of these latter, nearly all were heads of families.

A beautiful site was selected for the location of the dwelling. It was on the lawn of the Col. Fay estate, and near the corner of the roads. At the same time some of the elm trees which now adorn the grounds, were planted. The work went on, and the town, on the third of January, 1690, voted to make conveyance to Mr. Whiting of the house and land formerly granted by the town.

On the same day, the house being finished, possession was given in the following singular and impressive manner. The voters, and probably others, in large number, assembled at the house, walked through the rooms, and after a pleasant and thorough inspection, passed out of doors, and formally gave possession to their minister. Those moderately endowed with imagination can picture that day as a "red letter day" in the history of the town. Doubtless there was a large gathering of parents and children. There was a "feast of fat things," and the voice of song and prayer, and an interchange of earnest congratulations. And when the people went to their own homes, who can doubt that they left many gifts to cheer the home of their minister?

The Records of the church which Mr. Whiting and his successors served, till the settlement of the Rev. John Prentice, are lost. It is known, however, that after the lamented death of Mr. Whiting, several very respectable gentlemen supplied the pulpit, each for a short time, until the Rev. Andrew Gardner came, in May, 1701. His most unfortunate and much lamented death occurred in October, 1704. The next May, 1705, Mr. John Prentice began preaching in the town.

*Wholly  
imaginative*

*g'*

*? a*

*(g<sup>2</sup>)*

*x*

g. This "paper" appears to be a rate list, as it has names of several dead men, and non-residents, and contains probably the name of every land owner in town. See notes in my private copy of "Annals of Lancaster" pp. 127 & 248.

I find nothing of "a subscription". Though Willard has headed his MSS list "found among papers of Jonathan Willard": "list of those who subscribed to the ministers house in 1688" - "Subscribed" simply means "paid rates, being offered so used in records."

[92] In March 1701 Willard Alice Whiting sold the house & land to Thomas Sawyer jr & John Boughton, for inhabitants of Lancaster.

For acct. of towns action see Willard's Hist. p. 63.

The house stood just south of the well, in the present lawn, & faced towards the road leading to the Atherton Bridge. Willard says the house was taken down a few years only before 1826. I find some aged people who remember it standing.

(a) It is possible but not probable that any of the trees now standing on the Fay lawn are 150 or more years old. How much of the rest of this account is history, & how much romance, it is hard to tell. A house we however know stood, not near the corner of the roads, but close to the well & pump, & the avenue leading to the front can yet be distinguished, though most of the huge butterwoods that stood on either side of it, have disappeared. Slight depressions in the ground marking their position. The house faced the road that leads to Bolton (as did the Atherton House on the opposite side of the way). This house was Levi Willard's home, & was taken down early in this century.

\* Willard & Harrington give three names. Century Sermon p. 16 & Hist of Lancaster p. 63.

John Robinson, minister at "Duxborough" 1702-1739

? Jones, perhaps John of Howard? 1690. d. 1719.

Samuel Whitman of Harvard? 1696 d. 1757

In 1708 Robert Houghton was granted twelve acres of land for work done by him at the meeting house. He had been <sup>given</sup> twenty ~~five~~ acres before for "making the pulpit."

a The original manuscript of the Covenant has many words missing from the edge of the leaf which must be supplied by conjecture. Rev. E. H. Sears made a copy of it in 1846. on a leaf of the same volume, not however following closely the peculiar spelling & abbreviations of the original. The missing words supplied are shown in brackets.

The manuscript is in John Prentice's hand, and so are the seven names following his own signature - which names seem to have been of same date, (judging from penmanship & color of ink & position) as the body of Covenant. The other names seem to have been added sometimes in Mr. Prentice's writing sometimes by the persons themselves. & there is no reason to think they were signed "on the day of his settlement" but, on the same leaf & those following are given the dates when each one of them was admitted to the church. Joseph Wilder jun. for instance who was born the year Prentice was ordained was admitted to the church in 1734 & could not have "signed the Covenant" before that date.

After supplying nearly three years, he was invited in February, 1707-8, to become the settled minister of the church, and religious teacher of the town. He accepted the invitation, and was ordained on the twenty-ninth of March, old style, 1708.

There is nothing to show the number of church members at the time of the ordination of Mr. Prentice, but the Covenant renewed on the day of his settlement was owned by thirty-three male members, and signed with their names. The document, with the names appended, here follows, and brings this chapter to an appropriate close.

## LANCASTER CHURCH COVENANT.

Renewed March 29, (O. S.) 1708.

*"before the ordination of the Rev<sup>d</sup> John Prentice"*

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being inhabitants of the town of Lancaster, in New England, knowing that we (are) prone to offend and provoke the Most High God, both in heart, word and deed, through the prevalence of sin that dwelleth within us, and [through] temptations from without us, for which we have great (reason to) be unfeignedly humble, before him from day to day, do [in the] name of our Lord Jesus Christ, with dependence upon the assistance of his Holy Spirit, solemnly enter into Covenant with God, and one with another, according to God, as followeth.

"Imprimis. That having chosen and taken the Lord Jehoyah (to be our) God, we will fear him, cleave to him, and love, and serve (him, in) truth, with all our hearts, giving up ourselves unto him as his people. In all things to be at his sovereign [disposal], that we may have and hold communion with him as [members] of Christ's mystical Body, according to his revealed will, [unto our] lives' end.

"2. We also bind ourselves to bring up our children and servants in the knowledge and fear of God, by holy instructions, according to (our) abilities; and in special, by the use of orthodox catechisms, that true religion may be main-



tained in our families while [we live]; yea, and among such as shall live when we are dead and gone.

" 3. And we further promise to keep close to the truth of Christ, endeavoring with lively affection towards it in our hearts, to defend it [against] all opposers thereof, as God shall call us at any time thereunto; [which] that we may do, we resolve to use the Holy Scriptures [as our] platform, whereby we may discern the mind of Christ, [and not the] new-found inventions of men.

" 4. We also engage ourselves to have a careful inspection of [our] own hearts, viz., so as to endeavor, by the virtue of the [death] of Christ, the mortification of all our sinful passions, [worldly] frames, and disorderly affections, whereby we may be withdrawn [from] the living God.

" 5. We moreover oblige ourselves, in the faithful improvement [of our] ability and opportunity, to worship God according to all the particular institutions of Christ for his Church, under gospel administrations, [with] reverent attention unto the Word of God; to pay unto him [our] praises; and to hold communion each with other in the [use of] the seals of the covenant, viz. baptism and the Supper of [the Lord].

" 6. We likewise promise that we will peaceably submit unto the discipline appointed by Christ in his Church for offenders, obeying according to the will of God, these that have the rule over us in the [Lord].

" 7. We also bind ourselves to walk in love one towards another, endeavoring our mutual edification, visiting, exhorting, comforting, as [occasion] [ability] serveth, and warning any Brother or sister which offendeth, [not] divulging private offences irregularly, but heedfully following [the] precepts laid down for Church dealing, (Matt. 18: 15, 16, 17) forgiving all that do manifest unto the Judgment of charity, [that they] truly repent of their miscarriages.

" Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead [our] Lord, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect in every good



a The names first written, at the date of the renewal of the covenant or not long after probably, were -

John Prentice  
Thomas Wilder  
John Houghton  
Josiah Whitcomb  
John Wilder  
Jeremiah Wilson  
John Rugg.

These names, in the records extant, are not the signatures of the persons themselves - Some of the others may be. If so they were probably signed at date of their admittance to the church. These dates will be set against the names - opposite. Why these names alone (out of the 128 males who "owned the covenant" under Mr Prentice) appear attached to the document, is not obvious - unless another sheet now lost, was once attached to this. The preceding leaf of Church records, in other respects blank, has the names of four church members, apparently autograph

Saml. Warner,	Joined church 1712 Apr 11
Stanton Prentice	" " 1734 June 23 <sup>3</sup>
Ephraim Houghton	" " 1730 <sup>1</sup> March 7.
Josiah Swan,	" " May 11, 1735

Work to do his will, working that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen." Signed by

John Bennett, 1728 Aug 14	John Warner, 1716 <sup>Jr</sup>	John Houghton, 1718
Edward Phelps, 1716	Jonathan Houghton, 1718	Josiah Whetcomb, 1718
Joshua Osgood, 1722?	Josiah Wheeler, 1710	John Wilder,
Joseph Whitcomb, Feb 6 1731 <sup>3</sup>	Benjamin Wilson, 1716	Jeremiah Wilson,
David Osgood, Aug 5 1733	Jonas Houghton, 1720?	John Rugg,
Joseph Mores, July 8 1733	Samuel Willard, Nov. 18 1733	Jonathan Moor,
Joseph Wilder, Jan 4 1734	Jabez Fairbank, Jr 1719?	Joseph Wilder 1713 Sep 20
Oliver Moor, Jan 14 1732 <sup>3</sup>	Thomas Houghton, 1727	Jabez Fairbank, 1715 <sup>16</sup> March 18 (Sen)
John Harris, 1717	Hooker Osgood, Jr 1725?	Josiah White, 1708 Mar 13 (Senior)
John Priest, 1708	John Prentice,	James Wilder, 1710
Daniel Rugg, 1717	Thomas Wilder,	Joseph Hutchins. 1721?

## CHAPTER VIII.

NEW FAMILIES. JOHN FLETCHER AND HANNAH PHELPS.  
LANCASTER HEROES: FAIRBANK. THE WILLARDS. HART-  
WELL. WHITE.

JOSEPH DUDLEY, son of Gov. Thomas Dudley, was appointed President of New England by the king, in 1685, and continued in office one year. In 1702 he became the royal governor of the Province of Massachusetts, and remained in that position until 1715, when his death left the executive department to Lieut. Gov. William Taylor. He was succeeded in 1716 by Samuel Shute, who continued in power seven years, when in 1723, Lieut. Gov. William Dummer became acting governor. His administration lasted till 1730, with the exception of the year 1728, when William Burnet, son of the famous bishop and historian, Gilbert Burnet, was governor. It fell to Dummer's lot to conduct the war with the eastern Indians, closing with Lovewell's fight, and he seems to have won a fairly honorable name in our colonial history. Dummer Academy in Byfield bears his name. Fort Dummer, and Dummerston in Vermont, serve to perpetuate his fame beyond our bounds.

George I. was acknowledged by our ancestors as their king, in 1715, and all writs ran in his name during the period included in this chapter, from 1713 to 1730. Bolingbroke and Harley, the ministers of Anne, during the later years of her reign, had been driven from power. The prompt action of the dukes of Argyle and Somerset baffled the partisans of the pretender, and a long succession of whig politicians upheld the throne of the Brunswick family. Of these, the most

a! "Williams Tailor" not Taylor. & Dudley did not die  
until 1720 five years after his withdrawal from the  
executive department. his commission lapsing because of  
the death of the Queen -

↳ William Burnet was Governor of Massachusetts fourteen  
months - July 1728 to Sept 1729 when he died -

Francis Fullam or Fulham. Esq. of Watertown.

capable, if not the most honest, was Robert Walpole, who held the reins of power from 1720 to 1743. His sagacity, his aversion to change, and his love of peace, made him a friend to the colonies.

Thus connected with the colonial and the imperial government, the frontier settlement of Lancaster was engaged in subduing its extended territory. But the resident proprietors were agitated, by a claim to the new purchase, which certain non-residents made in the year 1717. At a meeting of the proprietors in the month of February, the following paper was presented. "A claim <sup>was</sup> made <sup>ad hoc</sup> by several persons represented by Francis Fullam, to wit: We the subscribers, whose names are underwritten,

Daniel How,	upon the right of	Capt. Henry Kerley,	£100-0-0
John Barns,	" "	" " "	50-0-0
James Keyes,	" "	Roper,	50-0-0
John Sherman,	" "	John Moore,	
Benjamin Bailey,	" "	John Houghton,	20-0-0
David Church,	" "	Capt. Kerley,	50-0-0
" "	" "	Edward Bryck,	50-0-0
John Booker,	" "	Robert Houghton,	
Simon Gates,	" "	Stephen Gates,	314-0-0
Isaac Hunt,	" "	Samuel Bennet,	30-0-0
Samuel Wright,	" "	Cyprian Stevens,	40-0-0
Ira <del>for</del> Fra. Fullam,	" "	George Adams,	0-0-0

do hereby demand all and every of our respective rights and divisions of, in, and unto all rights and divisions of lands, made or to be made in that tract of land last granted by the great and general court of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, the twenty-seventh of May, 1713, to be added and confirmed to the town of Lancaster, as part of that township, in which tract of land we have and claim our just rights of property in proportion, as being invested in the original right in said town of Lancaster." Signed by John Sherman, Daniel How, John Barnes, James Keyes, Simon Gates, Samuel Wright, Ira Fullam, David Church, Benjamin Bailey.



The matter was referred to a committee consisting of John Houghton, Ephraim, James and Joseph Wilder, who probably reported to a meeting held on the fifth of March. The town held that the "new purchase," now the greater part of Leominster and Sterling, was bought by certain inhabitants of Lancaster of George Dahontá and other Indians, and since added and confirmed to the town by the great and general court. The subject was "agitated," says the Record, and the conclusion was, that they, "the proprietors of the town of Lancaster have no right nor interest in said land purchased of the Indians, by any former rights of the town of Lancaster; and also ~~to~~ further conclude and agree that they will have nothing to do with the said land in point of division upon the original rights of said town, but conclude that it be to the inhabitants of said town of Lancaster who purchased the same, set off as a propriety, the first Tuesday of March, 171<sup>5</sup>, (O. S.) as their proper right and propriety, to order, divide, improve and dispose of the same according to their interest therein, by purchase, as the law in that case has made provision." The men who bought land of the Indians, which was confirmed to them by the general court, very properly repelled the claim of those who had not joined in the purchase.

The "new purchase" could be of value only as new roads were cut through the woods and swamps. The stream of settlers now pouring in on the west as well as on the east and the center, caused "highways and byways" to be opened in all directions. Three or four roads led over George and Ballard hills to Chocksett and Leominster. Old roads were straightened and improved, as the needs and the means of the people required.

Among the new families which set up their family altars here from the opening of the eighteenth century to the year 1730, we find the names of Carter, Fletcher, Phelps, Harris, Hutchins, Hapgood, Osgood, Hinds, Glazier, and others. A manuscript drawn up by a native of the town, Charles F. Fletcher, of Philadelphia, affords information illustrative of

\* Tahanto. Spelled in the Records "Dahanata". Sagamore  
of Nuthaways. nephew to Sholan.

x This account of the Carters is erroneous.

Samuel Carter, a clergyman son of Rev<sup>d</sup> Thomas of Woburn, was the first of the name in Lancaster purchasing the Kerly lands on George Still, a short time after the resettlement. The "nephew Joseph Carter of Chelmsford" is imaginary I presume. Samuel's son Thomas married Ruth - whose family name does not appear - Edward Phelps came to Lancaster about 1710 - and ~~was~~ had daughters Ruth and Hannah - who married Thomas Carter and John Fletcher.

Phelps's wife was named Ruth we know. No Joseph Carter appears anywhere in Lancaster Records until half a century or more later.

Phelps came from Andover, not Chelmsford, according to records, and married Ruth Adams

7 March 1682 - Thomas Carter <sup>and Ruth Phelps</sup> ~~was~~ married 1707 and their first child was born in Woburn - 1708, their second in Lancaster 1711.

P.S. for Andover records we find Edward and Ruth Phelps had

Ruth born June 1 1684  
Hannah .. ~~November~~ 14 1685  
Lydia .. January 16 1687  
Elizabeth .. January 27 1689  
Ruthsaba .. ~~May~~ 8 1692 died Feb 4 1694  
Edward .. March 20 1694  
Ruthsaba .. March 7 1696  
Robert .. May 8. 1699  
Joshua .. 1701

ancient times and customs. Speaking of some of these families, the writer says that the Carters came in first. "Capt. Ephraim Carter moved from Chelmsford to Lancaster about the close of the seventeenth century, and took up a large tract of land extending far into Leominster. It is related that soon after the purchase of the Carter tract, Capt. Carter either gave or sold to his nephew, Joseph Carter, of Chelmsford, a small part of his purchase. The said Joseph—the year not given—built for himself a *log house* on or near the site of the house where Mr. Keyes lately lived, (now owned by H. D. Stratton.) Having finished his house, and made it as comfortable as circumstances would admit, he returned to Chelmsford and married Ruth Phelps, thus connecting the Phelps family with the Carter family.

"Returning to Lancaster with his bride, she took with her as companion her sister Hannah Phelps, to assist her in driving away the bears, and keeping off the Indians, when her husband was out in the woods, chopping and clearing preparatory to the next planting season.

"This family had been domesticated now for two or three months, had become better acquainted with their location and neighborhood, and had received and made a few visits among the old settlers. Some progress had been made in clearing and preparing for planting in the spring. Thanksgiving was near, and such rude preparation as the forest afforded had been made for its celebration. Towards evening of a pleasant autumnal day, the housework done up, the table spread for supper, a bright fire burning on the hearth, the ladies were waiting and looking for the return of Mr. Carter, that supper might be over, when they heard in the distance the sound of a horse's hoofs, and looking saw a horseman approaching, mounted on an iron-gray horse full of fire and spirit. [Whether it was the man or the horse, or both, that was full of fire and spirit, or their imagination only, history does not say.] Suffice it to say, the rider was John Fletcher of Chelmsford, come to renew his attentions to Miss Phelps. He was

Samuel

Son Thomas

X  
two burn

soon at her feet, and then there was joy and gladness in that house. The news had to be asked and told, about all the relations and friends in Chelmsford, from whom they had heard but once since they left. \* \* \* \* Now a messenger had come to visit this outpost, he was overwhelmed with questions. This is the story of the advent of the Fletchers into Lancaster."

The marriage of John Fletcher and Hannah Phelps in 1712 is a matter of record. Fletcher lived, during several years, in the house with Carter. Family tradition reports that they "worked together with great unanimity, subduing the forest, and making the country habitable. Carter sold to Fletcher a parcel of land nearly due north of his own house, and assisted Fletcher to build a log house like his own." This may seem strange, since there had been a saw-mill at Prescott's mills more than fifty years; but probably it was cheaper to hew the logs, than to cart them to the mill, and bring back the boards. Timber was a nuisance, and had to be disposed of in some way. When the house was "finished and occupied, the family gave a *grand entertainment*, inviting the Carters, the Wilders, the Gosses, and some others. The descendants of Ruth and Hannah Phelps occupied their homesteads in Lancaster for four generations, and lived together in great harmony and friendship."

Though Carter and Fletcher began with log houses, yet there were many framed houses in the town. Some of these are still standing. The houses of Mrs. Mary Ware and of Emory White probably antedate the coming of Fletcher. The house taken down in 1876 by Frank Taylor, was formerly in possession of the Carter family, and doubtless was built soon after the advent of Joseph Carter. The first house of Fletcher was built of logs. Then a frame was annexed to one side or end. Later, the log part was taken down, and a frame set in its place, making a framed house with its L part.

Resuming the narrative of the town, it will gratify a reasonable curiosity to give a report of the first town meeting

John Fletcher born in Chelmsford May 7 1687  
In 1712 married Hannah Phelps & settled in Linn-  
cotes. His sons were John Timothy, Robert and  
Joshua. his daughters Lydia, Hannah & Ruth. His  
wife died April 10. 1737 - Fletcher was a tailor.

Perly Hammond's Log House was standing  
within the memory of some of our oldest  
inhabitants - See note p. 44.

Mr Marvin seems not to know how to build a log house  
as he imagines the logs hewn - This may have been sometimes  
the case. Making a "timber" house. but not after -

Mr Marvin seems to know "Joseph" - but he appears  
not in any records I can find. until near the  
days of the Revolution - Samuel Barber is meant  
I presume.

*Corrections from Town Records —*

that is on record after the massacre in 1676. From that date on to 1716 there is a blank in our town Records. Then, in the Proprietors' Book, the record begins again, and on the tenth of March, 1717-18, we find the proceedings of a town-meeting to consider about building the Neck bridge. Next, on the fourteenth of May, 1718, (O. S.), we read the report of a town meeting at which John Houghton, jr., was chosen representative to the general court.

The next record of a town meeting bears date March 2, 1718-19. "The inhabitants of Lancaster met at the meeting-house according to appointment, in order to choose town officers, and first chose Ephraim Wilder moderator of said meeting; and then next a warrant was read for a choice of a grandjuror, and accordingly the town was warned per Samuel Willard, constable, to choose one, and then the town proceeded to the choice of John White, the person to serve on the grandjury for the year ensuing.

"The town proceeded to the choice of selectmen, and chose John Houghton, <sup>sen.</sup> Capt. Peter Joslyn, Josiah White, Jonas Houghton, jr., and Joseph Wilder, selectmen. <sup>for ye year ensuing</sup> The town chose John Houghton, sen., town clerk, and <sup>then</sup> voted to choose assessors."

The assessors chosen were John Keys, Joseph Wilder, and Jacob Houghton. The following constables were chosen. Daniel Rugg, Jonathan Houghton and Hezekiah Whitcombe. "Then the laws enjoined to be read, were read in said meeting."

The highway surveyors were George Glazier, Jonathan Moore, Jonathan Sawyer and Oliver Wilder. Treasurer, James Wilder. Tythingmen, Josiah White and Samuel Warner. Fence viewers, Bazahat <sup>cell</sup> Sawyer and Thomas Carter. Haywards, Hooker Osgood, jr., John Hinds, jr., Daniel Houghton and John Goss. Sealer of leather, Thomas Carter. He had a tannery on George hill. <sup>Jonas</sup> John Houghton, jr., gauger, and then the "meeting was adjourned to the second Wednesday <sup>mor</sup> of May next, at three of the clock in the



afternoon." There is no record of the adjourned meeting in the Proprietors' Book; but it will be borne in mind that the proprietors, being mainly the same as the voters in the town, did much town business in their capacity as proprietors.

At this time the relations between our people and the Indians at the east had become unsettled. The jurisdiction of the general court extended over the territory of Maine, and at times, the settlers in New Hampshire were under its protection. Expeditions were sent in successive years, with great loss of men and money, until the natives, <sup>who had been</sup> instigated by French jesuits, were subdued. The people of Lancaster bore their part of the public burden, and probably volunteered more than their proportion of fighting men. Prominent among these were the Willards, White, Fairbank and Hartwell.

Though there had been occasional fights in the two or three years preceding 1722, yet war was not actually declared by the governor of the colony until the twenty-fifth of July of that year. The general court met in August, and approved of the proclamation of war, and proffered all necessary aid.

First in the order of time of our military heroes, in these days of trial, was Lieut. afterwards Capt. Jabez Fairbank. He was a famous scouting officer, and traversed large sections of country to the north, east and west, in search for prowling Indians. More than sixty scouting parties were engaged in this service. Some of the names of men under his command, between 1721 and 1724, were the following: Edward Hartwell, Ephraim Wheeler, Daniel <sup>vid</sup> Osgood, Isaac Farnsworth, Isaac Lacain, John Bennet, Joseph Wheelock, Ezra Sawyer, Moses Willard, John Eams.

On the twentieth of November, 1723, he received a letter from Gov. Dummer, saying: "Now you acquainting me that you can enlist very good men to complete the Numbers for your Command; these are direct you forthwith to do it, and return me their Names. I doubt not but you will keep them to their Duty, and take all Occasions, if possible, to perform some Signal Service."

Mass. Archives Vol 72 p 138

Mass Archives Vol 72. p 138 gives the list of 30 men.  
 Spoken of & mixed by author  
 "A list of the names of ye Souldiers  
 first enlisted in Lancaster Greater &  
 Dunstable"

Edward Hartwell 1  
 Aaron Willard 1  
 Benjamin Osgood 1  
 Benjamin Houghton Jun 1  
 John Bennett 1  
 Samuel Sawyer 1  
 Jonathan Shepley  
 Joseph Blood  
 James Shattuck  
 Samuel Scripps  
 John Stephens  
 William Larrance  
 Jabaz Davice  
 Thomas Chamberlain  
 Ephraim Chandler  
 Benjamin Nichols 16

"The names of those  
 last enlisted"

Joseph Blanchard 1  
 Ephraim Wheeler 1  
 David Osgood 1  
 Joseph Wheelock 1  
 Ezra Sawyer 1  
 Benjamin Harris 1  
 Phineas Parker  
 David Satell  
 Isaac Woods  
 Jacob Lakin  
 Thomas Lund  
 Isaac Farwell  
 Ebenezer Cumins  
 John Usher  
 Jonathan Combs. 15

Lancaster December the 2<sup>d</sup> 1723

Jabaz Fairbanks."

a' I have corrected <sup>two of</sup> these letters of Fairbanks.  
 to accord in spelling &c with the copies in N.E.  
 Hist & Gen. Register Vol 10 p. 48. which were made  
 by Dr Paul Green, whose name is a guarantee of  
 their accuracy.

The List. seems to have added  
 the final s to the family name sometimes, but his  
 spelling varies - from "farbank" to "Fairbanks".

P.S. Letters since compared with originals & corrected  
 accordingly

Fairbank's answer, a fortnight later informed the governor that he had enlisted fifteen able-bodied men, including <sup>besides</sup> those previously in the service. All but two or three bore Lancaster names.

Edward Hartwell,	Benjamin Houghton, jr.,	Benjamin Harris,	14	X
Benjamin Osgood,	Samuel Sawyer,	David Osgood,		
John Bennet,	- Joseph Blood,	Ezra Sawyer,		
- Jonathan Shipley,	Ephraim Wheeler,	- Phinehas Parker.		
Aaron Willard,	Joseph Wheelock,			

Here follows the letter to the governor and council, saying: "May it please your ~~Honors~~; I have, in observance of your honored order, enlisted fifteen able-bodied men fit for service, and have sent the List of them herewith to your ~~Honors~~, with the List of those that were in <sup>my</sup> service before, and have put them on duty; We have made no discovery of the <sup>the</sup> Enemy as yet. The bearer is one that is in the Service, and is Capable, if your Honor sees cause to demand; to give a ~~fit~~ account of our management."

A letter from Fairbank dated the twenty-eighth of April, 1724, informs the governor of his proceedings as follows: "Sir: I have attended your order referring to the placing of the men at each Town, and have also sent your Honor the Journal of all the long Scouts. \* \* I am not able to give your Honor so particular an account of every Day's <sup>march</sup> work as possibly your Honor may expect. I endeavored to improve the men constantly to the most advantage according to the Best of my Judgment. If your Honor Please, I would now and then send out a Scout at Considerable Distance from the Towns, and I think it would be very agreeable to the minds of the People so to do. I stand ready to attend your Honor's Orders, and am your Honor's most Obedient Servant." *Taber Fairbank*

The next letter from Lieut. Fairbank bears date May twenty<sup>eight, 1724</sup>, and shows the fidelity of the writer. "I have Posted the men committed to my care at the Towns of Lancaster, Groton, Dunstable, and Turkey Hill, [now Lunenburg] and improve them in the best manner I can for the protection of the <sup>according to your Honours orders,</sup>

*Mass Archives  
Vol 38 p 64*

people and discovery of the enemy, and I think to the general satisfaction. I have ordered one man to Mr. Prescott's garrison during his attendance at the Court. I beg leave further to acquaint your Honor, that the people in these Towns apprehend themselves in great danger, and cannot, (in my humble opinion,) be in any manner safe with so small a number of men." *I am your Honours Humble & most obedient Servt. Jabez Fairbanks*

A letter dated July 1, refers to an offer made by the governor, that Fairbank might have the choice of the office of sergeant if he remained at home, in Lancaster, or that of lieutenant, if he were willing to serve at Groton, or at Turkey Hill. He chose the latter, and sent out scouts, who found Indian tracks.

On the twentieth of July he was stationed at Groton, and ordered the soldiers under his command to be posted in "some of the most Exposed Garrisons as often as may be." He felt unable to represent to the governor the "Necessities of the people," whose circumstances were very difficult and distressing. "The poor people," he writes, "are many of them obliged to keep their own Garrisons, and part of them Employed as Guards, while others are at their Labor, whose whole Time would be full little enough to be expended in getting bread for their families. My own Garrison at Lancaster is very much exposed." He concluded by asking leave to post a soldier there in his absence. We shall hear of Fairbanks again in arduous service.

The next officer deserving notice was Lieut. Edward Hartwell, who has already been named. On the eighteenth of March, 1725, he sent word to the governor that most of the Lancaster soldiers had been scouting. When they were called to serve under Col. Tyng, and appear on a certain day at Dunstable, with fifty days provisions, the most of them utterly refused to go. He concludes: "Some have enlisted in the scout, and several under Capt. White."

Whereupon Gov. Dummer wrote to Col. Tyng, informing him of the state of things, and urging him to assert his au-

See Groton Centennial Celebration p. 75. for Fairbanks  
letters of July 1 + 20 in full. They are to be found in  
Mass. Archives L11 9-18. Some journals of Lieut. Fairbanks  
1723-4 are in Mass Archives xxxviii 49-54

This passage of letter is as follows.

"I find it impossible to improve so small a number of men  
so as to answer ye necessities of the people here, whose  
circumstances are so very difficult + distressing that I am  
not able fully to Represent to your Honour. x x"

Mass. Archives Vol 72. p. 221

"though men listed in yr report + several of them  
have listed under Cap<sup>m</sup> White."

(a) Mass Archives Vol 72-5223

a<sup>2</sup> Add Benjamin Atterton, Senior Atterton, Ebenezer Polly &  
Richard Wildes -

(d) They did find many traces of Indians. even  
wigwams recently deserted. but caught none of their  
vigilant enemy. These Journals are in Mass Archives  
Volume 38A.

thority. The governor evidently suspected Hartwell was at the bottom of the dissatisfaction, and ordered that Tyng should "make strict inquiry," that Hartwell might be dealt with accordingly. In consequence, Col. Eleazar Tyng came to Lancaster, and found that Lieut. Hartwell was not to blame in the least manner. He wrote in reply; saying that Hartwell "did all <sup>that lay</sup> in his power to promote and further the Design<sup>e</sup> your Honor <sup>^</sup>commanded us to go upon. We marched yesterday and ~~Camp~~ <sup>the</sup> last night at ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> mouth of Nessonkeeg brook."

The last service of Hartwell, of which we have record in this war, is reported in a letter which he sent, by the hand of ensign Oliver Wilder, dated August twenty-three, 1725, stating that he had been at Lancaster, inspecting the soldiers under the command of Capt. Josiah Willard. He had removed to Turkey Hills, where he had a house and intervale land. Asking leave to live there he assured the governor that he would be in as "good <sup>^</sup>capacity to serve both ~~his~~ <sup>the</sup> King and country."

Capt. Samuel Willard was engaged in the service during the year 1725, as appears by a muster roll, August to October, containing several Lancaster names among others; as Henry Willard, Benjamin Goodridge, Benjamin Richardson, <sup>(was of Leicester)</sup> Joseph Phelps, Ephraim Wheeler, Moses Chandler, Barnabas Tuel. <sup>^</sup> In <sup>^</sup>another company, at the same time, were the following soldiers from Lancaster: Lieut. Oliver Wilder, sergeant Samuel Sawyer, William Stevens, Joseph Whitcomb, John Divoll, Jonathan Bailey. ~~Before the time expired, ensign Lemuel Howard took the place of Divoll.~~ Capt. Willard went on a scouting expedition into New Hampshire, in the months of September and October. The march was long, and the service arduous. No trace of Indians was found, but the fact of such vigilance served to keep the enemy at a distance from this section of the colony. In his Journal, he records that Abel Chapin and Benjamin Atherton were sick; and that Richard <sup>wreck</sup> Brek, who had cut his <sup>leg</sup> foot with a hatchet, was sent home. The last day's ride of Willard brought him <sup>from Andover</sup>



to Lancaster, a distance of forty miles. His men came in by easier marches. They had scouted five hundred and three miles through a wilderness, pathless except where an Indian trail might be struck.

In July of this year Willard went on a scouting-raid in search of the enemy. On the ~~fifteenth~~<sup>sixteenth</sup> his party reached Rutland. Thence they marched north, over hills and through swamps, to the Grand Monadnock, in New Hampshire. Here they camped on the thirty-first. From the towering summit, he saw "Pigwackett" far off on the borders of Maine, Winnepeeseoukey, now called "Winnepesaukee"<sup>Winnepesaukee</sup>, and Cosage, or Kearsarge. In his march he saw signs of Indians, and suffered much from foul weather. At one point he was obliged to weaken his party by sending a sick man home. This officer became quite distinguished twenty years later as a colonel in the old French and Indian war.

<sup>a</sup> A contemporary of his, Capt. Josiah Willard, of Lancaster birth and training, was a very active officer. His home was at Turkey Hills. Being summoned on the eighteenth of March, 1724, to be with all the men under his command, ready to march from home, with fifty days provisions, he stated that "most of their means were wanting. They will be much exposed." He goes on to say that Capt. White expected soon to go out again, and that the men would soon be ready; and therefore prayed to be excused.

Willard was not the man to make excuses instead of doing service. He was out scouting all over the region from December 2, 1724, till the next May. The following men were under his command at or near this time, viz.: Henry Willard, Benja. Goodridge, ——— Richardson, Ephraim Wheeler, Moses Chandler, Joshua Phelps, Barnabas Tuell, Simon Atherton. He is heard of again in the summer and autumn, from May to November, six months, as engaged in guarding and scouting. He guarded the people while plowing on the uplands, and working in the meadows. Such was life in those troublous times, when nothing but incessant watchfulness

<sup>a</sup> "Contemporary" - why not say brother, which he was.  
Afterward Colonel - come and out at Fort Sumner.?

\* Barnard Jewell in John Prentiss' records.

Extract

from Joseph Wedder's Memorandum Book

Sept 4<sup>th</sup> 1742 Then Received of Joseph Wedder twenty two  
 shillings and three pence being my part of ten pounds which  
 I was to Receive of him on ye account of a lot granted to  
 my brother Samuel Wheeler by ye Court, as a Canada  
 soldier

Sary S. Taylor.  
 mark

P.S. The above Wheeler was in the expedition  
 of 1690 - see p. 125 where this note should have been  
 placed -

(a) There are three sheets of names to this Muster Roll; the author has copied one only

add these

- |                   |                 |                 |                |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Jeremiah Belcher  | Jona. Lilly     | Jona Hubbard    | Eben. Pratt    |
| Saml Hardy        | Jona Temple     | Joseph Lakin    | Jos. Smith     |
| Robt Gray         | Jona Richardson | Phineas Parker  | Daniel Collins |
| Thomas Bruce      | Walter Malone   | Eben. Blood     | Robt. Sears    |
| Jer. D. Belcher   | Joseph Beant    | Jona Borden     | Josiah Cory    |
| Joseph Woods      | Benj. Manning   | John Lakin      | Jona Fish      |
| Robt. Gray        | William Durbin  | Francis Woods   | Lawrence Lacy  |
| Hersheah Fletcher | John Shepley    | Math. Hutton    | John Hutton    |
| x Cyren Stevens   | Deane Parker    | Phineas Bent    | Daniel Kelly   |
|                   |                 | Stephen Boynton | Timothy Barron |

Robt Gray or Gray + Richard Miles  
 names are repeated several times  
 at different places

(a) White was with Lovell & apparently was in  
 command. Feby. 20 1720. when ten Indians were killed  
 near Saco River. Of the sixty men three present  
 several were Lancaster men. Certainly most of the following

- |                   |                |               |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| • Jos White       | Jethro Jones   | Olive Pollard |
| • Jos Whitlock    | Jacob Jones    | John Pollard  |
| • Ezra Sawyer     | Saml. Fletcher | John Stephens |
| • Sam. Sawyer     | Moses Chandler | Thos Farmer   |
| • Jona Houghton   | Jacob Cory     | Eben Wright   |
| • James Houghton  | Wm Hutchins    | Jos. Reed     |
| • Henry Willow    | Jer. Hunt      |               |
| • Jacob Gates     | Jos Wilson     |               |
| • Joseph Whitcomb | • Sam Moor     |               |
| • Rob. Phelps.    |                |               |
| • John Sawyer     |                |               |

gave security from the arrow and the tomahawk. Willard and his men watched over the farmers while at work on the west side of the river at Quassoponokin, at Plain Meadow, *!! See p. 104 note* and at Maple Meadow.

In vol. 91, page 190, Mass. Archives, there is a roll of the men under the command of Capt. Josiah Willard, of Turkey Hills. Many of the names are familiar to the student of the early annals of Lancaster, *but the residences are not given, in the Roll*  
*Date of service June 3 to Nov 10 1725.*

	Capt. Josiah Willard,	Benjamin Harris,	Richard Wiles,
	Lieut. Edward Hartwell,	Samuel Stow,	Richard Gore, & <i>Richard Wiles</i>
<i>Jonathan Shepley Esq.</i>	Aaron Willard, <i>Serjt.</i>	Uriah Holt,	Josiah Witherby,
	Philip Goodridge, <i>Serjt.</i>	Thomas R <sup>uss</sup> ,	Andrew Watkins,
(a)	John Dean, <i>Serjt.</i>	Daniel Power,	Henry Houghton,
	John Holden, <i>Capt.</i>	John Goodridge,	John Wilder,
	Isaac Farnsworth, <i>Capt.</i>	Joseph Page,	"John Wilder, <i>junr. son of Thos. Wilder</i> "
	Benjamin Corey,	Jona. Willard,	"Simon Atherton, <i>son of James Atherton</i> "
	James Jewell,	* Won, (Indian,)	"Thos Fairbanks, <i>son of father Fairbanks</i> "
	Samuel Davis,	Benj. Rugg,	David Osgood,
	John Shepard, <i>Son to Deak Shepard,</i>	Jona Fairbanks,	Jona. Pierson,
	Richard Rice,	John Hywood,	Edward Pratz,
	Samuel Farnsworth, <i>fr.,</i> <i>"Son to Saml Farnsworth"</i>	Daniel Albert,	
		* <i>"Servant to Joseph Haines"</i>	

The name of Capt. John White has already been mentioned in connection with this eastern war. Of all the brave and intrepid men who represented the town in the field, perhaps no one was more zealous and efficient than White. From a letter dated <sup>10</sup> ~~in~~ July, 1724, it appears that he was already in the service. Writing from Dunstable to the governor, he proceeds in these words. "May it please your Honor; Old Christian, Being this morning <sup>Rising</sup> taken with a violent Bleeding, Caused our Company <sup>to</sup> stop, and within a few hours he died; and the other Mohawks are not willing to leave him before he is Buried; and our desire is to march over Merrymac River and there to take a true List of our men's Names, and shall march as Quick as possible. Who Remain Still your Honor's at Command."

In September he was in service at Haverhill.

The following literal copy of a letter, found in the Mass. Archives, shews the service and the spirit of the man. It is dated May 9, 1725, and was sent to the governor:—"May it please your Honor: Being returned home, I thought myself obliged to Inform <sup>Your Honour</sup> you how that on the fifth of April last, I went from Lancaster to Dunstable, and ~~on~~ the eighth <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> day of April from thence up the Merrimack with thirty <sup>30</sup> men, two of which came back in short time, one of them being taken sick, and the other having scalt himself very badly. I marched <sup>130</sup> up Merrimack about one hundred and thirty miles, and there discovered some signs of Indians, Some old, which we judged were made sometimes this winter; and one new track on the Bank of the River, <sup>Wch</sup> and we judged had gone but a few days before. I sent out scouts, but could discover nothing further. We then turned off to <sup>22 westward</sup> northward, towards Coos, <sup>24</sup> Marched ten miles the twenty-fourth of April. At evening one of the men, viz. Sam<sup>l</sup> Mossman, of Sudbury, being about encamping, took hold of his Gun that stood among some Bushes, drew it towards him with the muzzle towards him, Some twigs caught hold of the Cock, The Gun went off and shot him through, He died Immediately. We went across to Connecticut river; came down that to Northfield, and from there <sup>ac</sup> across the woods to Lancaster, We got in yesterday, and have endeavored faithfully to attend your Honor's orders already received, And if your Honor hath any further Service for me, I desire your Honor would let me know it. I have not as yet Completed my Journal, but hope to finish it in a short time, that it may be laid before your Honor. I am your Honor's most Obedient humble Servant, JOHN WHITE.

LT. GOV. DUNSTER."

Early in July, orders came to Capt<sup>s</sup> White, <sup>Pleasant & Willard</sup> saying: You are "Directed to Exercise and maintain good Discipline and Government among your Officers and Soldiers, and to Suppress and punish all Disorder, Vice and Immorality, and to keep up the Worship of God in your said Company." The expedition he was sent upon, extended to Pigwacket and the Kennebeck,

a Mass Archives Vol. 72 p 230 - literal!

Subscribed  
On his Majesty's Service  
For the Honourable Wm Dummer Esq  
Lieut Governour  
In Boston  
Phile

(72) "The petitioners for the grant of Peterham asked it" in consideration of services rendered under Captains John Lovell and John White, in the Indian Wars. "The first meeting of the Proprietors of Peterham was held May 10 1733. at the Inn of Thomas Carter in Lancaster" & some of the Lancaster Proprietors were these.

Jonas, Ephraim, James, Edward, Stephen and Daniel Houghton - Samuel Willard, John Bennett John White, Joseph & David Whitcomb, John Ezra & Samuel Sawyer, Fairbank Moor John Wilder, Moses Chandler, John Goss &c  
See p 10-11. 416. of Peterham.

1725 June 10<sup>th</sup> we find in Journal of the General Court record of action touching a "Memorial of Capt. John White. shewing that he had lately raised a Company of Volunteers, who have made Two Marches against the Indian Enemy. That the Memorialist, in raising the said Company of Volunteers has been at greater expence than what his Wages have amounted to, he having no more Allowances or Pay than a Private Man of the said Volunteers is entitled to, praying that as what he did in raising the said Volunteers was with a View and Design to serve the Interest of the Province, that he may have such Recompence and Satisfaction for his said Service as to the Wisdom and Bounty of this Court shall seem meet." 12 £ were allowed him at this time

1725 December - On the "Petition of Eunice White, Relict Widow of Capt. Jon. White" 10 £ 4<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> were paid to Joseph Wilder for her "to defray expences of his last illness."

and covered the time of about one month. The following is not the Journal of the captain. *not does it do justice to matter or manner of it.*

"July 6. Mustered at my house at Lancaster." [He passed through Groton to Dunstable, where he remained with his soldiers three or four days.]

10. ~~XX~~ Awaiting for Capt. Wyman, [*probably from Woburn.*] Christian was taken with a violent Bleeding, and Died about one o'clock ~~XX~~ The Canada Mohawk, <sup>beck</sup> not willing to go, <sup>we left him</sup> was left behind.

12. <sup>XX</sup> Capt. Wyman overtook us, <sup>XX</sup> killed a Bear and several RattleSnakes.

14. Thought we heard guns, and sent out scouts. They returned next day, but found nothing. *all rewritten by historian!*

15. ~~XX~~ Killed two Bears and divers RattleSnakes which pest-  
ered us very much in our march.

17. ~~Excessive Rain occasioned our laying still, but sent out Scouts who killed a~~ Scouted and killed a moose, ~~excessive rain. Black Moore~~ *Black Moore*

18. Took a lame Indian and sent him home. Reached <sup>Sumcook.</sup> *Excessive Rain occasioned our laying still, but sent out Scouts who killed a* *Continuing we sent him home - we encamped at Sumcook.*

20. Lay still by reason of <sup>a Bad Storm of</sup> Rain. Several <sup>of our</sup> men taken ill.

21. ~~XX~~ Four of Capt. Wyman's men <sup>were</sup> sent home with two sick men. *We traveled about 5 miles.*

22. "Several more of our men were taken very ill with a Bloody Flux, which we Suppose was occasioned by Excessive Rains and Immoderate heats. ~~It Rained~~ <sup>this day very hard that obliged us to</sup> Lay still, ~~but sent~~ out scouts. *Keeping our scouts out.*"

Moved round by Cochecho. Bad weather. Men sick, but none died. And so to Lancaster <sup>by</sup> the fifth of August.

The varied labors and sacrifices of Capt. White are set forth affectingly in a petition of his widow, Mrs. Eunice White, addressed to the general court, in 1727. <sup>(72)</sup> It contains so much general as well as personal information as to insure its insertion without abridgment. The petition brings out a fact not found elsewhere in our local annals, shewing White's connection with the famous Capt. Lovewell. The document is as follows:

*A more selection from journal corrected except omission to conform to original.*



a x x x "Your <sup>P</sup>petitioner's <sup>sd</sup> husband, in his lifetime in the years 1724 and 1725, as well as at other times, performed sundry marches against the Indian Enemy, and did other Services for the good of his Country, and was active and vigorous in the Defence thereof against those barbarous Savages, not only hazarding his life, but Expending good part of his Substance therein, as is well known to <sup>many</sup> some. Few Instances whereof your petitioner would humbly represent to this Honorable Court.

"Your <sup>P</sup>petitioner's <sup>sd</sup> husband, although he had divers times <sup>had</sup> the honor to bear Command, yet voluntarily Enlisted himself under the late Capt. Lovewell, and chose rather to go as an Under Officer, at that time, because he would do what in him lay to Encourage others to enlist, and marched with him at the time when they killed the Ten Indians, in which march they were out near forty days.

"Then he performed a March to a place called Cohasse, [Coos] on Connecticut River, thinking to meet with the Enemy there, and came in at Fort Dummer, being out thirty-four days, though they missed of their desired Success. Then in about eight days time, he had a Company raised, and went to Pigwacket, [Fryeburg] to bury Capt. Lovewell, which he performed in a very difficult season of the year. Then he went to Connecticut, at his own cost and charge, to get a Company of the Mohock Indians, in order to go down to St. Francis to take an Indian Fort there; but failing of his aim, he returned home, and there Enlisted a Company of Volunteers and marched, designing for a Fort beyond Pigwacket; but was taken sick before he got there, returned home and died, leaving your petitioner his bereaved widow, with seven children, the Eldest about fifteen years old, and four of them very young, and one she then went with who is now living. In all which Services your petitioner's said husband cheerfully underwent many hardships and difficulties for the good of his Country, and was at considerable Cost and Charge by supplying those that Enlisted under him with necessaries which could not be readily obtained elsewhere, purely to make despatch.

a "The Petition of Emerico White Relict widow of Capt John White  
late of Lancaster dec<sup>d</sup>. Humbly Sheweth - That whereas - your &c"  
Mass. Archives Vol 72. p 325-6

a - see note p. 175 - A journal of this march, will be  
found in N.E. Hist. & Gene<sup>l</sup> Register Vol VII. 62 et seq. with  
names of 60 soldiers -

In 1728 John Prentice records baptizing  
"the widdow White's children" her eldest  
daughter Eunice x x x John, Bethe Dorothy  
Thomas, Lois, Mary, Nathaniel -

"We are informed of the death of Capt John White of  
Lancaster, a man of religion, probity, courage and  
conduct, and hearty in the service of his Country  
against the Indian enemy"

The Boston News Letter Sep. 9. 1725

" Now, forasmuch as the sickness of which your <sup>P</sup>petitioner's said husband died, was in all probability occasioned by means of the difficulties he underwent in the <sup>P</sup>public services, and that he never in his lifetime had an opportunity of asking your Honors' favor for his past services, but was taken away in the strength and vigor of his life, without receiving anything from the public more than two shillings, six pence per day for the <sup>three</sup> marches he performed as aforesaid; and in regard your <sup>P</sup>petitioner is left a disconsolate widow, with several fatherless children to bring up, who stand in daily need of relief and support, your <sup>P</sup>petitioner finding it very difficult to provide for them;

" She therefore most humbly Implores your Honors' pity and Compassion to herself and Children, and that as you have been pleased, in like cases, to reward those that have served the Province, and the Representatives of those that have lost their lives in the <sup>P</sup>public service, so that she may experience of the Bounty and Goodness of this honored <sup>ble</sup>Court to her in her difficult Circumstances, and that you will be pleased to grant her two hundred and fifty Acres of the unappropriated Lands of the Province, that she may dispose of the same for the Education and bringing up of her aforesaid Children; or that your Honors would otherwise relieve her, as in your Great Goodness and Compassion you shall see meet."

*And as in duty bound your Petitioner shall ever pray &c* EUNICE WHITE.

The general court, instead of land, granted her one hundred pounds in money.

## CHAPTER IX.

### ROADS AND BRIDGES. SWARMING TIME.

TIME is the element which rules in regard to the size of towns. Daily and weekly recurring wants require a convenient center which can be reached without consuming more than a small portion of daylight. In the new states, about five miles square are allotted to a township. In New England the original towns were often much larger; but these have been broken up into lesser sections, in the exigency of events. Sometimes new villages have required a re-adjustment of old boundaries, but the one thing which above all others, has determined the number of square miles in a town, is time. As soon as the large spaces of the earlier towns were occupied by settlers in sufficient numbers to make a respectable municipality, the process of disintegration began. Some of the lower towns have been divided again and again. The same is true of the towns in the interior. A large part of the county of Worcester, at first, was included in a few townships. Lancaster, Brookfield, Sutton, Worcester and Rutland comprised nearly the whole of it, except a strip at the north and south ends. Lancaster contained more than a hundred square miles, and Rutland was twelve miles square.

These towns were settled at and near the center. In process of time, as remote sections became peopled, they were formed into new towns. This was the case with Lancaster, and in the year 1730, the first movement was made for the formation of a new town from her ample domain. The process went on until eight towns, in whole or in part, were organized.

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There are four "huge volumes" of proprietors  
records.

Before relating the story of the swarming, it will be well to finish ~~up~~ the history of the united town, to the date of excision, and then dismiss the history of the new towns, except so far as they are connected with the "Propriety," or original owners of the soil of Lancaster, and their successors, who still held possession of many tracts of land in the new townships.

For it should be kept in mind that the government of the old town was a duality. The propriety or associated proprietors, by purchase of the natives, and by grant of the general court, owned all the land. This was sold or given according to discretion. When the town met as a *propriety*, it made grants of land for highways and byways, and for other purposes. When the town met in its *municipal capacity*, it chose officers, and appropriated money for religious, educational and general purposes. And sometimes when assembled at a muster, it entered upon town business, though perhaps informally. Thus it came to pass, that for nearly three quarters of a century, the records of the town and of the propriety are in the same book. From 1653 till ~~just~~ <sup>four years</sup> before the massacre in 1676, the records of the meetings alternate, according to the dates. Then, between 1674 and 1717, there is an entire blank — *hiatus valde deflendus* — in the records. In 1717 the records begin again, and we find town meetings and proprietors' meetings in succession, though the latter were far more frequent. This continues to the years 1726-7, when the records of the two bodies were separated. By degrees the business of the propriety became less important as their lands were divided, and sold, while the affairs of the town became more important with the increase of population and wealth. And thus it came to pass that the whole records of the propriety are contained in one book, while the records of the town fill several huge volumes.

A few items from the Records will show the progress of affairs, from year to year, until the time of division.

In 1716-17, February 4, [O. S.], a proprietors' meeting

*1. This is not  
so.*



was held, when it was voted that "the first Monday of March next be the meeting for choosing town officers." No record of the meeting is given, but a proprietors' meeting was held on the same day. The interest of the people was more in their lands, highways and bridges, than in merely town affairs. Action was taken in relation to the "stated common" on the west side of the river. No boundaries are given, but this common seems to have been a half mile wide as it reached towards the North river, and to have extended southerly on the west side of South Lancaster. There was a "common" also on the Neck, including the land in the neighborhood of Mr. Stowell.

The following vote shows the value of land in former times. "Granted eighty acres of land to John Houghton for serving as clerk and making of rates, lying above the Red Spring if found out of the stated common."

Action was taken at an adjourned meeting, April 22, 1717, relating to a new way to Prescott's mill. It was to be "moved and lie by the river, provided said way be kept four rods wide from the Scar bridge till it come to the hill from the top of the river bank."

At subsequent meetings, highways were petitioned for, extending <sup>through</sup> to the "Plumtrees," and to Washac<sup>m</sup> ~~mill~~, and from the "Slab bridge" to Prescott's <sup>meadow</sup> mill. The "Harrises" or brothers Harris obtained a "highway proposed for," provided they would "clear the old burying-field, and keep it well subdued five years." They accepted the condition, and satisfied the town. This was the "old burying-field" east of the railroad and south of the river. Probably the burying-ground on the Old Common was chiefly used at the time, and the first yard had been neglected. It was voted to have a town meeting for the choice of officers on the third of March following, 1717-18.

Doubtless the meeting was held, but it has left no trace in the Records. On the next Monday, however, March 10, the "inhabitants of Lancaster" met at the meeting-house on the

a "That ye stated Common extend half a mile wide  
till it first or last come to ye river.

The Scar bridge here spoken of, was across the river  
not far from the east end of Clintons High Street. a few  
rods below where the lows shows coves on the Currier farm.

c. The original record seems to be "slabbin", not  
Slab bridge.

(4) "Night pasture" or fenced yard, where the herdsmen-  
who guarded the cattle by day, driving them where  
food was most abundant, penned them at night  
for protection against wild beasts. Wolves  
seem to have been very troublesome throughout  
New England from its first settlement. It was soon  
found that the wolf respected a fence & would  
not molest cattle enclosed by one. Thus Wood  
says in 1634 ("New England's Prospect") "a few  
posts and rayles x x x keepes out the Wolves  
& keepes in the Cattle". The "night pasture" was  
probably a feature of all the early settlements in  
New England. That of Boston is mentioned as late  
as 1699 in Records. That of Roxbury is named three times  
in the Research & Land Records printed 1881 (see pp 1727+45)  
See note pp. 74. 192 &c. That of Watertown is called "Wolf-pen" & "Cow-pen"

(5) "Indian Ware" & "Wading Place"  
in Records of Town 1658.

The "wading place" of the Nashaway marsh  
used must have been I think not at Carters  
Mills, but near the meeting of the rivers, between  
the present Bridge there & the Atherton Bridge. &  
this was the center from which the Down Branch  
was surveyed. see note p. 58.

(c) But Willard's opinion is entirely put out of sight  
here. He says "There is reason to believe that no bridge  
was built over the Peacock or Main river till after the  
rebellion of the town in 1679 & 80" - x x x "But I assert  
with confidence that no bridge was there as early as 1679"  
His reasons too, like all the "are built but corrupt."  
In short the poor provinces could not afford to build  
& support these bridges. He might have added that  
so important a public work as a bridge over the main  
river would have certainly been mentioned in the

Old Common, in } order to consider about building the Neck  
bridge by ~~Knights~~ <sup>pasture</sup>." The record is historical, and  
will throw light into the darkness of the past. John Hough-  
ton <sup>was</sup> moderator. "Then discoursed about the demeritions  
of <sup>said</sup> bridge, and concluded it should have five trussels,  
and to be a foot higher than before, to make good Butments;  
and to be 13 <sup>feet</sup> wide between <sup>the</sup> posts, which are to be of  
sound oak; and so <sup>the</sup> caps and braces; and to brace into  
<sup>the</sup> posts above <sup>the</sup> caps, and down into <sup>the</sup> mudsills, which  
are to be 40 <sup>feet</sup> long, and to cover <sup>said</sup> bridge with good  
plank or logs, as they <sup>who</sup> build it shall count best." Voted  
£35 to the builders, the town to help raise the bridge.

There is room for doubt about the date and the location of  
the bridge across the main or Penacook river. The "wading  
place" of the first settlers was at South Lancaster, near the  
Carter mills. The place where the "herds do cross," was the  
shallow some twenty rods northwest of the present Sprague  
bridge. The place of crossing the Penacook, or main Nash-  
ua river, was somewhere east of Charles L. Wilder's residence.  
The Indians had a fish wear thereabouts. At times the water  
there is very shallow. Mr. Wilder remembers crossing there  
on foot, in shoes, without wetting his feet. But the channel  
changes, and there is considerable depth of water at present.  
Moreover, the tradition is that the river formerly ran three  
hundred feet farther west of the present channel, and came  
near to the bank at the turn of the road between the houses  
of Mr. Wilder and Mr. Bemis. Probably the first crossing  
was at this place, on foot, or by boat. Later the crossing  
place was farther up stream, as the existing causeway shows.  
Later still, it was nearer the site of the present Center bridge,  
as the vestiges of an old bridge bear witness.

There is no record or tradition to show where the first bridge  
was built, in this locality. Willard supposed that there was  
no bridge here for two or three generations until he found  
the record of the meeting above cited, which, on the twenty-  
first of March 1718, N. S. says that the new bridge was to

*at "meeting" of  
the water.*

*←*

be a "foot higher than before." My own belief is that a bridge was set up near the bend of the road, by the first generation of settlers. The reasons are brief but cogent. In the first place, this was the crossing place for all travel towards Concord and Groton. The principal road from the town, going east and north, extended from South Lancaster, across the North river bridge, and easterly by Dr. Thompson's and Charles L. Wilder's, to the Penacook. Crossing here, one road ran directly across the interval, and over the north end of Wattoquaddock hill towards Concord. The other branch of the road, after crossing the river, turned sharply to the north-east, and extended diagonally over the interval, and so on to Still River, Harvard and Groton. Concord was the shire town, and probably there was more travel in that direction than by the Carter's mills route to Marlborough and Sudbury. There was therefore great need of a bridge.

Again, all the landholders on the east side of the Neck, besides others in other parts of the town, owned land on the interval east of the Penacook. This land was cultivated and pastured. There was daily need of a bridge, because not only spring and fall floods would make fording impossible, but frequent summer showers would impede travel. It is therefore quite difficult to believe that the inhabitants would be content to live without a bridge where it was so urgently needed.

The probability that the bridge was built early in the history of the town, is strengthened by the fact that there was no greater obstacle to building here, than at the crossing of the North river. The river is wider, but not more rapid. The bridge might require "five trussels," instead of three or four trestles.

The most probable conjecture is that the crossing place was near the bend of the road. Perhaps the first bridge was located there. As said above, the Neck road, in time, was run up stream, several rods, and the bridge was built opposite to the long row of trees which extends from the east bank of

Records, — as we find the towns active respecting the smaller bridges built about 1659. From 1671 we have no records. Harrington in his account of the coming of Capt. Wadsworth from Marlborough with his men at the time of the malaria here in 1676 says that, on account of a flood, the river was "everywhere impraisable but at the Bridge". This if not asserting, yet seems to imply that then there was but one bridge for entrance to the town, which would be the east bridge of 1659 over the Nashua, near the present Atherton bridge.

We know that even in the larger towns like Watertown as late as 1700 bridges were not often "East bridges" but were built three or four feet wide, of halved logs or timbers for the passage of horse & footmen. Carts & other vehicles were compelled to seek wading places. See below, c.

(a) x See p 109. note (cc) Wataquodoc

b What the "Carters Mill route to Marlborough and Sudbury" is, I don't know, except as a round about way of getting to the line of the "Old Bay Road" on the Old Common instead of going direct by the Atherton bridge. & there is not hint that any crossing existed near the present mills until a comparatively modern date.

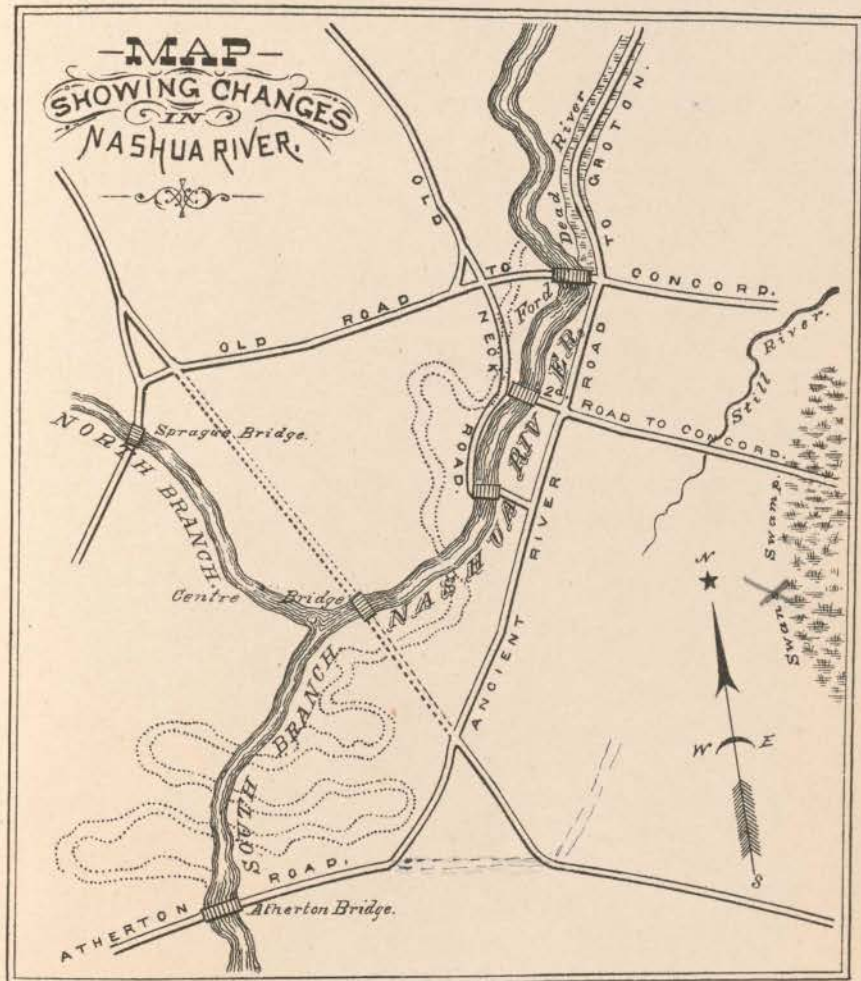
c The Watertown bridge 1667 was "to be halfe trees slit with the Saw: 3 abreast to every Backett: to make the Bridge at least 3 Foot wide".... By "Backett" I understand crebs for piers. They were filled with stone.

c Because a bridge could be built, doesn't strengthen the probability that it was built, if the people had no means to do it & support it - and if the records are perfectly silent about so important a public enterprise. Willard's conclusion seems the more reasonable. No bridge crossed the Pennacook before 1673.

The author's engineering wisdom, about bridge building especially, is remarkable both here and on later pages. His "no greater obstacle", coolly ignores cost of construction & support, extra danger from ice, freshets, etc.

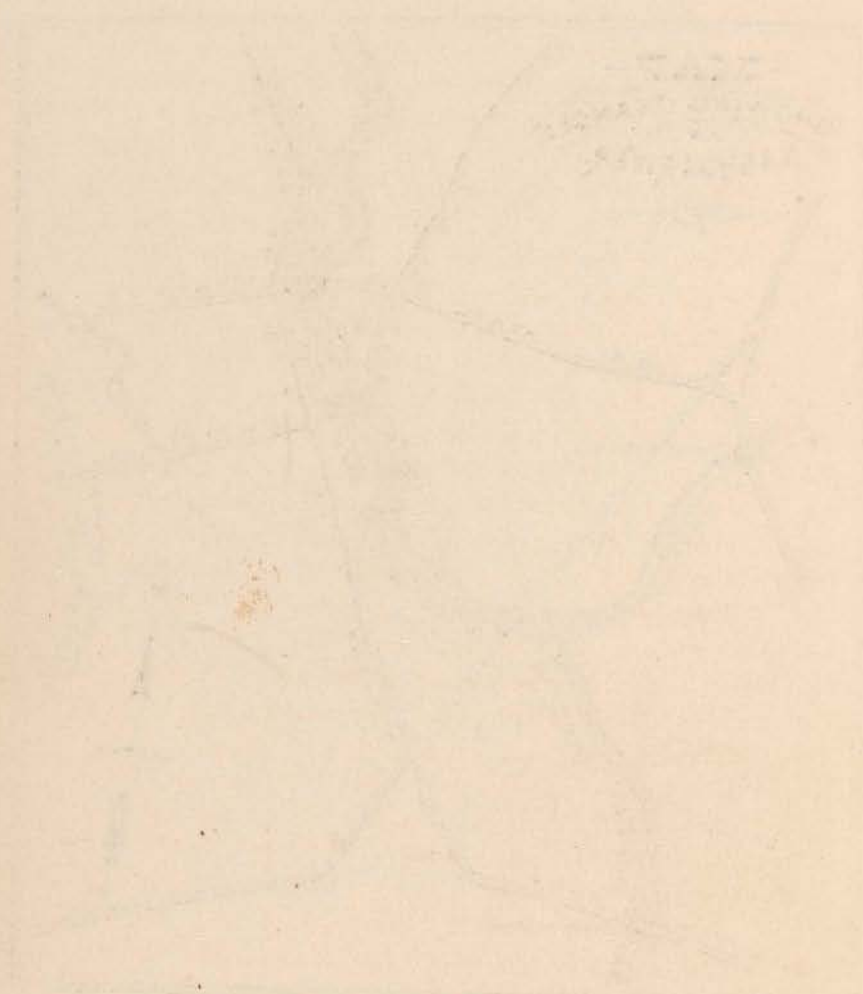
13 — There is positive proof that there was no bridge over the main river in 1673, in the report of the Committee who laid out anew the Groton road. This is printed in Dr Green's Early Records of Groton & Houlis' Early Records of Lancaster. That report speaks of "bitting" the road upon the Pennacook at the "night-pasture wading place", and turns to the "Nashaway bridge" to go to the meeting house.





THE HALCYONE PRINTING CO. 230 DEVONSHIRE ST. BOSTON.





the river across the intervale towards Bolton. This was the road across the "Swan's Swamp" so often mentioned in the old Records. In later years the bridge was built still farther up the river, or towards the south. And later still it was located a few <sup>furlongs</sup> rods north of the present Center bridge, the site of which was first used for bridge purposes in the year 1871. Going back to the original crossing, and taking position on the east side of the river, one road ran east to what is now Bolton and on to Concord; the other ran northeast to Groton. At the present day, the body of water called "Dead river" covers the bed of the road to Groton, and the prospect is that the main stream will take that direction.

In those old times, a road came down the river from the Atherton bridge, on the east side, to the point where the roads to Concord and Groton diverged. Before the middle of the last century the road across the Swan's Swamp was abandoned, the bridge was moved up stream, one third of the way to the present Center bridge, and the travel from the present Center of the town to the Old Common and the eastern towns, was as follows: Turning east, at the corner by the house of Dr. Thompson, and going to the bend of the road east of C. L. Wilder's, the traveler would turn sharply to the right, and pass to the bank of the river over the causeway. He then would ascend the river about eighty rods, to the bridge. Crossing, he would take the road that came down from the Atherton bridge, and after going perhaps a furlong, would turn to the left, and make his way to the Old Common. [See the map showing the changes in Nashua river, where the position of the bridges is given. *according to the author's idle theory?*]

At a town meeting on the fourteenth of May, 1718, it was voted "to have Mr. Samuel Howe for a school-master for the year ensuing, beginning the first day of May current, and to allow him £40 for the year, or proportionably for what time he shall serve." Also, "12 shillings to Mr. Osgood for going after a school-master."

*This Samuel Stow (not Howe) was the first Lancaster teacher named in the town records. He was I think of Marlborough - graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1716. The name appears in the list of soldiers on page 175. He was one of the 40 purchasers of Massachussetts (Drafter) 1725. We know by Court Records that John Huntington & Mr. Pierpont had been teachers before Stow 1710 + 15.*

Stow x

a  
 At a proprietors' meeting, the next day, it was voted to "leave six acres of land for a training field by the highway before Thomas Sawyer's door, to be laid out by the committee for that use." At the same time, by exchange with Joseph Wilder, the town secured "three acres by the highway near Justice Houghton's barn, to lie common for a training field." The first field was in South Lancaster, and the second was on or near the Old Common.

On the twentieth of August, the inhabitants met at the meeting-house to give in an "invoice of polls and estates for the province tax and other assessments arising in said town." This would indicate that the people came to the assessors, instead of the assessors going to the people. The arrangement would bring all the inhabitants together, and tend to secure fairness in levying the rates. At the same meeting, the Rev. John Prentice requested that some addition be made to his salary. A few weeks later, it was voted to add fifteen pounds to his salary, making it eighty-five pounds, because "bills of credit were of so low a value."

There was a town meeting for the choice of officers on the second of March, 1718-19, the first of which a record remains, since the re-settlement. The action of this meeting was given in the preceding chapter.

The proprietors held a meeting on the third of May, 1719, and voted that "the land which lieth free in the Swans Swamp and is not yet laid out, be stated and staked out for a highway as near the extent of the breadth prescribed in the town book for the same as may be." This breadth was eight or ten rods. The highway was there, but the bounds had not been staked out. The broad way may still be found, lined on the north side by a long row of ancient button-ball trees, extending from near the river far into the intervale.

As showing the relative value of labor and land, the following item is cited. "Paid Jonas Houghton five shillings <sup>per</sup> day for measuring the stated common; <sup>and those who assisted</sup> assistants three shillings. Pay in land at four shillings <sup>per</sup> acre."

(a) This was sold in 1748 - The old Common training field was never decided to the town by Joseph Wilder, & his son Col. Culib. refused a deed - Burrell Carnis when he bought the Estate fenced it in 1747 Feb. 1. 2<sup>d</sup> it was voted to sell ye Common on ye West Side of the River which was left for a training field excepting six Rods wide for a private way a cross ye Same."

(1<sup>2</sup>) This Jonas Houghton was a surveyor and seems to have had charge of the laying out of roads for many years. Sept 12 1734. The proprietors of Peterham "voted to give Capt. Jonas Houghton both valuable privileges as a proprietor & a sum of money - for making the road so feasible from Lancaster along the north side Wachusett, to the meeting of the other path, that goes from aforesaid Lancaster along on the south side Wachusett - as to carry comfortably with four oxen, four barrels of Cider at once" - This test of the quality of a public highway, informs us of one prime article of merchandise demanded, by a new settlement from the old, in those days. What the four oxen brought from Peterham to Lancaster to barter for the products of its famous orchards we must surmise as best we can.

The item if put in quotation marks should read "Paid Jonas Houghton five shillings per day for measuring the stated Common, and those who assisted him three shillings per day. The whole amounts to fourteen four shillings & voted to pay them in land at four shillings per acre."

Jonas Houghton & Nathaniel Wilder were among the 40 purchasers of Hassanamis co. (Grafton). 1725. Jonas H. also appears as one of the original proprietors of Sturbridge.

See Edmund B. Wilder's Address, at  
100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of incorporation of Peterham

(ij) Spelled "Wakepaket" in the original, though again in the same record it is "Wacapacit"

(ji) Spelled "Whashacom" in the original record by the Clerk Joseph Wilder, whose spelling and penmanship were execrable.

13 The vote of Proprietors in case of Ebenezer Wilder could not have <sup>been</sup> copied from the original record which is -

x x x "Question was put whether the Proprietors will grant Ebenezer Wilder Seventy three acres & a half of land for said debt which he claimeth is due to his father for work done for the town in finishing a ministers House - being fourteen pounds fourteen shillings & threepence and it was Caried in yr Afermitivo, & it was put whether he shall <sup>have it</sup> layed in two or three peeces and the vote Caried in the Afermitivo for two peeces."

Ebenezer was son of 1st John grandson of 1st settle of the name. He was born 1683 died 1728. lived in South Lancaster. Dea. David & Benjamin were his sons.

In regard to roads these citations are given. "Began at the Swans Swamp and ran a straight line from the end of Glazier's ditch to a white oak stump below Benjamin Bellow's house." Opened a "road <sup>through</sup> from the stated common to Week-<sup>ej</sup> apeckit brook." This last was from some point near the brick school-house, and over George hill. A way was laid out from "Randeveu tree"—rendezvous—to the north east corner of the town, now Harvard. Also various ways "high and by" in Harvard, Bolton and Berlin. These roads were authorised by a meeting of the proprietors, as were several in the next year, one of which extended to Weshacomb, now <sup>je</sup> Washacum. This road was laid out by the first settlers, and probably it followed an Indian trail. It was altered, and straightened, and staked out often during two generations.

The proprietors at the next meeting voted to pay Ebenezer Wilder "73½ acres of land in two peeces" for a debt, due him <sup>father</sup> for "work done for the town in finishing a minister's house, it being £14, 14sh. and 3d.," or about fifty dollars for "73½ acres of land in two peeces."

There is no record of the annual town meeting in March, 1720-21, but a meeting was held on the twenty-second to choose officers, it "appearing that some persons voted in the former meeting who were not duly qualified to vote." This proves that there was a meeting at the regular time; that some persons voted, by mistake or design, who had no right to the suffrage, and that the town considered the whole proceedings vitiated. John Houghton was moderator and clerk. The selectmen were John Houghton, Jabez Fairbank, Josiah White, Capt. Ephraim Wilder and Ensign James Wilder. Assessors, James Wilder, John White and John Houghton, jr.

The same selectmen and clerk were elected next year. James Wilder was chosen treasurer. Henry Willard and Joseph Stowe were elected tythingmen. *Capt. Ephraim Wilder was moderator.*

In 1722 the proprietors laid out a road from Jonathan Mores to Hog Swamp, and several highways in the eastern section of the town, showing that there was an increasing

population in what soon constituted Harvard, Bolton and Berlin.

In March, 1722-23, the proprietors, at the request of Joseph Wheelock, laid out a road from his land to Pine hill. This road extended from Wheelock hill, now owned by Samuel R. Damon, northerly by the clay pits to the southwest end of Pine hill, and finally the whole length of the hill to the John White place, west of Still river bridge.

It was voted that Edward Hartwell should have a "piece of land that lieth between his land and Walnut Swamp lot." † This Edward Hartwell was noted as a faithful officer in the Indian wars. "Walnut Swamp" was a long tract of land extending through the intervale, on the west side of the river, opposite the town hall, far up the hill beyond the old Stearns place, including many acres. It was formerly covered with a magnificent growth of walnut trees.

The following is one of the yearly receipts given by the minister to the selectmen. "Feb'y 18th, 1723-4. Then \* reckoned with the selectmen for the town of Lancaster, and the subscriber has received the whole of his salary, till July 1st, 1723.

JOHN PRENTICE."

"Said receipt entered as above, being a true cōp̄y, May the 12th, 1724.

Per JOHN HOUGHTON, town clerk."

The selectmen this year were Joseph Wilder, Josiah White, Jonathan Houghton, Ebenezer Wilder and Samuel Carter. Jonathan Moore was moderator. John Houghton <sup>Sen</sup> was chosen representative at a meeting held on the eleventh of May. This was the last town meeting recorded in the Proprietors' Book of Records.

Opening the first extant volume of separate town Records on the second page is found the account of the "prudentials" for the year 1723-4, as given in by the selectmen. By this it appears that Edward Broughton was paid £40 for keeping

7 Edward Hartwell removed to Lunenburg about 1724 & there filled the most important offices of the town - acting as representative after he was 80 years of age - He was made justice of the Peace 1733. and appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1750. He was major in the militia & deacon in the Church. He built the second house in Lunenburg. Lunenburg's Historian, R.C. Torrey says of him "Whenever any important or extraordinary business was to be accomplished, Edward Hartwell was called upon to take charge of it" Whitney says of him "And finally he died in the ninety seventh year of his age as full of pity as of days"

x The original records in John Houghton's plain penmanship is.

Feb. 18<sup>th</sup> 1723-4. Then reckoned with Deacon Joseph Wilder, Mr Samuel Carter, Mr Joseph White & Mr Ebenezer Wilder the Selectmen for the town of Lancaster and the subscribers hath received the whole of his salary till July 1<sup>st</sup> 1723"  
4c

a From an account of pendants for 1725, we find that the selectmen for that year were.

Joseph Wilder - Samuel Willard  
Josiah White - Jonathan Houghton - Jonas Houghton.  
There are no records of the town meetings of that year.



From the note book of Judge Joseph Wilder it is proved that Broughton taught in 1721-2-3 - He was a member of the First Baptist Church & had several children baptized - among others a girl in 1724 named "Copia". He was made an inhabitant 1727. He removed to Farmington Conn 1728. His wife was Martha daughter of Josiah Wheeler. He is frequently called a "trader" and before leaving L. he sent many in the region round about for small accounts -

Mr Ebenezer Flagg appears of the church members about this time - He was a graduate of Harvard 1725 afterwards clergyman at Chester N.H.

(a?) Is it not possible that by "subscriptions" was meant simply the share of school tax assessed by authority upon each section?

"Stephen's Hill" was undoubtedly in Bolton at this date & for this purpose. There would not be two schools "on the Neck" and a large settlement existed on "Wataugodock" etc. See below (a?)

(a) And it was voted to know whether ye town would build a new Intire meeting House & it was carried in the negative -

(a?) The record which the author stumbles over here is:

"They have Received Lists of y<sup>e</sup> Subscribers to each School, v<sup>z</sup>: of that at Stephen's Hill, and that at Bare Hill or Still River & do herewith present them to y<sup>e</sup> Town. & have also Computed ye time ye School master ought to Keep School at Stephen's Hill & it is: 104 days and  $\frac{295}{650}$  of a day, & at Still River & Bare Hill 82 days +  $\frac{745}{650}$  of a day: and at or on y<sup>e</sup> Neck 177 days at  $\frac{660}{650}$  of a day."

Stephen's Hill is once more mentioned evidently in Bolton as Wataugodock is common only in its place.

school. In the year 1724<sup>5</sup> he kept school one hundred and fifty days on the Neck, and seventy-five days at Still River. a

Mr. Broughton had secured the good-will of the parents, in proof of which may be taken the following action, in 1723. "John Houghton<sup>Sen</sup>, with Peter Joslin, sen., Ephraim Wilder, Jabez Fairbank, sen., Samuel Willard, James Wilder, Joseph Wilder, Samuel Carter, David Whitcomb, Oliver Wilder, Josiah White, sen., Ebr. Wilder, Thomas Wilder, Thomas Wilder and Joseph Sawyer<sup>Josiah White</sup>, all of Lancaster, gents., in consideration of love and respect to Edward Broughton, our present school-master, and other weighty considerations moving us, the aforesaid John Houghton, *cum cæteris*, with the free will and consent of our<sup>now</sup> married wives, [grant] 24 acres of land to be laid out to" the aforesaid Edward Broughton. Middlesex Registry  
XXIII-402

At a town meeting held on the seventh of March, 1725-6, it was voted "that 27 days shall be paid by ye town to Mr. Flagg for his keeping school in Lancaster before this day." Then voted that the selectmen should "provide a school-master for one quarter of a year."

The schools were sometimes lengthened by subscriptions. For example, in 1724 it was computed that in consequence of subscriptions to each school, the "schoolmaster ought to keep school at Stephens' hill [~~where Mr. Royce now lives~~] 104 days; and at Still River or Bare hill, 82 days; and at or on the Neck, 177 days," and a fraction of a day in each section. (a?)

At a meeting in May, the sum of fifty pounds was raised "to be laid out upon a school as ye town se cause." Then, voted that the money be divided to "each part of the town according to the pay belonging to each part."

The question came up whether the town would build an entire new meeting-house, and it was decided in the negative. This question was agitated several years, as the other question of dividing the town was mixed up with it. In the following January, a meeting was held at which fifteen pounds were added to the salary of the minister. The town then con- a

sidered whether they would build two meeting-houses. This proposition failed; and the motion to build one new meeting-house met the same fate. A vote was then passed in favor of enlarging the existing house, and a committee was chosen to report a plan of enlarging the house. These men were the committee, viz.: Ensign Josiah White, Capt. Ephraim Wilder, Mr. Joseph Sawyer, Mr. Jonas Houghton, Lieut. James Wilder, Mr. James Keyes, and Mr. John Wright. In February another meeting was held when the committee reported in favor of making the house twenty feet longer, and fourteen feet wider, at an expense of three hundred pounds. This was voted down, and the plan of adding twenty feet to the length, at an expense of one hundred pounds prevailed. The matter was then put into the hands of Peter Joslin, Josiah Wheeler and Jabez Fairbank.

At the March meeting 1726-7, the usual officers were chosen, when Oliver Wilder, elected as one of the constables, declined to serve. <sup>6</sup> Then the moderator asked Wilder if he refused to pay the five pounds as the law directs, and Wilder said he did refuse. <sup>3</sup> Ancient law compelled a man  
(a) who refused an office to which he was elected to pay a fine.

A spirit of modesty seems to have infected the people, this year, if we may judge from the way in which many declined office. At a meeting dated March 28, 1727, Jabez Fairbank was chosen moderator, but refused to serve. Then Joseph Wilder, Joseph Hutchins and Ebenezer Wilder were chosen in succession, and all declined. Finally James Wilder accepted the position. Fifty pounds were granted for schooling. Forty pounds were voted for the repair of highways. For the enlargement of the meeting-house forty pounds additional were appropriated; at the same time propositions to make the house wider, and to build a new house were voted down.

The doings of a meeting held December 20, 1727, cast light on ancient customs. The town granted to Mrs. Prentice, the minister's wife, "the pew at the foot, or next to the pulpit stairs." Probably she chose this in preference to some other

"at least three hundred pounds".

(a) In 1735. it is recorded that the Selectmen. "Received twenty five pounds of money of Joseph Whitcomb, William Houghton, Joseph Moore, Samuel Sawyer and Gershom Houghton (of each five pounds) which was paid by them to clear them from serving Constables &c. which £25 is laid out for the use of the poor &c." - In this <sup>case</sup> two poor widows got the whole money for medicines, house repairs, & sundries -

1728

In Judge Joseph Wilder's Note Book is

"An account of Cyde made in ye year 1728" by himself

	Barrels
" for the Reverend Mr John Prentice	61
" Capt Samuel Willard	12 1/2
" Benjamin Wilder	52
" Thomas Wilder	22 1/2
" Jos. Wilder	17
" William Divil	5
" John Divil	15
" Jonas Houghton	6
" Jos Wheelock	27
" Joshua Houghton	63
" Ebenez Wilder	47 1/2
" James Houghton	5
" Cohad Sawyer	9 1/2
" Richard Wild	9
" Jonathan Houghton	16
" Ebenezer Prentice	31
" Daniel Rugg	20 3/2
" James Wilder	39
" William Houghton	113
" William Sawyer	23
" James Butler	17 1/2
" Wedow Rugg	7 1/2
" Phillips Larkin	2 1/2
	<hr/> 616

\* This petition presented to General Court June 1728. Court Records  
Dec 31. 1730 the petition again read & leave given Vol XIV 54  
to introduce a bill. Court Records XIV-459-

William Garrison was a Marlborough schoolmaster.

pew, the enlargement of the house making a new seating necessary. Then the town chose nine men to seat the enlarged house, as follows: Jacob Houghton, Joseph Osgood, Jonathan More, Hezekiah Willard, James Keyes, Jabez Fairbanks, Caleb Sawyer, Capt. Samuel Willard, and Lieut. James Wilder. These men were directed to "dignifie ye seats in ye meeting-house." Families were seated according to rank, and rank depended on several circumstances, such as family, property and office. Jealousies and heart-burnings were the usual result. It was voted at the same time, that "thirteen men be seated in a seat in the body of seats;" ten men in a seat in the front gallery; and twelve men in a seat in the side gallery. Then the town voted "that it be left to the said committee to seat aged persons as they shall think convenient and decent."

*1 The sexes were always separated unless in special cases.*

At a meeting in April, 1728, the salary of the minister was raised to £100. The question was put whether the town would bring their part of the £60,000 of bills of credit, which was £471, 5sh. into town, and choose three trustees to fetch up the money. The motion was affirmed, and Jonathan Houghton, Thomas Carter and Samuel Willard were chosen trustees. The money was to be let out in sums not less than £10, and not more than £20 to any person. At an adjourned meeting, fifty pounds were granted as a school rate for the year.

*Thomas Carter was an innholder 1732*

This year, 1728, witnessed the beginning of the agitation in regard to the formation of a new county, which finally resulted in the act authorizing the county of Worcester. At a meeting on the twenty-first of August, there was "discourse referring to a petition of Capt. William Generson, [probably Jennison] (for a new county). The town voted that their representative be directed, in "case the Superior Court be holden at Marlborough, and two Inferior Courts be holden at Lancaster, annually, that then he farther the proposal; but in case the Courts cannot be so stated, then to offer such objections as the selectmen shall furnish him with."

*\* a*

The enlargement of the meeting-house finally cost £150, and at a meeting in August the remaining £10 were granted.

x In February, 1728-9, a special meeting was called in reference to a "new county in the westerly part of the county of Middlesex." The town was now in favor of the measure. The reasons are obscure, though it seems that a movement  
+ was made to break up Middlesex county, in part, by annexing several towns to Suffolk. James Wilder and Jonathan Houghton were chosen agents to act in behalf of the town.

At the meeting in May, the town voted £12, in addition to his wages, to Dea. Josiah White, representative. For schooling the vote was £50. In August action was taken for repairing the great bridge over the Penacook, by the knight  
a pasture. In the following January, it was voted, that the selectmen "are hereby directed to take effectual care that Mr. Josiah White, the present Representative, be supplied with  
the sum of thirty-<sup>five</sup> pounds out of ~~the~~ Town Treasury, to enable him in the discharge of his duty for this present year." The need  
xx of this extra pay is not given. The schoolmasters this year were Samuel Willard, Thomas Prentice, Mr. Briant, Jabez Fox and Jacob Willard, and the schools were on the Neck, at Wattoquadock, Bare hill and Still River.

(Jh) There was a special meeting on the eighteenth of May 1730, when a petition for a new town was presented by the following persons, nearly, if not all residing on the territory now belonging to Harvard: John Sawyer, John Nichols, Hezekiah Willard, John Priest, jr., Stephen Houghton, Simon Atherton, Henry Houghton, jr., James Whetcomb, Isaiah Whitney, John Whitney, Robert Foskett, Jonathan Couch, John Witherbey, Benjamin Atherton, Uriah Holt, Joseph Atherton, Joshua Church, Henry Willard, jr., Joseph Willard, Samuel Rogers, Seth Walker, Abraham Willard, Samuel Rogers, jr., John Willard and Jonathan Whitney. They wanted to take off a section about three miles wide, north and south, and the whole breadth of the old township, about eight miles east and west. The town opposed the project. The question

x Mr Marvin evidently ~~disintegrated~~ "the record". The vote given at foot of page 191 was reconsidered because of new light upon the effect of "Capt. William Gouerson's" proposition - to join some of the "Middlesex towns" with a part of Suffolk. &c &c. They now agreed to petition for a County of the "Western towns" without reference to "Gouerson's" plan. See our leaf for report of town's action.

b Of these teachers, Prentice was a son of the Clergyman, a graduate of Harvard 1726 - died at Newton 1775. James Fox was graduate of Harvard 1727 - Perhaps Bryant may have been the ~~only~~ Harvard graduate of that name ~~John~~ of 1730, a clergyman - Saml. Willard was a Clergyman graduate of Harvard - 1723. Pastor in Biddeford 1730 - died 1741. He was father of Joseph Willard D.D. president of Harvard College - great grandson of Major Scudder - Jacob Willard I cannot trace - unless he was J - the son of Simon born about 1680, of Salem.

u Deacon James Wilder, Reuben Sawyer, and Thomas Carter were chosen a Committee to do or see done what is or shall be necessary for repairing of the 3<sup>d</sup> great Bridge by the night pasture.

This is always a "night pasture" in old records. Having been fenced in & set apart by the first settlers, for herding their cattle in at night. The "Early Records of Groton" contain frequent mention of the custom of driving the common herds to pasture daily, and strict rules were adopted by the town for proprietors & herdsman to observe. See also acts & Concord records - In Boston the night pasture was established 1634 by the following order "Item: That there shall be a little house built, and a sufficiently payled yard to lodge the Cattell in of nights att Pullen payment wicke before the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the next second month!"

See note p 193 &c 74.

x x. There was no extra pay, save in Mr Marvin's imagination. The representatives chosen were often poor men. They did not get their pay from the Commonwealth until the end of their service perhaps, and Lancaster often advanced money to their representatives, which was repaid. See note p. 199.

(Jk). xxi a dividing line to be made beginning at the southerly end of Causey near to the house of Samuel Wilson. Run west north west to y<sup>e</sup> west line of Lancaster Old Township, and then begin at y<sup>e</sup> place first mentioned & Run South east and by east to the east line of sd township or so much land lying on y<sup>e</sup> northerly side of said Causey as may be judged sufficient for to make a township with that part of Groton & Groton, whose inhabitants have agreed to covenant with the petitioners"



Harvard petition received & notice given	July 5. 1730	-	Court Records XIV	375
A non concurrence	Sept. 23	"	"	405
Petition again heard & notice	October 10	1730	"	429
Notice for answer of opponents	Dec. 18	"	"	448
Committee appointed to view	Dec. 30	"	"	457
Additional petition &c	Feb. 19	1731	"	x <sup>10</sup> -
do do	March 30	"	"	53
Committee Report	June	"	"	105
Incorporations Act.	June 17	1732	"	267
Enacted	June 29	"		
Published	July 1			

" Note to p. 192. Action of town concerning formation of Worcester County.  
 Lancaster february y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1728/9 at a meeting of y<sup>e</sup> freholders & other  
 Inhabitants of said Town qualified according to law, being meet at  
 the Meeting House according to warning given, in Referance to a  
 petition to y<sup>e</sup> General Court for Erecting a New County in y<sup>e</sup> westerly  
 part of y<sup>e</sup> County of Middlesex. first the Town voted and chose  
 Josiah Wheller Moderator for said meeting and after a considerable  
 discourse upon y<sup>e</sup> matter, considering how the westerly part of  
 y<sup>e</sup> County of Middlesex will be broken to pieces in case the  
 Towns that are petitioned for by Capt. William Gersonson should be  
 joined with part of Suffolk County (with several other Reasons)  
 the question being put whether to know if the Town would  
 Reconsider their former vot. Referring to said petition of  
 Capt William Gersonson, & it passed in y<sup>e</sup> affirmative.  
 2. the question was put to know if y<sup>e</sup> Town would choose  
 some men to act in behalfe of y<sup>e</sup> Town in Referance to  
 preferring a petition to y<sup>e</sup> General Court in order to their  
 erecting a new County in y<sup>e</sup> westerly part of y<sup>e</sup> County of  
 Middlesex. & it passed in y<sup>e</sup> affirmative, the Town voted  
 and chose James Wilder and Jonathan Houghton agents  
 to act for the Town in that affaire"

Josiah Wheller moderator.

Entered & Jonathan Houghton  
 Town Clerk

was then put in another form, to see if the town would agree to "set off that part of the Land mentioned in the warning <sup>which by sett</sup> lying on the east side of Penicook river." The vote was in the negative.

There was a long contest about adding to the minister's salary. First, the addition of £50 was voted down; then £30 were proposed and rejected. The motions for £25 and £20 met the same fate. Then several men, all of whom were among the petitioners for a new town, "entered their descent against giving any more money to the Rev. Mr. John Prentice." The end was secured, however, by a flank movement, and £30 out of the interest of the "Lone Money," or money loaned by the province, was voted. A school rate of fifty pounds was granted.

The attempt to form a new town was not abandoned by the petitioners, but the old town was not yet ready for the inevitable event. It was natural for the inhabitants to cling to the ancient boundaries. Every excision would not only lessen the domain, but also the influence of the town in comparison with other towns. It was foreseen that the formation of one town from the territory of Lancaster, would lead the way to other amputations. Therefore a move was made to keep the whole together, by providing meeting-houses and ministers, as well as schools, in certain convenient localities. At a meeting held, August 7, 1730, "The question was put whether the Town would Choose five men as a committee in behalfe of the Town, to take a Survey of that part of the Land petitioned for in Lancaster, and what distance the Inhabitants of said Lands live from the place of publick worship, and how far from the place that the petitioners have (as they informeus) concluded to set their meeting-House; and also to find whether the petitioners be the major part of what is petitioned for, both as to persons and estates; and also to make some Computation who owns the proprietie, and to give Reasons on the whole, to the Court, (in the Town's behalfe) and it passed in the affirmative." Five men were chosen to carry out the vote.

The next move was to run the western boundary of the proposed town about a mile west of the river, and thus set off nearly all of the old district No. 1, with all to the east of the river, for a new town. This was met by a new proposition as follows: "that the town would keep together (and not join with any other town or towns) and that they would come into some way by a vote of the town, that there may be two Meeting-Houses Built, and ministers settled, (sooner or later as the town shall think fit); where said Meeting-Houses shall be Judged most suitable to accommodate the whole town; and that the town would pay the Charge of Building said Meeting-Houses, and settling and maintaining of the ministers equally out of the town Treasury, or as the town shall think fit and convenient."

This question was in the warrant of a town meeting held November 23, and was, no doubt, freely discussed throughout the town, before the voters came together. No direct vote seems to have been taken on the suggestion, but a committee was chosen to oppose the petition for a new town before the general court.

At an adjourned meeting a week later, Jacob Houghton and others made a move which proved effectual. They desired that "the town would do something in order to their relief Relating to building a Meeting-house." In answer to this, it was voted that the town are willing that the east part of the old Township of Lancaster be set off and made a separate township, if the general court see cause." The condition was, however, that the west line of the new town should run "parallel with the west line of the old township, at four miles distance therefrom." This brought the boundary near the river, where it was finally fixed, and remains to the present time. But at a meeting held, March 22, 1730-1, the southern line of the new town was fixed at five miles from the north line of the township. (When Bolton was incorporated, about two miles of these five were joined to that town.) The town of Harvard, made up of sections from Lancaster, Gro-

relief

(j2)

(j2) Act for erecting a New Town within the County of Worcester,  
by the name of Harvard. Passed June 29. Published July 1, 1732

Section 1. "That the lands in the extreme parts of the  
towns of Lancaster Groton & Stone, as the same are here-  
after bounded & described, be & hereby are set off and  
Constituted a separate & distinct township by the name  
of Harvard; viz<sup>t</sup>. beginning at the southerly end  
of the Causeway near the house of Samuel Willson  
in Lancaster & from thence running northwest  
& by west. till the line meets with Lancaster river;  
& from said Causeway running south east &  
by east to Lancaster East bounds; then running  
northerly in the east bounds of Lancaster  
till it comes to Beaver Brook, then bounding  
on said brook till it comes to Littleton bounds.  
& then running on said Littleton line near to the  
northwest corner thereof; viz<sup>t</sup> so far that as a  
west northwest line shall leave the dwelling  
house of James Stone in Groton six perches  
to the northwest, & continuing the same course  
to Lancaster River aforesaid excepting Coyacus  
Farm or so much thereof as shall fall  
within the bounds aforesaid: and to bound  
west on said river

See p 644. 2<sup>d</sup> vol Acts & Resolves of the  
Province of Massachusetts Bay - Ed. 1874

Bourborough incorporated in 1783. was given a tract  
of land from the eastern side of Harvard.

Bolton took no territory from Harvard when  
incorporated; see act of incorporation opposite p. 201.

Cal The volume cost 3t.

x The proposition was not to make Lancaster the only shire town - but for her to share the honor with Worcester.

Worcester County Court of Common Pleas, appointed Judge June 30. 1731  
died Apr. 29. 1759. <sup>Act 74</sup> Joseph Wilder jr. the son was appointed Judge  
Jan. 21. 1762 & died April 20. 1773. Act 65 -

Joseph Wilder was also appointed Judge of Probate Oct. 5. 1739  
Joseph Wilder jr. " " " " Aug. 5. 1746.

Joseph Wilder jr. was also serving as Special Justice in a Court  
of Common Pleas 1754.

Other Judges of Court of Common Pleas appointed  
from Lancaster were

Samuel Willard Jan. 27. 1742? died Nov. 1752. Act 62

Edward Hartwell March 29. 1750. & again Jan. 2. 1753.

Hartwell died aged 96. Feb. 17. 1785 but Joseph  
Wilder jr. took his place on the bench 1762.

x<sup>2</sup> It would have resulted in a division of the County.

ton and Stowe, was incorporated by the general court, June 29, 1732.

At the same meeting, sixty pounds were granted for schools. The town also voted that "they will buy a Book of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard's putting out, which Book is an Explanation of the Catechism." The selectmen were to make "some provision for the keeping of it in the meeting-house for the Town's use, so that any person may come there and read therein as often as they shall see cause; and said Book is not to be carried out of the meeting-house at any time, by any person, except by the order of the selectmen." The author of this work was a son of Major Simon Willard, and was the minister of the Old South Church in Boston, many years, and vice-president, — acting president — of Harvard College from 1701 to 1707. He died in the latter year, but his "Compleat Body of Divinity" in a huge folio of nine hundred pages, was not published till 1726. Rev. Joseph Willard, his great-grand-son, was president of the college from 1781 to 1804.

On the second of April, 1731, the general court erected the county of Worcester. The tradition is that Lancaster might have been the <sup>half</sup> shire town of the new county, if Judge Joseph Wilder had given his consent. There were many reasons in favor of fixing the official center of the county in this place. It was the oldest, wealthiest and most populous town in the new county. At that time it was near the center of the towns already settled and about to be settled. Probably also if the center had been fixed in Lancaster, the towns in the northwest of Middlesex would have been added. If this had been made the shire town, the prosperity that has made Worcester the second city in the State, would have been the fortune of Lancaster. But the town missed its opportunity, and it never can be regained. The reasons given by Judge Wilder, as reported, were that shire towns were apt to be infested by gamblers, horse jockeys and drunkards, and that therefore the morals of a place would be sacrificed to its increase in numbers and wealth. The reasons were vain, though the

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motive was good. It is proved by experience that the incentives to education, morals and religion can be accumulated in great centers of population. The state of morals in the town and city of Worcester, in every generation, would compare favorably with that of the smaller towns in the county. We may regret the folly of the past, which has prevented the growth of this town, but the regrets will be vain, unless we are incited to seize every occasion by which its future prosperity may be promoted.

There is little mention made of the poor in the early Records. The presumption is that few or none were at the public charge. The town used its power to exclude vagabonds, and "tramps" were unknown. But in time, persons born on the soil, became reduced in circumstances, while their friends had died or moved elsewhere. These were provided for by the authorities of the town. In 1731 the "widow Caly or Cealy" had aid, and the selectmen were authorized to be at the expense of removing her to New Hadley. The name has crept into print as "Carly," on the supposition that she belonged to the Kerley or Carley family, but of this there is not sufficient proof. About this date, the town raised thirty pounds for the support of the poor.

*Lydia*  
 On August<sup>3<sup>d</sup></sup> at a town meeting it was voted, "that Mr. James Wilder, (delegate in place of Josiah White, who declined to serve,) their present Representative, be directed to pay such a regard to his Majesty's Govern<sup>r</sup>, as becomes the Representative of a loyall People; and that he also use his utmost vigilance that no infringements be made on the Royall prerogative; nor on any of the priviledges of the People, granted them by the Royall Charter, (by their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, of blessed memory,) and especially by supplying the Treasury without appropriation unless of some small Quantities that may be necessary to defray unforeseen charges that may require prompt payment." This was a step in the long contest between the colony and the royal governor in regard to the regular salary of that official. Gov.

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See p. 98 bottom

"that the southerly part of the additional Grant to Lancaster, & a part of said old Township (in such a Convenient time as the General Court shall see meet) might now by a vote of the Town be set off for a Separate Township Viz; that an angle be made at four miles distance from the northwesterly Corner of Lancaster Old Township & a line be run over the southernmost Wecapekett Hill, & so over the Rocky Hill till it meet with the Town line and to extend east according to this line in to the old Township one mile, and from thence to run a line southerly to the path that turns out to go to John Prescotts west of Jonas Fairbanks's House, and from thence to where the path formerly went over South meadow at the lower end of ~~Berchell~~ <sup>Joseph</sup> Lawyer's meadow & from thence to the ~~Scarrin~~ <sup>Joseph</sup> River at the lower end of ~~Joseph~~ <sup>Joseph</sup> Lawyer's ~~fields~~ <sup>fields</sup> & ~~parts~~ <sup>parts</sup> ~~there~~ <sup>there</sup> line, & that you will improve your Interest in the Town for us that they will show their Compassionate Regard (whose offspring many of us are) in freely Granting us our Request, and so we Rest yours in duty &c;

(a) — This Mill was then Joseph Whitcombs.

(a) All Harvard graduates - Burbeen was of the class of 1731 - Fox 1727 - Swann 1733 Rev. pro, Prentice married Swann's widowed mother for his 2<sup>d</sup> wife.

7 Under the law of 1728-9 Sletcher was entitled to 20<sup>s</sup> apiece for the wildcats - and under the law of 1717-18 4<sup>s</sup> apiece for the wolves - These premiums I think were unchanged until the law of 1741-2 given in the following notes, opposite page 198 - The idea of sending the skins to the Treasurer as vouchers!! Why didn't the author read the laws, the printed copies of which are in the library of which he is yearly elected, a trustee!! The money expended by each town for bounties was annually refunded by Treasurer over

Burnet, in 1728, was instructed to insist on a fixed salary. The legislature, abiding by the charter, voted annually such a salary as he might seem to merit. The governor intimated that parliament might be applied to, and that the charter would thus be imperilled. Then the general court appealed to the towns, and the response was in support of their representatives. The court resolved that "it is better that the liberties of the people should be taken from them, than given up by themselves." The towns echoed back the sturdy resolution. The response of Lancaster was in full accord. By the death of Burnet, in 1731, the contest was left to Gov. Belcher; but he, willing to avoid the controversy, obtained leave from home to accept the annual grants, and thus the colony was pacified by success.

By a vote of the town in 1732, several roads were opened or altered. One extended from the <sup>road that goeth to the</sup> Mill on the North river,"—now Shoeshank—starting west of Canoe brook, to Lunenburg. Another, beginning near the same point, east of Canoe brook, was extended through Goatham, and over Quassoponakin hill southerly to the intersection of the Still River road.

Sixty pounds were granted for schools, May 15, 1732, and the selectmen were directed to provide a school-master for the town, and that one master should keep school in each part of the town. Bare hill and Still River districts were in the new town of Harvard, and the master would be limited to the Neck and Wat<sup>a</sup>quadock, with possibly a school for the southwest section. Jabez Fox, Josiah Swan and Joseph Barbe<sup>a</sup>n, had the training of the children.

John Fletcher received "thirty-six pounds for five grown wolves and sixteen grown wild-cats killed" in and near the town. The ears of these wild animals were cut off in the presence of one or more of the selectmen, [and sent to the treasurer of the province as vouchers,] when the thirty-six pounds were remitted to the town treasurer. The province was wise in requiring the ears of "full grown wolves and

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wild-cats," as is illustrated by the anecdote of an old and foxy hunter in New Hampshire. He appeared regularly, as the year came round, at the State treasurer's door with his tale of ears, and took his premium. At length the treasurer inquired why he always brought the ears of small animals. "Why not bring the ears of old wolves?" "Ah," said the old hunter, "then the business would be spoiled."

At a meeting held according to warrant May 16, 1733, to which time two old meetings were adjourned, there was an avalanche of petitions relating to new towns and meeting-houses which must have filled the timid and conservative people with consternation.

The first was a petition signed by Gamaliel Beaman, Ebenezer Prescott, Benjamin Houghton, Samuel Sawyer, Jonathan Osgood, Fairbank More, Jonathan Bealey, Thomas Ross, Joseph More, Shubael Bealey and John Snow, asking consent to be set up as a new township. The reasons moving them thereunto are worthy of insertion. "Whereas, we the subscribers, <sup>je sa.</sup> Inhabitants of the Westerley and Southwesterley parts of the town of Lancaster have, by the providence of God, our Habitations fixed at such a Remote distance from the place of public worship, that it is with great difficulty, (at some seasons of the year especially) that we attend on the same, and is always attended with more labor, (as we conceive) than is proper for a day of holy Rest if it could conveniently be avoided; and there being already settled a considerable number of families within such a distance of each other, and also with others that are settling among us, that we hope in a little time, by the blessing of providence, we shall be able to set up and support public worship among ourselves, which we hope will prove much for our ease, and comfort and benefit; That which we humbly move (therefore) is that the following," etc.; and then they proceed to petition for a separate township, with specified bounds. This petition was negatived; and though renewed from time to time, was not granted. But a few years later, as will be re-

See back on  
top of blank  
page.

of Province on regular prescribed form of Certificate signed by Selectmen & treasurer of towns. The ears were buried by Constable - See note to p 33.

a Wolves & Wildcats was not the only wild beasts hunted in Lancaster. In 1743. the Selectmen's account of 'Prudentials' includes a bill for Wolves & Cats & Bares & Cattermounts" killed, and another for Squirrels & blackbirds -

In 1740-1 the General Court passed a law allowing the following bounties - the heads of the animals or birds to be brought to the selectmen -

12<sup>d</sup> for netting blackbirds not fledged - per dozen

3<sup>s</sup> per dozen for old birds

6<sup>d</sup> for each Crow.

4<sup>d</sup> for each water rat, ground squirrel or grey squirrel

Red squirrels are not mentioned!

In 1741-2 A very comprehensive & specific law was passed encouraging the destruction of wild beasts. The head of the animal was to be brought to the Constable & he was to cut off the ears. Indians were to receive the same bounty as white men! - The bounties were.

Green Wolf -	40 <sup>s</sup>	Cattamount	50 <sup>s</sup>	Bear	10 <sup>s</sup>
Whelp -	13 <sup>s</sup> 4 <sup>d</sup>	Whelp do -	25 <sup>s</sup>	Cub do	5 <sup>s</sup>
		Wildcat grown	6 <sup>s</sup>		
		.. Whelp	3 <sup>s</sup>		

In 1753. Beasts of prey having increased in spite of above bounties - the bounties were much increased - to wit -

for a wolf 4 pounds

" a wolf whelp 40<sup>s</sup>

for a grown Cattamount 4<sup>£</sup>

" a whelp do 5<sup>s</sup>

These laws show that the author should have brought in his little story - without the prefatory commendation of the wisdom of the Province "in requiring the ears of full grown wolves & wild-cats" - They required nothing of the kind, but paid for the litter of whelps when caught as well as for the dam, only at a different rate. over.

In 1724/5. the selectmen report: - x x

there hath been the ears of three grown woolves heads cutt off in y<sup>e</sup> presence of some of said selectmen by y<sup>e</sup> Constable of y<sup>e</sup> Town. one of y<sup>e</sup> woolves was taken by Ephraim Sawyer, and the other two by Isaac Sawyer & Jonas Fairbank.

The petitioners were the first inhabitants of Chocksett - Gamaliel Beaman was the first proprietor there. about 1720 - Samuel Sawyer. Benjamin Thughton, David Asgood & Jonathan Asgood succeeded

(B) omitted - "for warning a Town meeting, there to be laid before the Town"

(C) Stocker Asgood bought the Rowlandson Estate 1710 of Phillip Goss. For genealogy of Stocker Asgood a Saddler from Andover see Hist. Gen. Register p 120-1

On p. 192 the author is befogged about an advance of money to the representative elect - a common enough practice in the town May 13 1734. Capt Ephraim Wilder having been chosen: -

"then the Town by their vote gave the select men order, to give the Town Treasurer orders to deliver out of the Treasury twenty pounds to Capt. Ephraim Wilder our present Representative which sd Wilder is to Repay into the Treasury so soon as he shall receive his wages for said service: -"

lated more at length, in due time, the petitioners were set off as a separate precinct. x<sup>a</sup>

Then came a petition from Josiah Wheeler, William Polard, Joshua Moore, Jabez Fairbank, Jonathan Moore, William Keyes, John Whitney, Jeremiah Holman, Nathaniel Holman, Thomas Whitney and William Sawyer, wishing to be set up as a town, or if not, as a precinct. Their paper reads as follows: "setting forth the many hardships and Difficulties which we for these many years have undergone in getting to the public worship of God, and in a peculiar manner in the winter season; These are therefore to Request of you that you put it into your next warrant to see whether the Town will set off all the Inhabitants on the east side the River to be a separate Town or precinct, beginning at Shrewsbury line, and so down said River till you come to Harvard line, excepting the interval lots of Land on the east side of said River." The lots specified belonged to Daniel Rugg, Thomas z  
 Carter, Samuel Willard, James Houghton, jr., Robert Phelps, Edward Phelps, jr., Joseph Wheelock, Dea. Josiah White, and Capt. John White's heirs. This movement failed for the time being.

The third petition came from the Neck, and South Lancaster, and related to a new meeting-house. Peter Joslin, Samuel Willard, Hooker Osgood, Jabez Fairbanks, John Prescott, Ephraim Wilder, Thomas Carter, John Buss, John Bennitt, Hooker Osgood, jr., John Fletcher, Amos Sawyer, Joshua Osgood, and Hezekiah Gates, desired the selectmen to insert an article in the warrant to "see whether the Town will Build a meeting-house on the west side of the River, on the old meeting-house place upon the Hill by Mr. Hooker x<sup>c</sup> Osgood's; or upon the School-house hill near where the School-house now stands." [Near the house of Mr. Royce.] This petition, like the preceding, had to wait, but all were sure of success in the course of events.

At the March meeting in 1734 the town directed the selectmen to send a petition to the general court, in behalf of the

town, with reference to the "building of Block Houses from Dunstable to Fort Dummer." It was thought that a chain of forts along the northern line of the province would serve as a barrier to keep the Indians and French from raiding on the exposed towns.

(a) May 13, a new petition came from Gamaliel Beaman and others, asking to be set free from a part of the minister's rate for the ensuing year, on condition that they subscribed for preaching for one quarter of the year, (in the winter season.) But the subject was avoided by adjournment.

The subject was kept before the town at meetings held in August, October and December, with the variation that one petition presented the plan of two meeting-houses, one to accommodate the Center, and the other those living in what now comprises Bolton and Berlin, the parishioners of each parish to "pitch upon the place to set said house; and if the town think best, to build their own houses, separate from other charges."

At various meetings in 1735 the following appropriations were raised. For the minister, £150; for schools, £60; for the poor, £30; for killing wolves and wild-cats, £37. No progress was made in the effort to divide the town.

The warrant for the March meeting, 1735-6 gave the town much to deliberate about, and doubtless the questions were canvassed in every house, by men and women, old and young, as well as in the town meeting. Gamaliel Beaman and others pressed for their new town, at the southwest. John Moore and his allies urged their petition for a new town on the southeast. Their language will be read with interest, at this late day. In spite of their antique spelling, which may raise a harmless smile, there was solid reasoning and a touching pathos in their artless words. "We the petitioners whose names are underwritten for ourselves, and in the behalf of others our neighbors, the Inhabitants of the southeasterly part of the Town of Lancaster, living so Remote from the publick worship, at least a great part of us, which makes the

The petition of Bolton men August 9. 1734: -

To the Select men of the Town of Lancaster; Greeting:  
Gentlemen: this sheweth that ~~the~~ the subscribers & others of  
the Inhabitants of the Town, living in the southerly part  
thereof: Desire that you would be pleased to grant a warrant  
for a Town meeting, or else to notify the Inhabitants  
in season that so the Town at their meeting may be  
Ready to hear our Request in a petition which will be  
(if we have opportunity) laid before the Town, to shew our  
Desire to be sett off as a presinct or a Town, or otherwise  
to Building two Parish meeting Houses in said Town.

John Whitney, Jeremiah Hopman, James Keyes, Jonathan  
Moore, William Sawyer, Josiah Wheeler, Nathaniel  
Holman, William Keyes, William Pollard, Daniel  
Greenleaf.

August 26. The petition referred to above came: -

To the Selectmen and the Inhabitants of the Town of Lancaster, Greeting:  
Gentlemen, this sheweth that we the subscribers and others the Inhabitants  
living in the southerly part of sd Town, which you cannot but be  
 sensible of the Circumstances of the most of us (if well considered,  
living very remote from the meeting House and therefore uncapa-  
ble of attending the Publick worship of God without great difficul-  
ties which makes the day of Rest a day of the greatest Labour  
to the most of us, which makes us very uneasy: now it is our Request  
and desire that you would sett us off for a Town or Presinct &  
sett out the bounds thereof agreeable with the vote of the Town some  
time ago passed except what was taken off for Harward -  
that so we may come (in some convenient Season) to build a meeting  
House amongst us for the publick worship and enjoy the Priviledges  
which we ought & desire to have of Christians; and further if you  
do not Incline to sett us off as a Town nor Presinct, then it is our  
desire that there may be two Parish Meeting Houses built dividing  
the Parishes agreeable with the vote above sd. and each Parish let  
their House according to their own minds as they may agree & both be  
built & minister settled & maintained by the whole Town in General, which  
we desire you would take into consideration & act something thereon  
for our Reliefe. John Whitney, Jonathan Moore, James Keyes, Jeremiah Hopman,  
Daniel Price, Philip Brooks, Nathaniel Holman, William Keyes, William  
Sawyer, Daniel Greenleaf, Josiah Wheeler, David Whitcomb, Josiah Wheelcomb -



Nathaniel Hapgood. Simon Whitcomb. Thomas Sawyer.

At an adjourned meeting, on the last Tuesday of Oct.  
there appeared this request:-

x x we the subscribers as we are the Inhabitants of the Town  
Desire that you would be pleased to notify the Inhabitants  
of the Town in order for a part of the work at the next Town  
meeting; to Consider the Difficulties of many of the Inhabitants  
of said Town in Respect of their attending the publick worship,  
there being but one meeting House, our Request is that the  
Town would take it into their Serious Consideration, and  
act something which may be best for the Town in General,  
which we are of opinion will be to Build two meeting houses  
one on the westerly side of the River, and the other on the  
Easterly side of the River where it may be most Convenient  
for the present Inhabitants. & such Land as are likely  
to be settled within the Bounds of the Parishes, and  
that the Parishoners of each Parish pitch upon the  
place to sett said House, and if the Town think best to  
Build their own Houses Separable from other Charges,  
and all other Charges to be paid by the Town in  
General.

Jabez Fairbank jr. John More jr. Jonathan  
Beaman, Daniel Greenleaf, John More. William Sawyer  
Thomas Sawyer jr. Israel Hale, Jonathan Houghton jr  
Jonathan More, Josiah Wheeler, William Pollard  
Jabez Beaman, Simon Butler, Josiah Richardson.

November 8. Gershall Beaman's petition worded  
as before came up.

December 16. both above requests were denied

Bolton

- Court Records Vol XVI. 291 March 1735/6 { Petition of Saml Willard  
in behalf of inhab<sup>s</sup> of E part of  
Lancaster - Council refused a  
bill
- " " Vol XVII 62 Dec 1737 { Petition of David Osgood  
Benjamin Houghton SE part of E  
Noter ordina
- " " Vol XVIII - 229 June 15, 1738 { Report of viewing Committee  
recommends Petition of John  
Moore et al. be granted  
x David Osgood et al. be dismissed.  
x James Houghton et al be dismissed.
- " " " 256 - Bolton incorporated
- " " " 280 - { John Whitney to call first  
town meeting June 29 1738 -

Roadtown, now Shutesbury, was largely owned & settled  
by Lancaster and Sudbury men. Settlement begun 1734  
See Holland's Hist of Western Massachusetts II p 430-431

Deamans petition:

Lancaster April. 26: 1734. To the Selectmen of the Town  
of Lancaster: Gentlemen: we the Subscribers living in the South-  
westly part of the aforesaid Lancaster, desire that this our  
petition may be set forth in your next warrant for the  
calling of Town meeting; it is as followeth: that the Town will  
by a vote free those of us in the said Southwesterly part of the  
Lancaster that shall subscribe for the preaching of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel Con-  
vencantly among us for one quarter of a year in y<sup>e</sup> winter  
Season from some part of the ministers Rate the next year  
or so much of it as the Town shall see fit, or something else  
agreeable to the Town & Equally beneficial to us:

Gamaliel Deaman, Benjamin Houghton, Samuel Scump  
Jonathan Powers, David Osgood, David Farrar, Thomas  
Rose, Joseph Moore, Jonathan Osgood, Samuel Libs,  
Oliver Moore,

The petition of August 8, 1734 is a repetition of that on p. 198.

Bolton 1738. Page 942 Act & Resolves of the Provin  
of Massachusetts Bay.

Act for dividing the town of Lancaster in the  
County of Worcester & erecting a new town there by  
the name of Bolton. Passed June 24<sup>th</sup> Published  
June 27, 1738. Whereas x x x Be it therefore  
enacted x x x x

Section 1. That the Easterly part of the town  
of Lancaster be & hereby is set off from the said  
town of Lancaster & erected into a separate and  
distinct township by the name of Bolton according  
to the following boundaries viz: northwesterly upon  
Stow and easterly upon Stow. Southwesterly upon  
Marlborough, southerly upon Westborough, & westerly  
upon Lancaster by a line running near a South  
& North point parallel with the west line of said  
township of Lancaster at four miles distance  
therefrom. agreeable to a vote of the said town  
passed the first day of March 1735." x x x

This territory included nearly all of  
what is now Berlin & a part of what is  
now Hudson. Berlin was set off as a Parish  
in 1775, as a district in 1784, as a separate  
township in 1812. Its first bounds were

"Beginning three miles & one half and sixty two (62)  
rods from the Southwesterly corner of Bolton at a  
Stake & Stones on the Lancaster line, thence running  
East 24° South one mile, one half and forty rods to a  
heap of Stones near Amos Merriam's Shop, thence running  
East 37° South three miles four rods to Marlboro line."

(a) Signed John More, Jeremiah Holman, James Keys, William Sawyer, John Whitney, Nathaniel  
Holman, William Keys, Nathaniel Hapgood, Josiah Whitcomb, Israel Heald, William Whitcomb  
Philip Rowkins, Jonathan Moore, Daniel Greenleaf, Abraham Moore, Jabez Fairbanks, John More Jr.  
Josiah Wheeler, Josiah Richardson, Jonathan Beaman, William Pollard.

Sabbath, (which should be a day of <sup>a</sup>rest) to be a day of the hardest labor to us, especcally to our children if they come to meeting; and we do look upon ourselves bound in duty to promote their futer good and well being as well as our own. And we think it may be a means thereof to bring them whilst young to the public worship; but while we are at such a distance it is next to imposable to bring them, or many of them. We do therefore request that the Town would take it into their Serious Consideration, and set us off as a town by ourselves, Running the line according to the vote of the Town passed before Harvard went off, that so we may be providing to build an House that we and ours may worship God in; and that we may pay as we do now until we have prepared for ourselves, and have the word of God preached with us." (a)

The inhabitants in the southwest part of the town complicated affairs still more, by petitioning to have their portion of the school money to spend according to their own discretion.

And yet more to "embroil the fray," came the proposition to divide the town into three precincts or parishes, excepting the northwest part of the new grant, which should be reserved for "another precinct [Leominster] when the people are able and ready." Each "parish to pitch the place to set their meeting-house, and to build and finish the same."

These questions were promptly settled on the first day of March, 1736. Gamaliel Beaman and his friends were voted down. A township was not granted, but a vote was passed, in answer to the petition of Benjamin Houghton and others, allowing those living in the southwest, to have their part of the school money, and spend it in supporting a school in "such time and season as shall be just and honest." x named below.

The petition of John Moore for a new town on the southeast prevailed, and Bolton went before the general court with the benediction of the old mother town. The act of incorporation was passed on the twenty-fourth of June, 1738. Berlin was set off in 1784. The church was formed in Bol-

x Benjamin Houghton Jr., David Osgood, Oliver Moore, Jonathan Osgood, Gamaliel Beaman, Ebenezer Prescott, Joseph Bennett, Samuel Sawyer, Shubael Bealby, Josiah Wilder, Jonathan Fairbank, John Sawyer, Merckiah Westcomb, John Ferrar, Ephraim Sawyer, Ezra Sanger, Thomas Ross, James Wilds, James Ross, Jonathan Powers, James Fairbank, John Loring, John Wilder jr., Thomas Sawyer, Jonathan Bigelow, David Hildon.

ton, November 4, 1741, when the Rev. Thomas Goss was ordained their first pastor. The church was drawn chiefly from the church in Lancaster.

After this vote, the project of forming three parishes, and building meeting-houses for the same, fell to the ground as a matter of course.

The attempt to raise Mr. Prentice's stated salary was constantly negatived, but a motion to add £50 to his salary, this year, raising it to £150 prevailed. It may be stated here, that when the church was formed in Harvard, in 1733, the proprietors of Lancaster gave the minister, Rev. John Secombe the two islands in Bare hill pond. At the same time they granted to the town of Harvard thirty acres of land on Pin hill "to set a meeting-house upon, and for a training field, and for a burying place."

At a meeting held May 17, 1736, a rate of £150 was granted for repairing bridges over the Nashua, the North, the Penacook, and Still river, and for mending highways and byways.

The Records have no account of the annual meeting on the first Monday of March, 1737, but a regularly called meeting was held two weeks later. An entry in the Records of the proprietors, dated March 7, probably explains the mystery. It is there stated that there was a "great flood," and in consequence the proprietors' meeting was adjourned two weeks, that is to the twenty-first of March. Doubtless both meetings were called the same day, and on account of the small number present, no business was done. The proprietors adjourned. Perhaps the town meeting was not even called to order. The few who came to the meeting-house, soon hastened home, or wherever they could mitigate the ravages of the flood.

At the meeting held March 21, another appeal for division was presented to the town. This was a petition from certain residents in the northwest part of the town, or the northern half of the "additional grant," and is dated, February 11,

When made a "district" the lands of David Taylor, Silas Carley, Job Sprafford, + John Brigham were annexed to Berlin + taken from Marlboro. With the exception, perhaps, of some very slight changes made by subsequent straightening of lines, & these farms added from the town of Marlboro, Berlin is all, Lancaster territory, forming a part of the original grant. Its south boundary is part of the South line of Noyes' Survey in 1659. & the northerly portion of its eastern boundary was the "Whipsuffrage line", which Noyes met.

Until 1868, the two lines that divided Bolton from Stow + Marlborough were a portion of the original bounds of Lancaster. but in that year March 20, an act was passed giving a section of Bolton territory to the new town of Hudson. This was bounded as follows: "Beginning at a stone monument on the present boundary line between the Counties of Worcester + Middlesex at the southerly corner of the town of Stow + at a corner of the town of Hudson, thence running S.  $86^{\circ}$  W.  $438\frac{21}{100}$  rods to a stone monument at an angle, thence S  $66^{\circ} 30'$  W. 346 rods to present dividing line between Bolton + Berlin + thence S.  $5\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$  E. 447 rods along the dividing line between Bolton + Berlin to the present line of Hudson" x (see map inserted at page 20.) It included an area of about two square miles.

Leominster &c

Court Records XVIII.63 - June 1739 - Petition of Leshorn Loughton William  
 Whitcomb & others. inhab<sup>rs</sup> of NW<sup>W</sup> part of  
 Leamington - Council refused -  
 do. p 310 June 9 1740 - bill admitted & passed  
 do. 311 - - - - -  
 do. 330 - - - - -  
 do. 337 - - - - -  
 do. 344 John Wheelock to call first meeting.

West Precinct &c

Court Records XIX - 20 July 1741. Petition of S. part of New Grant & Able  
 Notice given.  
 do. " - 45 July 30 - bill permitted.  
 do. " 290 March 31 1742 Petition of Eph<sup>m</sup> Widen &c  
 do. " 382 dismissed.  
 do. " 400 June 9 1742 Petition John Bush Land Frizzell  
 of Shrewsbury &c  
 do. " 417 bill introduced &c  
 do. " 426 enactment  
 do. " 496 Nov. 23 1742 Petition West Precinct  
 do. XXIV. 489 Petition of Daniel Albert, Levi Moor &c  
 Shrewsbury Precinct  
 do. XXVII 75 }  
 " 232 } Shrewsbury Leg  
 " 237 }

Shrewsbury

do. XXVI 346 - Jan'y 1767 Petition of David Osypow &c  
 2<sup>d</sup> Precinct for town  
 " 357 Feb'y 1767 Committee Report.  
 do. XXVII 75 June 1767 Committee app<sup>d</sup> to view  
 " 103 Report.  
 " 364 Petition dismissed.

1736-7. In the History of Leominster, by David Wilder, it is said that the petition to the general court, for the incorporation of Leominster had been lost. Perhaps it may be interesting, in such case, to see the petition to the town of Lancaster, especially as it defines the boundaries of the proposed town, except on the northern line. The petition was in these words :

"To the <sup>Members</sup> Selectmen of the Town of Lancaster, — Gentlemen :  
 We the <sup>Subscribers</sup> who are Inhabitants of the <sup>northerly part of the</sup> additional Grant of Land made to said Lancaster, and we who are Proprietors in said Land, and we that live in the old <sup>said</sup> Township of Lancaster near or adjoining to the northerly end of said additional Grant, Desire and humbly Request that this our Petition be put in the next warrant that you shall <sup>Issue</sup> put out for calling a Town meeting, so as that the Town may Consider, Conclude, act and do what shall then be thought Proper to be done in answer to our Request and desire, which is as followeth, viz. : That the Town by a vote would set off the northerly end of said additional Grant to said Lancaster, so far as four miles southerly from the northwesterly corner of the old Township, and there to make an angle and run a line westerly over the southernmost Wecapacit Hill, and so over the Rocky Hill, extending said line to the westerly line of said Grant ; and that the whole of the said additional Grant lying to the northerly side of the aforesaid line that runneth over said Hills, may be made into a separate Township, in such time as the Great and General Court of this Province shall think that the People inhabiting the Land Requested for shall be able to support a Minister and maintain the word of God, so as that it may be constantly Preached among<sup>st</sup> them. Also to Grant that so many as live in the old Township as desire to be added and annexed to said additional Grant for a Township as aforesaid ; and as aforesaid we pray. &c. Signed by Jonathan Houghton, Thomas Houghton, Jonathan Carter, Thomas Wilder, William Divol, Jonathan White, Jonathan Wilson, Joseph Wheelock, jr., John Wheelock, Benj. Whetcomb, Noah Beman, John Goodridge,



Gardner Wilder, William Sawyer, Joseph Brooks, Ebenezer Dakin, Jacob Houghton, Jonathan Sawyer, John Wilder, Ebenezer Wilder.

The petition seems to have been granted on its first presentation. This may appear singular, inasmuch as the petitioners who lived in the south part of the additional grant were defeated from year to year. But some of the reasons which led to the result, are obvious even at this late day. The center of Leominster is seven miles from Lancaster, and a long, high hill lies between. There were but few settlers on any of the roads which led from one town to the other. Convenience demanded that there should be a new center. Again, some of the petitioners were influential men who intended to remain in the old town, but having children and land in the new one, favored the movement. Besides, the projectors of the new town made no extravagant and inadmissible claims, in the way of territory, while the inhabitants of Chocksett insisted upon having their easterly line moved a mile into the old township. Here are reasons enough, without seeking for others, why there was such a different reception given to the two petitions. It may be added here, that the petition for the proposed town was favorably heard by the general court, after persevering effort, and after satisfying the court that among other conditions, they could and would "maintain a godly minister." The act of incorporation was passed June 23, 1740, and the town contained something over twenty-five square miles.

(7k<sup>2</sup>) Nothing daunted by former rebuffs, and perhaps stimulated by the success of the people of Leominster, the residents in the southwest section renewed their request that the selectmen would call a town meeting to consider their claim to be a new town, and to take off from the old town a tract far longer and broader than had sufficed the ambition of their neighbors on the north. They wished to cut into the town one mile deeper than Leominster, and that through the whole length from north to south, about six miles. The town said

(76<sup>2</sup>) David Wilder in his history of Leominster says  
"thirty eight acres less than twenty six miles" - or  
25.9% square miles -

The act of incorporation gives particulars of boundaries not contained in the petition - It is on page 1023 of Acts & Resolves of the Province - "Act for dividing the Town of Lancaster & making a new town by the name of Leominster, - Passed June 23<sup>d</sup> published July 16, 1740  
xx Section 1<sup>st</sup> - "That the northwesterly part of the town of Lancaster comprehended within the following boundaries viz: beginning four miles southerly from the northwesterly corner of the old Township, & from thence running westerly, over the southernmost Wakapeket Hill & so over Rocky Hill; and thence to the westerly line of the "Additional grant" so called: from thence northeasterly to a heap of stones on Moonrocks Hill; from thence to a heap of stones being a corner mark by Unchachawaluck Pond; from thence southeasterly by said pond and Massapog Pond and as the marks direct to the northwesterly corner of said Lancaster Old bounds) and then, with the land of Thomas Houghton to Lancaster Old west line; thence southerly with said line to the station first mentioned." xx x x.

With the exception of the first line here mentioned forming the southern limit of Leominster & the farm lines of Thomas Houghton, these were the original lines of Lancaster's "additional grant" of 1730.

Leominster has since received an additional

of territory on the Northwest corner, by the  
annexation of a part of "Notown" so called  
by an Act dated April 13 1838. This tract was  
bounded as follows: "N 50° 30' W 400 rods to  
Princeton, thence N. 14° E to Westminster 700 rods,  
thence S. 78° 40' on south line of Fitchburg 325  
rods. thence Southward by a line of many angles  
between Notown & Westminster."

See map inserted at page 20-

In the description of bounds in the Lemuel Beaman  
petition dated Oct. 17 1737, occurs a statement regarding  
the location of the "Scar":

"x x x and to extend eastward in to y<sup>e</sup> old Township one  
mile and from thence that a line be Run Southward  
untill it comes to a Scar at y<sup>e</sup> South River which  
is about thirty Rods below y<sup>e</sup> mills belonging to y<sup>e</sup>  
Heirs of Joseph Sawyer Deceased, that stand on  
said River, and that y<sup>e</sup> line extend to y<sup>e</sup> South  
line of y<sup>e</sup> Township &c." )

"No," perhaps with an emphasis, on the ninth of November.

At the May meeting, 1737, the office of representative to the general court "went a begging." Ephraim Wilder was chosen, and refused to serve. Then Josiah White was chosen: he refused. Finally Jabez Fairbank was elected and consented to attend the legislature.

At the same meeting £60 were added to the salary of Rev. Mr. Prentice, in "bills of old tenure." The following singular article was in the warrant: "To see what the town will allow for the relief of the widow Golsbery, or for her being improved as a School Dame in the east part of the town." The voters gave her five pounds instead of "improving" her as the teacher of their children.

The question about a new meeting-house was up again, Ebenezer Beaman and others desiring the town to consider their "difficulty in getting to the public worship," and asking that a house might be built upon the Neck, or some other convenient place. The Old Common was now on the eastern edge of the town, and no longer convenient for the majority of the remainder of the town.

December 19, motions for a new meeting-house near the Center, and for a separate town, in the southwest, were considered and negatived.

The irrepressible Gamaliel Beaman, and his allies demanded a hearing again, and on the fifth day of February, 1738-9, three questions were presented to the town. First, would the town agree to their forming a new township, including the half mile on the westerly side. The answer was in the negative. Their demand, it seems, was somewhat abated. At first, they asked for the southern part of the "additional grant," and a mile in breadth on the west side of Lancaster. And this strip is known as "the Mile" in the old Records. The question now was whether the town would allow the petitioners to cut into the town a half mile on the north end, and so run the east line of their new township as to take in a mile at the south end. This did not meet with favor.

The next question was to see if the town would agree to the original petition, with the condition that the new town would keep in "good repair forever Nashua bridge, so called, or that bridge that crosseth the river nearest the meeting-house." This was the Atherton bridge, half way between the Old Common and South Lancaster. The town would not entertain the proposal.

Then the town granted the petition so far as it related to the "additional grant," and that the corner of the proposed town might be located half a mile east of the Leominster corner, and from thence "run a line southerly into the line petitioned for due west from Jonas Fairbank's house, and from thence with a straight line to the *Scar* on the river, and so to the town line;" with the condition that the said town should maintain and keep in "repair forever a cart bridge over the South river in Lancaster—that is in the road next above the meetings of the river." The bridge referred to is now known as the Atherton bridge, which is next above the meeting of the rivers. This vote reveals one spot where the "shoe pinched." By the incorporation of the new town, Lancaster would be left with all the bridges on its hands, ~~with the exception of the *Scar* bridge at the extreme south, and perhaps a small one east of what is now Clinton.~~ Nothing came of this vote, probably because the petitioners could not get all the land they wanted and were not willing to be saddled with the cost of a bridge "forever," outside of their bounds.

The November meeting, voted for the salary of the minister £192; and £80 for the support of a school. At the same time the town refused to free Leominster from the ministerial and school rate. Probably the religious and educational forces were not yet in working order in the new town.

On the thirty-first of December the town chose Joseph Moor and Jonathan Wilson to "prosecute such as should kill deer unseasonably."

At a meeting held May 4, 1740, the minister's salary was fixed at £212 for the year, and £80 were voted for a school. £100 were granted to be "wrought ought on the Hiwais."

c. No such bridges in the town, then supported by the town

<sup>a</sup> Jonathan Wilson born 1706 died 1784. married Hephzibah  
daughter of Ebenezer Wilder (son of John the son of Thomas 1<sup>st</sup>) - probably son  
of Jeremiah Wilson who lived on Watery-locke?

b August 29 1742.

"Baptized at Leominster the first day of yr meeting in  
yr. new meeting House, David son of Jonathan White &  
Elizabeth daughter of Matthew Clerk"

Gamaliel Beaman died Oct. 26. 1745. in yr 68<sup>th</sup>  
Year of his Age". His grave stone is the oldest in  
Sterling burial grounds, it is said, though I find  
two earlier dates on stones there.

1741. In Rev Joseph Allen's "The Worcester Association"  
p 25. - we learn that in 1741 there was an  
"unusual flood of water by the late rains, there  
having been no such flood in Lancaster for  
twenty years."

It was difficult to suit Gamaliel Beaman and his friends, who came before the town, October 27, 1740, and tried to be set free from their part of the minister's rate "for one year, or for <sup>ye</sup> one-half thereof, or for so many months in the year as we shall have preaching among ourselves." The petition was negatived, but as it had a foundation in right, the town voted that "twenty-four pounds be payed out of the town treasury to enable the south part of the additional grant to support preaching in the winter season."

The petitioners renewed the charge on the second day of February, 1739-40, and tried the town on three questions. Taking it as a settled thing that Lancaster would not yield the demand for a mile on the north end of the line, Ephraim Sawyer and others inquired if the town would "build two meeting-houses,—one to accommodate <sup>ye</sup> the south part of the additional grant and the Mile, so called; the other to accommodate the remaining part of the town; each society to build and place their own meeting-house; as also to settle and maintain their own minister?" Or second, that the town would "set off the <sup>a</sup> petitioners to be a Precinct, <sup>that so</sup> so that they may build for themselves—the bounds of said Precinct to be agreeable to a vote of the town made in the year 1738-9, to make them a separate township." Thirdly, they inquired if the town was "still free and willing that <sup>ye</sup> the petitioners be set off as a separate township," agreeable to the vote, February 5, 1738-9.

The town voted down the proposition about two meeting-houses; and also that relating to a precinct; but assented to the plan of a new township. But this failed to satisfy the inhabitants of the "additional grant," and the Mile.

But now the movement assumes a new aspect, and as it illustrates the times, the case will be given, for the most part, in the words of the Records. It seems that Ebenezer Beaman and friends, in October, 1741, petitioned the selectmen to bring before the town a proposition in regard to meeting-houses; and that the fathers of the town ignored their



petition. Ebenezer Beaman and Gamaliel Beaman were seeking different objects. The former lived on the Neck, and wanted a meeting-house in the Center. The latter lived in Chocksett, and wanted a new town, and a meeting-house in that section. Both had rights and pluck, and more than an ordinary degree of the "perseverance of the saints." x

a  
 "Worcester ss. To Mr. Aaron Willard, one of the constables of the town of Lancaster, within the county of Worcester, greeting. Whereas complaint hath been made to me, the subscriber, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Worcester, by Ebenezer Beaman and Benjamin Ballard, both of said Lancaster, yeomen, who complain and say that they, together with about sixty of the freeholders and inhabitants of said town, did by a petition by them signed, bearing date October the nineteenth, 1741, setting forth the necessity of two meeting-houses being built within the said town, etc., and signified to the selectmen of Lancaster, their desire that they should insert their petition in the next warrant that the said selectmen should issue for the calling a town meeting, etc.; and notwithstanding the selectmen are required by law so to do, yet unreasonably denied, against the law of this Province, in that case made and provided.— These are therefore, in his Majesty's name, to will and require you, the said officer, upon sight hereof, to notify and warn all the freeholders and other inhabitants qualified according to law to vote in town meetings to vote within your precinct in Lancaster aforesaid, to meet at the public meeting-house within said town, on Friday, the twenty-ninth day of January instant, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon, then and there being duly met, to act on the several particulars hereafter mentioned.

1. To choose a moderator for the government of said meeting.

2. To see if the town will proceed to build two meeting-houses within said town; one of them to accommodate the body or northerly part of the town, and another to accom-

x Or "obstinacy of the Devil" as their neighbors probably characterized it.

a Aaron, eldest son of Simons who was the son of Henry the 4<sup>th</sup> son of the Major - born in Lancaster 1701, married, Mary Wright 1724. died <sup>May 27</sup> 1784. He was Colonel of one of the Worcester Co. Regiments. Died in Lunenburg 1781 Sept. see Mass. G. O.

Aaron Willard Jr of Lancaster in connection with John Worthington, Timothy Dwight & others bought at public vendue for 1840 ac, June 1762, Township No. 3. Six miles square. now known as the town of Worthington. Aaron Jr. was born Sept 10, 1725

b According to law, voters were to have an estate of freehold within the Province of 40 shillings per annum, or other estate to the value of fifty pounds sterling. to be legal electors of a representative



modate the southerly <sup>westerly</sup> part of the additional <sup>to</sup> grant, and the Mile, so called, who labor under great difficulties by reason of their great distance from the <sup>place</sup> of public worship.

3. To conclude of what bigness or dimensions each meeting-house shall be of, and how they shall be finished, and when.

4. To vote where each meeting-house shall be set up or stand.

5. To grant a tax or rate for the building of said meeting-houses, and how much of said rate or tax shall be applied to each meeting-house for the building thereof, and when paid, and by what invoice made.

6. To choose a collector or collectors for the gathering of said rate or tax if need be.

7. To choose a committee or committees to let out said houses to workmen, or to agree with some person or persons to build said houses, and finish the same.

Lastly, to see what particular gentlemen will give gratis to so good a work.

And make return of this warrant, with your doings therein, unto Dea<sup>con</sup> Josiah White, one of the selectmen of your town, at, on or before the time appointed for said meeting. Hereof fail not as you will answer it at your peril. Given under my hand and seal at Lunenburg, this twentieth day of January, in the fifteenth year of his Majesty's reign, annosque Domini, 1741. EDWARD HARTWELL, Justice of the Peace." *Entered. Per Joseph Wilder Clerk.*

This formidable document, in the name of his majesty, old George II., led to immediate results. A town meeting was held, January 29, 1741-2, when the following action was taken, "after sum debate on the affair."

The town first voted to build two meeting-houses. The house for the body of the town was to be fifty-five feet in length, and forty-five feet in breadth, and twenty-five feet posts or stud; the other house was to be forty-eight by thirty-eight feet, with twenty-two feet posts. Each house

was to be well covered with boards and shingles, and inclosed with boards covered with clap-boards. There was to be one gallery in each house. "The insides to be lathed and plastered, both on the sides and overhead; and well floored and well glazed; and to be built and finished within two years." "Good pulpits and convenient seats" were provided for in the votes.

*outskirt*

In locating the meeting-houses there was a ground for difference. The Chocksett or second precinct house was to be "set near the Ridge hill, so called," where timber had already been collected. But in locating the house for the old town, some preferred to go back to the site of the first two houses, called the <sup>old</sup> "meeting-house place." All were agreed that it was best to leave the Old Common, because it was on the edge of the town; but there was doubtless a tender feeling on the part of many, connected with the spot where the first and second houses had stood. Sacred associations clustered around the place where the early fathers and mothers had met to worship during the first sixty years. Near the place, sloping off to the east, was the first burial place, where the forefathers of the town were sleeping their last sleep. Close at hand, on the west, was a spot sure of undying fame, because there had stood the "minister's garrison" where true heroes fell, bravely striving to save their wives and little ones. And somewhere near was the grave of the fallen, a grave well known to that generation, but now beyond recognition except to Him who guards their dust.

<sup>a</sup> However, the convenience of the majority, as well as the beauty of the location decided the vote, which was to place the house on the <sup>the</sup> "School-House Hill, as near the school house as may <sup>be</sup> with <sup>conveniency</sup> in the most convenient place." The "school-house hill" is now occupied by Mr. A. E. Royce, and the meeting-house was near the road almost in front of the office north of Mr. Royce's house.

The sum of £600 was granted by tax to <sup>"towards building"</sup> build the two houses, of which sum £400 were to go for the house on

a Perhaps something else assisted to a decision - In the  
Journal of General Court we find - 31 March 1741 -  
"A Petition of Ephraim Wilder & others - & x" representing  
undry Difficulties they labour under with respect to the  
Peace of setting up their Meeting Houses for publick  
Worship: praying the Court would appoint a Committee to  
repair to said Town fully enquire into their circumstances  
and report thereupon, or that they may be otherwise  
relieved -" It was ordered that the Selectmen should  
be notified of a day appointed for a hearing in the  
matter "and all Proceedings about the setting up and  
building Meeting Houses in said Town are hereby  
suspended in the mean Time -"

b "And this ended a seven years war." See N. Thayer's Sermon  
on leaving the Old Meeting House page. 6-

In 1741-2 a law was passed by general Court  
a } allowing bounties for the destruction of Crows,  
Blackbirds, Water Rats, Gray Squirrels & Ground Squirrels.  
For these & other bounties see notes to pp 197-8-7156.

A more marked year for wild beasts was 1743, when the bill was:  
five Wolves one Bare one Wild cat for Ezra Sawyer; Philip Bemis  
one Bare; John Beman one Catamount; Joseph Bennett two Wolves.

(ll.) This is not by any means the boundary established  
between Lancaster & Boylston. Boylston did not  
become a town until 1786 - See page 332. It was  
made a Parish called the "North Parish of Shrewsbury."

"School-house Hill," and £200 towards the building near "Ridge hill." Two men, David Wilder and Oliver Moor, were chosen "collectors to collect said money." Two committees, each of three men, were elected "to let out said meeting-house<sup>s</sup> to workmen, to build and finish them in the cheapest and best manner" that they could. The first committee consisted of Joseph Wilder and Samuel Willard, Esquires, and Capt. John Bennett; the second, of Capt. David Osgood, Joseph Moor and Ephraim Sawyer.

The energy displayed at this memorable meeting led to corresponding results. There was an effort, at a subsequent meeting, to re-consider the vote to place the larger house on school-house hill, and "leave it to a lot whether it should stand there, or on the meeting-house hill," but the move was defeated. At a meeting, May 24, 1742, the tax for the minister was voted to be "made at fifty two pounds, ten shillings, proclamation money, or in bills of credit in due proportion thereto," and twenty-five pounds were granted for "preaching to Choxet." <sup>of the mile so called</sup> A grant of £20 was made for schools, and a like sum to "defray town charges, and for a stock to pay for wolves, cats, birds and squirrels."

It seems that wild beasts and troublesome birds still abounded to such an extent as to warrant the expense of paying for their extermination.

Another slice was taken from the old town, this year, and the voters gracefully yielded their consent, as appears by the following. "On the request of Joshua Houghton and others, the town voted that they are free and willing so far to grant their request, that if the northerly part of Shrewsbury, shall be set off either as a township or a precinct, that they may be joined with them by the bounds following, viz: to begin at Bolton—now Berlin—line, one mile and a half from Lancaster southeast corner, and from thence to run due west till it meet with the river, and then up said river to the town line, excluding only the land of Philip Larkin that may fall within said lines." By this measure a strip one mile and a half wide was given to the new town of Boylston.

precinct.



At the same meeting the town assented to the plan of a second precinct, nearly covering the territory now constituting Sterling. They also voted to rebuild and keep in repair the <sup>carp</sup>bridge over the river at Capt. John Bennett's <sup>at the North</sup> Village and to remove the Scar bridge, ~~at the south end of the town,~~ "down to the road that leads from Lieut. Sawyer's <sup>R</sup>to Dr. Dunsmoor's." <sup>set it up there in the most convenient place xxx</sup>

Mr. Stephen Frost received the money raised for keeping school during the years 1741 and 1742, and it is therefore inferred that he kept the several schools in succession.

The old meeting-house, the new ones being finished, must needs be disposed of, and the town, at a meeting May 20, 1743, voted to "pull down the old meeting-hous in convenient seson," and that the committees "pull off ye clabord and nails of ye old meeting-house, and divide them betwixt ye Precincts according to ye pay." Having voted to "build three school-housen," they proceeded to locate, and appoint committees to attend to the building of them. One was to be <sup>L<sup>2</sup></sup> "set in" the parting of the paths by Amos Sawyer's; or at Deers Horns. The committee were Capt. Richardson, Hezekiah Gates and Joshua Fairbanks. Another was to stand <sup>at the</sup> "the parting of the paths in the corner of Capt. John Bennett's fence." The committee were <sup>L<sup>4</sup></sup> "Capt. Bennett, Ebenezer Beman and Dea. Houghton." <sup>Location in or near the</sup> North-Village. The third house was to be twenty rods west of the new precinct meeting-house, and Capt. David Osgood, Ephraim Sawyer and Samuel Sawyer were to build it. These houses were to be twenty-four by eighteen feet, and "seven feet betwixt joynts." "The <sup>builden</sup> three committees for the school-housen were to pull down the old meeting-hous <sup>in convenient place</sup> and improve the materials for the building the school-housen that are fit therefore, and to dispose of the rest for the towns use." The next vote was to give the "Rev. Mr. John Prentice the old school-hous for a stable, after the floors, benchis and chimneys was taken out."

a- The Scar bridge stood on a long deserted road crossing the river just north of the north end of High Street extending Clinton - It was removed to the site of the now Carter's Mill Bridge so called. See note below - xx.

[2] This little red edifice<sup>1602</sup> nearly opposite the present Deerhorn School house, on the other road. When the present one was built in 1852, the old house was sold at auction & moved to Clinton for a cheap dwelling, & is yet standing -

"30 old tenor" were voted for building each school house. As Mr Darwin seems to have intended to copy the odd spelling of the town clerk, from his use of "jopats" "housem" &c. the print has been altered throughout to accord with the town record.

The town clerks of this period were neither so good penmen, nor so scholarly as the town officers of 1609 and following decade.

[3] See note to p. 524 for list of teachers - Frost a graduate of Harvard 1739 - died 1749. Taught in Lancaster 1740-1-2-3-4

xx 24 May 1742 xxxr "Lastly ye Question was put whether ye Town will Remove ye Bridge at ye Scar down to the Road that Leads from Seet Sawyers to Docters Quills Cross and set it up there in the most convenient place and keep it in Repair at ye Towns charge and it passed in the affirming."

xx. April 24, 1733. John Goss by way of exchange conveyed to John Prescott. (Book 4 p. 187 Worcester Registry) 80 acres bounded westerly by Mill brook &c "until the brook runs into the River, a Highway lying through sd Land from the bridge that is over the River a little above the place called the Scar."

[4] Here the historian has left out "on ye neck", important words proving that he is merely indulging his feverish imagination in locating this school house at the North Village. Capt. John Bennett owned and lived on the lands once owned by Lincoln, upon which some of the public buildings probably now stand and to the south, as far as the cross roads

(a) The attempts to swarm were not over. Mr M - strangely did not find, it would seem, the covenant of 1747 (Mass. Archives CXV. 220), to which fourteen Lancaster names are signed, meditating a petition for a new township which would practically include the territory of the present town of Shirley. (See below a')

B.S. Dr. S. A. Green has since printed this covenant in full: see his "Boundary Lines of Groton," p 82-83.

△ On page 19 Mr Marvin spells this

John Pruitice has it "Woonsechaungit" & "Woonsechaunkset" & "Woonsechaunksett".

□ What does the author mean by "had gone to the formation of Boylston" - Boylston was not in being until forty three years after this date (1786) - except as a "precinct" of Shrewsbury & Lancaster - see p. 332.

The first service in the new church building at Chockset was Nov 29. 1742:

"Baptized in y meeting house at Woonsechaunkset the first Sabbath of y meeting in it, as follows: Silas son of Benjamin Houghton & Joseph son of Jonathan Osgood." Mr Harrington's Church Records.

a' Names attached to 1747 Covenant from Lancaster

Henry Haskell	Daniel Willard	Benjamin Willard
John Nichols	Joseph Priest	Jacob Houghton
Thomas Wright	William Farmer	Capt. Elias Saenger
William Willard	Joseph Bond	Amos (Amos) Atherton
Joshua Johnson	Henry Willard	mark

(o) Representatives

1726-6. Joseph Wilder jr.

1727-1740+2. Col Samuel Willard (Capt 1727)

1728, 9, 30-1. Josiah White.

1731 - James Wilder

1732 Jonathan Houghton

1733 - James Keys.

1734-5-6 Capt Ephraim Wilder.

1737-38. Jacob Fairbank.

1739. Ebenezer Wilder.

1741. Capt. William Richardson.



The selectmen were John Bennett, <sup>30-7-8-40-7-3</sup> 1; Samuel Carter, <sup>27-8-9-31-2-3-4-5-7-9</sup> 9; Thomas Carter, <sup>Call. 26-3-31-2-4</sup> 2; Benjamin Houghton, jr., <sup>1740</sup> Henry Houghton, <sup>26-7</sup> 2; Israel Houghton, <sup>1750</sup> 2; Jacob Houghton, <sup>28-7</sup> 2; Jonas Houghton, <sup>25-27</sup> 2; Jonathan Houghton, <sup>25-28-30-1-3-4-5-6</sup> 6; Thomas Houghton, <sup>1738-9-40-1-2</sup> 2; David Osgood, <sup>1761-2</sup> 2; Hooker Osgood, <sup>Call. 1730-3-9-41</sup> 8; William Richardson, <sup>1741</sup> 1; Bezaleel Sawyer, <sup>1750</sup> 2; Ephraim Sawyer, <sup>26-37</sup> 2; Elias Sawyer, <sup>25-27-28-30-31-2-3-4-5-6</sup> 2; Joseph Sawyer, <sup>1751-2-3</sup> 2; William Sawyer, <sup>Call. 26-9-30-2</sup> Joseph Wheelock, <sup>25-27-28-30-31-2-3-4-5-6</sup> 2; Josiah White, <sup>Call. 26-36-7</sup> 3; Ebenezer Wilder, <sup>1734</sup> 3; Ephraim Wilder, <sup>Call. 27-36-7-41-3</sup> 3; Josiah Wilder, <sup>1725</sup> 6; Oliver Wilder, <sup>Call. 1738-9</sup> 6; Hezekiah Willard, <sup>Call. 1741</sup> Samuel Willard, <sup>1741</sup> 2.

(8) The following were the first selectmen, John Bennett Samuel Carter, Jonathan Houghton, Joseph Sawyer, Joseph Wheelock, Josiah White, Joseph Wilder, Oliver Wilder.

The assessors were either the whole or a part of the board of selectmen; generally three of them acted as assessors.

In the above list the figures denote the number of years each man held the respective offices. There were two Joseph Wilders, father and son. <sup>Both were</sup> The latter was clerk. It is impossible to divide the offices between Hooker Osgood and Hooker Osgood, jr. The treasurers rarely held office more than a year or two.

(Miranda Col. Samuel Wilder, <sup>Deacon</sup> Josiah White and Ephraim Wilder were the representatives generally, unless when they declined to serve. This is not history - see list on preceding page & note.

The want of a sound currency, at this period of New England history, greatly embarrassed business, and carried distress into almost every family. The subject is too intricate for discussion in this place; but a brief statement is needed to show the condition of the people.

Continual wars with the Indians and the French had wasted the substance of the people, besides destroying many lives. The natural consequence was debt. Relief was sought by the expedient of paper money. An attempt was made to start a "land bank" in 1715, but fortunately it was a failure. In 1740 the project became a reality, but the measure proved a curse, as all financial shams must, by the inflexible law of nature. The notes of the bank depreciated because they were not readily redeemable. But finally an old act of parliament, while it compelled the lenders to redeem their paper, ruined the bank.

Joseph Wilder Sen. was also Councillor from  
1735 to 1740 —

add.

Joseph Ogden - 1727

(5) Two selectmen were elected annually. What is meant by  
"first selectmen" is not obvious. The first were those of 1653 (see p. 47)  
appointed by General Court. The first elected are named on p. 86.  
This list does not contain all the selectmen of 1725 or 1726 since  
Bennett was not chosen until 1730. Sawyer not until 1732.

Both Joseph Wilder Esq. & Joseph Wilder jr. were Town Clerks  
the first 1737 to 1748 the latter 1744 - 1752.

a x  
11 "Capt. Hooker Ogden jr." (selectman) according to records - elected Deacon  
1742, died 1765. His son Hooker was born (baptized) 1735.

Joseph Wilder as representative, 1725, voted with the 32  
minority, against receiving the oppressive charter of King George  
1 - 48 voted in its favor.



To meet the expenses of the wars, the colony issued promises to pay beyond its income from taxes and all other sources. The result was inevitable, a great depreciation of the credit of the colony. Prices rose; business men failed; farms were mortgaged. The distress was extreme.

Finally, in 1748-9 the British government paid the colony a part of the expense incurred in the capture of Louisburg, and other expeditions. About £180,000 sterling was sent over, and with this sum, the notes of the colony were cancelled, to a great extent. Specie began to circulate in the place of depreciated paper, and a solid foundation was reached. The balance of indebtedness was paid by increased taxation. At this time the value of a Spanish milled dollar was fixed at six shillings.

The bitter lesson learned from the excessive issues of paper money lasted for a generation; but the exigencies of the revolution led to a similar course, with the same disastrous result. The statesmen of the Revolution learned the value of a specie basis, but every new generation seems to need a terrible experience to learn the plain fact that a paper promise to pay is worthless, unless based on ample ability to redeem itself, on demand, with gold or silver.

The formation of Worcester county was noticed in its place, but a few items of some interest were omitted, which show the relative importance of Lancaster at that time. The following table gives the county tax in 1734, after Harvard had been severed from the town:

Lancaster, . . . . .	£26 03 4	Shrewsbury, . . . . .	£8 13 0
Mendon, . . . . .	18 00 0	Harvard, . . . . .	7 03 1
Woodstock, . . . . .	16 00 0	Oxford, . . . . .	7 02 0
Brookfield, . . . . .	13 10 8	Leicester, . . . . .	6 19 8
Sutton, . . . . .	12 05 0	Uxbridge, . . . . .	6 00 4
Worcester, . . . . .	11 07 8	Rutland, . . . . .	3 18 0
Westborough, . . . . .	9 01 0	Lunenburg, . . . . .	3 18 0
Southborough, . . . . .	8 13 0		

At that date Brookfield included all the Brookfields; Worcester included Holden; Mendon, Rutland and Uxbridge were



large townships; but the valuation of Lancaster greatly exceeded that of any of them. Woodstock, Conn., was then in the county.

In 1735 the county tax of Lancaster was the same; but in 1736 it was raised to £29.6.3., while that of Mendon was £19.6.10. The town of Worcester was the sixth in valuation in the county.

<sup>a</sup>  
*Thomas Carter  
 Justice 1732.*  
 The tavern keepers licensed by the county court in the year 1734, were Jonathan Houghton, Capt. Carter, William Richardson and Josiah Richardson. Col. Samuel Willard was licensed as a retailer. Benjamin Houghton was licensed as a tavern keeper in 1735.

<sup>a</sup>  
 In 1736, John Dakin was fined by the court for neglecting public worship. Jess Wheeler, son of Benjamin, was convicted of "planting corn on the Sabbath day." He pleaded ignorance of the law, but was fined fifteen shillings, to be used for the poor of Lancaster.

The Records of the court reveal something of the state of morals in the town, but to the credit of Lancaster, it may be said, that its inhabitants made but little business, comparatively, for the criminal courts.

<sup>b</sup>  
 In 1737;<sup>8</sup> Oliver Wilder was a coroner for the county. And among the Justices of the Peace for the county in 1740,<sup>-4</sup> were Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard, Edward Hartwell, Samuel Willard, jr. and Oliver Wilder.

A glance at the preceding table shows the wonderful change between then and now. Leaving out Woodstock, there were but fourteen towns in the county; now there are nearly sixty. Then Worcester was the sixth in valuation, and held about the same rank in regard to population. Now the city contains over fifty thousand people, and in population and wealth probably equals one-fourth of the whole county. Then all the territory of the county west of Wachusett, except Brookfield, was almost an unbroken wilderness, where now are many fertile townships, intelligent communities, and flourishing churches.

a. Sabbath breaking must have <sup>been</sup> a family failing! for May 19 1736. John Whitney complained against Benjamin Wheeler that he "on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of May Current being the Sabbath or Lords Day did openly profane said day by unnecessary Labor in spreading of Dung and Harrowing of his Ground." Benjamin confessed his failing & was sentenced by justicial people Wilder "to pay as a fine to the use of ye poor in Lancaster ten shillings and costs of Prosecution - Fined at fifty three shillings and tenpence."

The same justices in 1732 tried Thomas Littlejohns of Lancaster for "Profane Cursing and Swearing" & x x at ye house of Thomas Carter in holden in Lancaster. Thomas "pleaded Gilty" & his sentence was. "Ajudged that the said Thomas Littlejohns Pay a fine to ye relief of ye Poor of the town of Lancaster 5 shillings and cost of Prosecution."

1739. Thomas Sawyer of Batlow appeared & complained against himself "as being Gilty of a breach of a Law of this Province for Killing a Deer on ye seventeenth Day of December Last past and Prayed ye fine being ten Pounds, and begged ye Priviledge of an informer according to said Law, which was excepted and Granted"

Joseph Wilder Jun. was Councillor 1735-40.

b  
Whitman's Civil list of Mass. records - Saml Willard Jr as not appointed justice until 1744 and Oliver Wilder not until 1744.

See p. 624 note for earliest justices &c

James Wilder was Coroner in 1731 at formation of County

Oliver Wilder became Coroner Jan 13 1737<sup>8</sup>

Joseph Wilder Jr - " Dec 27 1744-

William Richardson " 1762...

Saml. Willard Jr son of Col. Saml., born 1718 married Susanna Wilder of Lancaster. He removed to Peterham - and died Colonel of a Regiment in 1758 at Lake George - being at this date town Clerk of Lancaster

1737 April 23. Joseph Wilder records that a snow of Inches fell. (Proprietors Book.)

1740 "We have the following very sorrowful account from  
Lancaster in the County of Worcester, viz that on Wednes-  
day night last the house of Mr Josiah Wilder of that  
place took fire and was burnt down to the ground  
in which were Mr Wilder his wife her sister  
and five children; which three first got out  
of the house, and Mr Wilder by pulling down a  
board at the back end of the house, drew out  
one of the children alive; but Mrs Wilder,  
in distress and agony for her other children  
ventured into the house to save them from the  
flames, but could not possibly get out again  
and so perished therein with all the four  
children. Mrs Wilder was big with child "

( Boston Weekly News Letter )  
Thursday Jan'y 31 1740 -

## CHAPTER X.

THE SPANISH AND THE OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS :  
1738-48. FORT DUMMER.

THE course of our history leads from peaceful scenes and bloodless conflicts, to the field of real warfare. The connection of the town with the province and the empire, always close, becomes more apparent, since the wars of Great Britain involved the outposts of her wide dominions. The administration of Jonathan Belcher, as provincial governor, continued to the year 1741, when he was succeeded by William Shirley, who represented the king about eight years; the two covering the whole period of the Spanish and the old French and Indian wars, from 1739 to 1749. — 1730-41

Walpole still held the post of prime minister of George II., though with waning power, since all his astuteness and address were exerted in vain to prevent the war with Spain, which broke out in the year 1739, on the thirty-first of October. In truth this war, like most events of the kind, was forced on the government by public opinion. No one, it is said, had a "clearer view of the impending mischief and misery of the Spanish war," than Walpole. On the day of the declaration, when joyful peals were heard from every steeple in London, the shrewd old minister muttered, "they may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands." And the event proved the wisdom of his words. British valor did not fail to manifest its usual vigor, but thousands of brave men died in vain in Cuba, Jamaica and Carthagen.

The colonies were called upon to furnish men to fight in the West Indies. The quota of this province was a thousand  
 X men, but by some means, only half that number was raised. In November, Admiral Vernon had taken possession of the town and castle of Porto Bello, and soon after he demolished  
 Chagres? Fort Chagre, on the Isthmus of Darien. In the following March Gov. Belcher encouraged the enlistment of volunteers. Five hundred went from Massachusetts; eighteen of them from Lancaster. These were among the reinforcements of Vernon. In the spring of 1741, with a great additional force from England, he made an abortive attack upon Carthagena, on the west coast of New Grenada. In July they  
 X landed in Cuba, and took possession of a fine harbor, but, in the language of Trumbull, the able and accurate historian of Connecticut, "by reason of an extraordinary sickness, and mortality, they were not able to effect anything of consequence." This sickness was like the plague in its virulence. For several days the deaths exceeded a thousand each day. Three thousand four hundred and forty men died in two days, when the pest raged with the greatest fury. New England sent about a thousand men; not one hundred returned. This province supplied five hundred; only fifty  
 survived. Lancaster gave eighteen or nineteen of her adventurous sons. One of these was Jacob Wilder, who wrote a letter from Jamaica, in December 1740, in which, after naming several of his acquaintance who were dead, says: "through the providence of God I am in nomination for an ensign, and I hope that I may be fitted for it." Seven of the eighteen went out in 1740; but the names of three only are found in the Records. These were Jonathan Houghton, 37 years; Jacob Wilder, 23; William Whitecomb, 30; all "husbandmen," and all members of well-known families. X

a Wilder and all his comrades, fell victims to disease and the casualties of war. There was mourning in many households, and sympathy in all. Peculiarly sad is the fate of those who die young, in a strange land, with no friends to

See Willard.  
 p. 50. Hist. of L.

x !. "By some means" the whole number was raised or soon would have been, but only four Captains Commissions were sent by the King, and other commissions than those enlisted by the officers duly commissioned had finally to be disbanded. Petitions etc in Mass Archives show these facts.

x The "west coast" of N.Y. is properly that on the Pacific Ocean. Cartagena is on the N. West coast, that of the Caribbean Sea.

x "Only fifty ever came back to their homes" Dalry - Vol 4 p 557  
This however is taken from Dr William Douglass's Summary 2.. 557. He says "of the 500 men sent out from Massachusetts Bay not exceeding 50 returned."

But no Jacob Wilder is mentioned in the Book of the Wilders living <sup>a</sup> so early as 1740.

The names of David + Nathan Farrar can however be added to the three given here, on authority of a petition in 1742 - found in Mass. Archives Vol. 18 p 64-5 - see next page.

Capt & Dr John Prescott was ~~second~~ son of Dr Jonathan P. and Rebecca Bultley of Concord - and grandson of Jonathan P. and Elizabeth Hoar & grandson of 1<sup>st</sup> John P. of Lancaster. He was born May 8. 1707 & graduated at Harvard 1727. He returned from the Expedition in 1743, went to England and died of small-pox at London Dec 30, 1743.

"  
a. 24 March 1741<sup>2</sup> - Voted that there be paid out of the public treasury to the Petitioner the sum of 98<sup>2</sup> 10<sup>5</sup> the present emission, in full satisfaction for the bounty and subsistence money on account of soldiers enlisted by him for the Expedition to the West Indies."

Journal of General Court.

The fragments of the Muster Roll of Capt John Prescott of Concord may be found in Vol 90 Mass. Archives p 333. "A list of such Persons as are Entered as Volunteers in the West Indies under the Command of" (torn off) - The Lancaster men in the list of names remaining - are

Jonathan Straight	37
Jacob Wiedick	23
Wm Whitcomb	30

as stated on preceding page. On the opposite page from which the names are gone - the word "Lancaster" appears four times & Bolton three times in the "residences" - There may have been more, as apparently more than half the roll has disappeared - Mass Archives Vol 91 p 333

Dates of enlistment May to July 1740.

We obtain two more of the Lancaster names from a petition found in Mass. Archives Vol. 18 pp 64-5 - (1742)  
viz: "David and Nathaniel Farrar late of Lancaster both died in his majesties service in the West Indies some time last year" X X X -

\* Capt. John was a great grandson of 1<sup>st</sup> John - 1 John, 2 Jonathan, 3 Dr Jonathan 4. Capt. John. He died of small pox in England Dec. 30, 1743. He was born May 8, 1707 & graduated at Harvard 1727. His bro. Benjamin was killed at Lonsbury 1745. His bro. Peter in Crown Pt. Sep. 1758 as Capt. & his bro. Charles served in Revolution.

follow them to the grave. "Weep ye not for the dead, [Jer. 22; 10] neither bemoan him; but weep sore for him that goeth away: for he shall return no more, nor see his native country."

It was in the course of this war that Capt. John Prescott raised one hundred volunteers, for one of his majesty's companies of foot, to go to Cuba. In 1741 he petitioned for compensation. He was of the Lancaster stock of Prescotts, but probably resided in Concord. A fragment of his muster roll is found in the Archives, but the names of three Lancaster men only out of seven, are preserved. The names of the remaining eleven or twelve are probably scattered through the rolls of other companies; but generally the soldier's place of residence is not given. It is therefore impossible to say, with certainty, what names in the list belong to Lancaster men. The sadness occasioned by the losses of the town and the colony, is redoubled when it is known that these losses were not only useless, but without sufficient cause. The disputes between England and Spain had been adjusted, and an equitable "convention signed." But this was defeated by a clamor raised by the commercial interest, and taken up by politicians for the purpose of overthrowing Sir Robert Walpole. In after years Mr. Burke, referring to this period, said: "It was my fortune to converse with those who principally excited that clamor. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct."

The war with Spain was succeeded by hostilities between England and France, which broke out in the spring of 1744. This war most deeply affected New England, and called forth strenuous exertion in its prosecution. England had its own objects, in other parts of the world, rather than in these colonies; but the people of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island took up the quarrel against the French settlements as if it were specially their own. They knew that France was bent on their conquest. For



several generations they had been exposed to the Indian tomahawk through the instigation of the French. They felt that there could be no lasting peace until the French power in America was subdued. With admirable sagacity and energy they struck at what was at the time the most dangerous center of French power. Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, was a fine port and a strong fortification. It commanded the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all the coast far into Massachusetts Bay. New England was moved, as if by an universal impulse to break up this stronghold of French power. But Massachusetts, as having far more sea-coast and commerce than the other three colonies combined, was most deeply interested in the enterprise.

It belongs to the history of the colony to relate the details of the great and successful struggle. Our humbler task is confined to the connection of Lancaster with the expedition.

x v ?

The colony sent three thousand, two hundred and fifty men, besides commissioned officers. In so great a number the quota of this town would not be few. During the winter of 1744-5, the subject was in agitation, and Gov. Shirley was busy in perfecting his plans, and gathering the forces. The following letter shows that this frontier town was relied upon, not only for soldiers, but an officer to lead them. It was dated February, 25, 1744, old style; but in modern style, 1745.

a

"Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir:— I Received orders from the Govern<sup>r</sup> [Shirley] on the nineteenth day of February, to take upon me the Command of a Regiment, though very unequal to that Trust, I do it with a great deal more <sup>at</sup> Pleasure, having so good a general to Instruct me. Sir, I hope you will excuse me if am not Ready so soon as the other Colonels. I am constant [sic] Riding both Night and day to accomplish my business, and I intend to wait upon your honor Next week. Sir, I have a good Prospect of getting men. Sir, I have been in an Army, Knowing the Difficulty being, in it. I think it my Duty to Put you in mind to See that <sup>The</sup> Committee by a

(1744) "The Names of the Snow Shoe Men in Listed Out of  
Coll Olive Wilder's Company: Viz:

James Houghton  
Jonathan Powers  
Nathaniel Sawyer  
Phineas Willard  
Roger Robbins  
Phineas Beman  
Asa Whitcomb

To Colonel Olive Wilder  
Sir this is a true list according  
to your Direction  
Your Most Obedient  
March the 24<sup>th</sup> 1744; Joseph Wilder Jun<sup>r</sup>  
[J.W. papers]

x In Rolt's *Impartial Representation*, Vol. 4. p. 13. it is stated that  
"Inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut and  
Rhode-Island! 3800 voluntary soldiers, principally substantial  
persons, and men of beneficial occupations" formed Pepperell's  
army - The embarkation took place at Boston March 20.  
1745 - They arrived at Casco April 4<sup>th</sup>. (Some vessels reaching that  
rendezvous earlier, some later, however) Colonel Samuel Moore  
with 100 men formed the New Hampshire Regiment, in pay of  
Massachusetts.

This letter very plainly written in the Colonel's  
usual shocking orthography is among the Pepperell  
Papers belonging to the Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 35. The  
author seems to have been anxious to display the  
Willard style of spelling "embarkant", but careless of everything  
else essential to a quotation - As the expedition sailed  
March 20<sup>th</sup> Col. Willard sailed his regiment of twelve  
companies within a month.

F Commodore Peter Warren - He was not Admiral then, neither was Wm. Pepperell "Sir", he having been knighted for his conduct of the Louisbourg expedition. The only honor paid any New England officer therein for their distinguished services.

a Col. Saml. Willard - See Willard Memoir p. 374  
In his expeditions of 1725, he often spoke of the two companies, of which he was Senior Captain as "the army" -

quantity of fat wethers, for it is very necessary for Soldiers when they are Sick and if the Committee sends me word, I could get a Score or more.

Honored Sir, Give my regards to Col<sup>l</sup> Molten. So I remain your Humble<sup>r</sup> Servant,

SAMUEL WILLARD.

To the Hon<sup>orable</sup> WILLIAM PEPPERELL, Esq<sup>r</sup> "In Boston"

Sir William Pepperell was the commander-in-chief of the land forces, acting in conjunction with the English Admiral Warren. A medical authority suggests that the "fat wethers" were useful as diet for the soldiers in hospital.

Col. Willard speaks of having "been in an army," and of "knowing the difficulty being in it." What army he refers to is uncertain, but he had seen considerable military service. He was son of Henry, and grandson of Major Simon Willard, and was born <sup>May 31</sup> 1690. His father left him "a competent real estate," and he "became a very extensive land-holder in Lancaster and Harvard." Joseph Willard informs us that he was "largely engaged in business, in Lancaster," and that he "purchased the former homestead of his grand-father." In 1725 he was a captain, and in August of that year he wrote a letter to Gov. Dummer giving the details of a long scout into New Hampshire and return. His services in this line have been related in a former chapter. Summoned now at the age of fifty-four to put on the harness of war, he was ready to spring into the saddle, and ride night and day to expedite business. He had been for many years colonel of a regiment; had represented the town in the general court. He was also a judge of the court of common pleas for the county of Worcester. In a word he was a man of character, ability and substance.

How many of his fellow-townsmen followed him to Cape Breton cannot be told, because the muster rolls are lost. After faithful search in the State Archives, and a careful examination of the two volumes of Pepperell Papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the sad

a. conclusion was reached that a part of the muster rolls relating to the Louisburg Expedition are gone irrecoverably. The Historical Society has several; but not one belonging to Col. Willard's regiment. It is known that his son, Abijah Willard, aged twenty-one, was <sup>Lieutenant</sup> ~~captain~~ of a company, in the expedition, and that <sup>Lieut.</sup> ~~Joshua~~ was an officer in his brother Abijah's company, but the roll of the company is among those which are missing. It is supposed that his company was mainly made up of men from his own town. It would be pleasant to bring forth from private papers and public records the names and deeds of these officers and their men, but it is feared that the waters of oblivion have covered them. This at least is known, that Col. Willard won an honorable fame in the expedition, and that his son, the captain, maintained the honor of the family and the town in the subsequent French and Indian war.

a. The letter which follows is of no great historical importance, but it gives a glimpse of things at Louisburg after the capture of the city and fortress. It is dated October 2, 1745, and is addressed to Gov. Shirley.

"This is to inform your <sup>ss</sup> Excellence That my Regiment is not Settled: so as to be in any Capacity of doing <sup>theirs</sup> duty, as they ought to do; and it is by Reason of the Company's being Very much Broke: And in order for the Settlement of the Companies in my Regiment, and for the Peace and Quietness of the Soldiers; I shall take it as a Great Favor Done to me; if your Excellence would See Cause To Commit<sup>ate</sup> those Gentlemen Hereafter Named: John Huston, James Fry, John Fry, Nathaniel Pettengill, To be the officers over the men that belong to Lt. Col. Chandler's Company, and Capt. James Stevens's Company. Jonathan Hubbard, Benajah Austin, and Elisha Strong To be officers over the men belonging To Major Pomroy's Company, and Capt. Miller's. Ephraim Hayward, and John Bell and Dudley Bradstreet To be officers over the men that are Left of Capt. Warren's Company, and Capt. Olmsted's. In So Doing you will Oblige your most obedient and Humble Servant."

Officers of Worcester Regt. at Louisbourg.

Col Samuel Willard.  
Lt Col Chandler.  
Major Pomeroy.

Capt Joshua Pierce Capt David Meloni  
John Perry " John Warner  
John Alexander " Jabez Homestead  
Joseph Miller " James Goulding  
James Stephens

See Parsons life of Sir W Pepperell  
p. 348-

a. A list of the officers of Col. Willard's Regiment will be found in  
N.E. Hist + Genl Register } Vol. 24. p. 370 +  
Infantry - 1<sup>st</sup> Company Capt Joshua Pierce. Lieut Abijah Willard  
Jonathan Trembull Ensign - 1745 July 31<sup>st</sup> Abijah Willard  
was made Captain Lt Levi Willard Ensign

4<sup>th</sup> Company Capt. John Warner, Lieut Joseph  
Whitcomb - Ensign Williams Hutchins

Whitcomb + Hutchins served their apprenticeship in the  
art of war under Capt John White, see note p. 175.

The rolls of these two companies officered by Lancaster  
men. could not be found. When searched for by Hon  
Chas. Hudson. see N.E. Hist + Genl Register Vols 24 + 25 -

"Louisbourg Soldiers"

a. It is in the Pepperell Papers belonging to the  
Mass. Hist. Soc - p. 319

Address "His Excellency Wm<sup>th</sup> Shirley Esq<sup>r</sup>"

Signed "Saml Willard"

"Louisbourg Oct<sup>r</sup> the 2<sup>d</sup> day 1745

a The men were not Lancaster men. The only Lancaster name I can find is "James Houghton Clark"

b This was not Col. Saml Willard's letter, but Josiah Willard's. See Mass. Archives Vol 53 p 366. It is not addressed to "Gov. Dummer" for Dummer had not been "Gov" for eighteen years. The Governor at this time was Williams Shirley. The letter has no place in the history of Lancaster -

In a list of prisoners brought into Boston from Canada  
1748 - I find two Lancaster men

"John Henderson taken at N<sup>o</sup> 4, of Lancaster"  
"Matthew Wyman " " Ft Dummer" do.

See N.E. Hist + Gen<sup>l</sup> Register Vol 6 p 88.

c - Mass Archives Vol 92 p 125-6 Of course "Whitney's  
(as to season)\*  
History is right, & our author wrong. It is expressly stated on the face  
of the Roll that the service was rendered "July 19 to Aug. 2" <sup>in 1748.</sup> The  
Endorsement by the Colonel ordering the scout is as follows:  
"This may certify that Capt. Willard was sent out upon hearing  
the Extrordinary News of Mr Fitches Family Being Taken  
from Lunenburg by the Enemy. Saml Willard V."

Lancaster February 2 1748/9."

\* Whitney does err in the year (1749). The attack was made July 5, 1748

Jonathan a son of Henry lived in Lunenburg.

He had a son Jonathan born 1720 - probably  
the latter was the Captain -

After his return from Louisburg Col. Willard was engaged in the public service till the close of the war. Through the dim twilight of the past, we catch here and there a glimpse of him, riding to and fro amid primeval forests in search of the skulking enemy. Between March and October, 1748, he was scouting westward through Nashewog, [Petersham] Payquage, [Athol] and Rutland, with men bearing ~~Lancaster~~ names. July 19<sup>1748</sup> he wrote to Capt. <sup>Jonathan in Leominster</sup> White, "Hearing repeated accounts of the Indians shooting, and being tracked above you, you are hereby directed to send six able-bodied men to Scout Constantly above Lunenburg and Leominster until further order. Yours to serve." The party probably consisted of the following men: Capt. Jonathan White, Joseph Bexman, Oliver Carter, Gershom Houghton, Nathaniel Carter, Joshua Walker. They were out till the twelfth of August.

The active <sup>Josiah Willard</sup> Colonel seems to have extended his scouting as far as Fort Dummer, whence he wrote as follows: July 15, four days preceding the date of the last order. The letter is addressed to Gov. Dummer. "Our circumstances <sup>are</sup> become <sup>so</sup> most difficult and melancholy. — <sup>the</sup> enemy are so numerous and constantly around us; <sup>they</sup> seem to have <sup>abode</sup> among us. They came to Ashuelot, <sup>and</sup> killed ten or eleven Cattle, and <sup>carried</sup> off almost all <sup>the</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> They waylaid nineteen soldiers between Northfield and Fort Dummer, and only two or three got in." He writes also of the distressed condition of Northfield and Winchester. His soldiers were too few to guard the fort and to furnish necessary scouts.

In <sup>July</sup> February, 1748, the Indians came into the northwestern part of Lunenburg, and killed two soldiers, Jennings and Blodgett, who were stationed there. They carried into captivity Mr. John Fitch and his family. Whitney's History states that this took place in the summer, but according to the Records, Col. Samuel Willard, February 2, sent Capt. Jonathan Willard, <sup>son</sup> hearing the "extroydnerly news of Mr. Fitch's Family Being taken from Lunenburg by

Fitchburg was named for this family.

*Massachusetts  
Vol 92. p 130.*



a the ~~Enemy~~. The Indians escaped with their captives, but Mr. Fitch and all his family except his wife, who died in Providence R.I. <sup>Canada</sup>, after suffering "incredible hardships and fatigues, returned in safety." The men who scouted under Col. Willard's command in July and August, bore the following names, <sup>none</sup> many of them <sup>belonging</sup> familiar to Lancaster:

Lancaster Mass	}	Jonathan Willard, <sup>Capt</sup>	Samuel Stow,	Ezekiel Wyman,
		Jonathan Page,	Samuel Pool,	Samuel Johnson,
Kimbale	}	Timothy Bancroft,	Thomas Stearns,	Zachary Wyman,
		William Porter,	John Dunsmore,	Isaac Gibson,
		Amos Kendall,	David Goodridge,	Nehemiah Gould,
		Ephraim Kimbale,	Thomas Brown,	Paul Wetherby.
		Ebenezer Kimbale,	Joseph Wood,	

b The war was now drawing to its close, nor did Col. Willard long survive. His death occurred suddenly, at Lancaster, in November, 1752, when he was in the sixty-third year of his age. He seems to have inherited much of the ability, public spirit and military capacity of his grandfather, Major Simon Willard. He was the son of Henry Willard and Dorcas Cutler; his wife was Elizabeth Phelps, daughter of Edward Phelps, who came to Lancaster before the close of the seventeenth century; and his connections were with the first families in this section of the province. (He had been a member of the church from his youth, as his name is subscribed to the Covenant which was renewed in 1707, when he was seventeen years old.) He filled an honorable place in the annals of the town, and left the legacy of a good name to his children.

c During a long series of years there was an intimate connection between Lancaster and Fort Dummer. The connection began prior to the old French war, and continued till after its close; but it will be convenient to give a connected narrative of this episode in our town's history in this place.

Fort Dummer was located in what is now Brattleborough, Vermont. It was in the southeast corner of the present town, about a mile and a half from the village. The fort was on the river bank, just above the reach of the high floods

a. John Fitch's story is told in his petition for aid  
Mass. Archives Volume 73 page 609-610. Dec 1749.  
He lived "about seven miles & an half above  
Lunenburg Meeting house" - on a road leading to  
Northfield - He with his five children got  
home. The wife died on the way home -

Fitch was a Carpenter & also kept a Tavern. His  
Statement about his wife is as follows: "2 x x hardships  
brought my dear wife into a bad state of health and  
Languishment, and in our Return, being by New York  
Road Island and Providence, there in December  
last she Departed this Life" - [Dec. 24, 1748]

The Indians escaped the troops sent to pursue them, because John  
Fitch conveyed his wish to them, by a paper fastened to a tree, that  
they should cease pursuit, his Captors having avowed their purpose to  
kill their captives, if attacked -

Dorcas Cutler was the second wife of H.W.

aa) He was not member of the church until 1733, Nov. 18  
when he was 44 years old -!

b) "We hear from Lancaster that on the 19<sup>th</sup> of this instant  
Novbr. Col. Samuel Willard was suddenly seized with  
an apoplectic fit, and died in three hours afterwards.  
He had attended the publick worship both forenoon and  
afternoon on the preceding day. He was decently  
interred on the Wednesday following. He has left  
a sorrowful widow and six children."

Boston Weekly News Letter Nov. 30, 1752

The war ended 1748 by treaty of Aix La Chapelle.

c) Not in any sense an episode in Lancaster's history. Almost all  
of the following pages of this chapter are "hugged in".

Lt. Colonel John Stoddard of Northampton.

a At this date, its Commandant, Captain Josiah Willard, writes of it as "the Truck House above Northfield commonly called Fort Sumner" which would indicate that it was rather a trading post than a fort - until war in 1740 made it of some strategic consequence. but it had no special connection with Lancaster history - and was 50 miles from that town -

which often overflow the broad intervale between the river and the plateau which rises on the west. The house of Mr. Wells S. Brooks [1877] stands on the site of the fort. The situation was admirably chosen for commanding the river both above and below. The modern visitor is not attracted to the spot by its historic interest, merely, but charmed by the beauty of the scenery, mingling intervale and river, plateau and mountain, adorned with every variety of foliage.

The fort was built in the year 1723-4, by the Province of Massachusetts, and named after the acting Governor, William Dummer. The work was done by Lieut. Timothy Dwight of Northampton, under the command of Col. Stoddard. The enclosure was one hundred and eighty feet square. The eastern side of the fort was close upon the river bank, which descends steeply to the water side. Remains of the foundation can still be found in piles of stone. The fort was built of large yellow pine logs, squared on two sides, and locked or framed together at the angles. It had mounts, or square towers, from fourteen to twenty feet high, made of heavy timbers framed and boarded up; and the upper story was planked. These were for sentries or watchmen.

There was a row of houses built on the inside, against the wall, with a single roof sloping outward. There are wells now within the space enclosed, and probably were when the fort was first occupied. Water could be easily obtained from the river, subject however to the danger of Indian shots from the eastern bank. This old fort was doubtless known to the scouts of Lancaster, as we know that Capt. John White and others who went scouting to the north of New Hampshire, used to return by the Connecticut river, and Northfield, as the region was then called, before the town was reduced to its present limits.

In the time of the Spanish war, 1740-1, the fort was repaired,—in a sense, rebuilt. Two bastions were added, on which two swivels and two other guns were mounted. At this time four houses, each two stories high, were erected, besides several smaller houses containing a single room.

Four depressions in the ground, within the circuit of the fort, still show where the four larger houses stood. At this time a line of pickets or palisades was extended round eight acres of land, enclosing the fort on three sides, and connecting with the fort on the east, or river side. These pickets were twenty feet high, and enclosed land enough to supply the garrison with a large quantity of the necessaries of life.

During the long interval of peace preceding the Spanish war, the fort seems to have been neglected; but the exigencies of this war, and of the French and Indian war, 1745-8, caused it to be strengthened. Another fort was built at Williamstown, called Fort Massachusetts, or No. 2. These two forts, with a chain of block-houses, several miles apart, from Fort Dummer to Dunstable, formed a barrier below which the enemy seldom came after the middle of the century. Charlestown was styled No. 4, and the region from Keene to Hinsdale was called the Ashuelots, because it bordered the Ashuelot river. Northfield was on both sides of the river, and included Gill and the Vernons, as far north as Fort Dummer, and perhaps Brattleboro'.

<sup>a</sup> From the year 1740, Fort Dummer appears to have been a Lancaster "institution." Kept in repair, armed and manned by Massachusetts, it was under the special charge of men born and bred in Lancaster, and the adjoining towns. In 1740, between May 21 and November 20, we find Col. Josiah Willard, and his son Capt. Josiah Willard, jr., with a small complement of men at the fort. Another bit of record proves that they were there till the following March. This Josiah Willard was a son of Henry and grandson of Major Simon Willard, and a brother of Col. Samuel Willard, the hero of Louisburg. The famous "good Secretary," Josiah Willard, was his cousin. Col. Josiah was born in Lancaster in 1693, and about <sup>1715</sup>1723, married <sup>Anna</sup> Hannah, daughter of John, and granddaughter of the first Thomas Wilder. He removed to Lunenburg, but continued for many years to attend meeting in his native town, where several if not all of his children

? how

(a) Full as much a Lunenburg institution - Lancaster men  
were sometimes stationed here - but no more than at "No 4"  
where Capt. Phineas Stevens was long time commandant.

a! In the Book of the Widens. this is quite differently recorded - s. 9  
Col. Willard married Anna (dan. of John the son of 1st Thomas) in 1715. Their  
oldest son Josiah was born 1724 & married Hannah Hubbard. Three daughters  
preceded, born 1718 - 1720 - 1722. Nine children are named. In Willard  
Memoir the wife's name is given as Hannah. 1715 is the  
date given in both genealogies. Col Josiah moved to Lunenburg 1723,  
and to Northfield about 1737.

see Willard Memoir p p 422-3.

a. Major Josiah, Lieut. Nathan. Oliver (afterwards Capt.) & Willard were sons of Col. Josiah Wilde at this date was a boy of 13 yrs. & Oliver was not 19. The Willards were charged with nepotism & worse, by the inhabitants "in & about Forts Dummer" - see p 230.

William & Joseph were sons of Rev. Joseph Willard killed at Rutland by Indians in 1725. Rev. Andrew Gardner was a clergyman of Rutland & Lunenburg, & had married the widow of Rev. Joseph Willard.

Simon was the son of Abraham of Lancaster (now Harvard) born 1709 - afterwards Captain

b. Sergeant Thomas Taylor. Neither he nor any of his men had any connection with Lancaster that I can find.

Mass Archives  
Vol 92 p 12

were baptised. He was a captain and led expeditions against the Indians, while yet a young man. When a commander was needed at Fort Dummer, he was sent to that post, and his name, or that of his children appears in connection with the fort during fifteen years. For example, Capt. Josiah Willard, <sup>Josiah Willard Jr</sup> and his brother Nathan, afterwards captain, were at the fort in 1742. Repeated entries show that Josiah Willard, — father or son, or both, — was at Fort Dummer between 1745 and 1748. Letters, bills, receipts and orders, preserved in the State Archives are the evidence. During these years there was need of constant vigilance, as the Indians were on the watch to break in at any unguarded hour. Scouts were sent out frequently to scour the woods in search of the enemy. In May, 1746, the French and Indians attacked No. 4, in considerable force, and "were driven off by the spirited behavior of Major Willard, at the head of a small party of soldiers."

Major Josiah Willard was at the fort from February 1 to July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1748, with the following men under his command: Lieut. John Sergeant, Sergeant and Lieut. Nathan Willard, Sergeant William Willard, Joseph Willard, <sup>Wilder</sup> Willard, Andrew Gardner, chaplain; Simon Willard; Oliyver Willard, clerk. <sup>Three</sup> ~~Four~~ of these Willards were brothers of the Major, and sons of the colonel. In these days the colonel would be liable to the charge of nepotism.

On the fourteenth of July, 1748, Sergeant Taylor was marching up the east side of the river, when his party of sixteen men were attacked by a company of ambushed Indians, and four men were killed. One escaped, and by running along the east bank of the river, reached a point opposite the fort. He was saved; the rest were missing.

At another time the Indians came near capturing the fort by an ingenious ruse. The side of Chesterfield mountain, opposite the fort, was covered with dense woods, with opening intervals. One day an Indian, disguised as a bear, was seen on the hill-side, and the occupants of the fort were tempted



to cross the river and pursue him. Bruin seeing them approach, withdrew gradually up the mountain, while his comrades were watching to make a rush for the fort; and it is said that the trick was discovered only just in time to foil the enemy.

The same hill-side was fruitful in strawberries, and when the families residing in the fort ventured over the river to pick them, they were liable to attack from Indians who came down from the inaccessible wilds that extend far to the east and north. At times also it was unsafe to get water from the river, the Indians sending dangerous shots, from bow or gun, from the bushes on the eastern bank. In 1748, January 5, Col. Samuel Willard, having been informed by Capt. <sup>Phineas</sup> Stevens, of No. 4, who also was of Lancaster stock, being a grandson of Major Simon Willard, that Indians were coming between the rivers, [probably the Connecticut and Merrimac,] sent out a detachment to meet the enemy. Sergeant James Houghton was leader of the party, and he was followed by John Wilder, Asa Whitcomb, afterwards colonel in the French war, and the Revolution, Hezekiah Whitcomb, John Hidley, Joseph Kilborn, Nathan Burpee, and Jonathan Powers.

From July 7 to 12, 1748, the following men were in some public service, (~~but whether scouting between Lancaster and Fort Dummer, or in some other direction, it is impossible to determine.~~) The names are given because most of the men belonged to this town. Capt. Ephraim Wilder, jr., Lieut. John Whitcomb, of Bolton; cornet Hezekiah Gates; qr. ms. Hezekiah Whitcomb; corporals Nathan Wilder, Samuel Burpee and Thomas Fairbanks; sentinels or soldiers, Thomas Sawyer, Aaron Dresser, Ebenezer Buss, William Richardson, Elijah Sawyer, Ephraim Osgood, Stephen Johnson, James House, Joseph Rugg, Hezekiah Ballard, John Dupee, John Farrar, Hezekiah Hunt, Phineas Willard, Abijah Houghton, John Prentice. John Whitcomb became distinguished in the next French war, and in the Revolution. Several other names

a Mass. Archives Vol. 42 p. 144 (July 24 to Sept 4 1748).

a' "impossible to determine"! yet on the same page-144 Vol. 72.

of Mass. Archives - is the special order under which they marched - &  
- also the journal of Capt. Wides - (See also p 223 foot -

The order "To Capt Ephraim Wides jun. in Lancaster -

You are hereby directed forthwith to order as many off your  
Troop to be ready to march to morrow morning as you can possible and I  
will go with you for there is two soldiers killed and fitches fort and the  
man and his wife and five children are carryed into Captivity as is  
suspected at Lunenburg

Sam<sup>l</sup> W. Willard

Lancaster July 27 1748.

Coll.

P.S. to go to Haverhill No. 2 and Pagnoye and Wrethowage. you  
may Ride or go afoot as you see good - "

cc  
Lancaster September the 12<sup>th</sup> 1754

Received of Coll<sup>o</sup> Oliver Willard a Detachment of  
twelve men which I promis to march up to Coll<sup>o</sup>  
Ozard Willames of Hatfield forthwith and there  
to attend said Willoms further orders. the Names of  
the men Received are as foloweth -

John May Ensign

Ensign John May

Daniel Bruce

Naham Houghton

William Pollard

James Houghton

Daniel Atherton

Jonathan Kendall

Joseph Beman

Mathias Larkin

Ephraim Sawyer Juner

Elias Haskel

Sollom Stone //

{ two  
names added  
in different ink }

Elijah Houghton

Mathew Knight

See Willard Memoir p. 375 -

To. This letter is in Massachusetts Archives vol 53 p. 560  
& begins - " Boston 18 Dec 1750 I heartily join with  
you & your Family in your Mourning for the  
Death of your Father, esteeming it a great Publick  
Loss: His Honour the Lt. Govern<sup>r</sup> has been pleas<sup>d</sup>  
to appoint you to succeed him in the Command of  
Fort Sumner, as will appear by the Enclosed  
Commissiow. He desires & expects that you be  
very vigilant & faithful in the discharge of  
this office" &c -

in the above list, reappear in later years, in honorable service. This Capt. Ephraim Wilder scouted in 1746 in the western towns as far as Athol, and perhaps to the river. Capt. Samuel, son of Col. Willard, was in the public service from March to October 1848.

In 1749 Col. Josiah Willard was at the fort, and his son <sup>Capt. later</sup> ~~now~~ major, was in the Ashuelot country. In December of this year, he petitioned for pay as sub-commissary for all the forts, and garrisons, and marching forces on the line of the Province since the commencement of the war. The next year, the colonel died when on a journey from home, in his fifty-eighth year. He was a man of high character, and in his private and public capacity, sustained a good reputation. Willard quotes from a public journal as follows. "He was grandson to the renowned Major Simon Willard; and was a gentleman of superior natural powers, of a pleasant, happy and agreeable temper of mind; a faithful friend; one that paid singular regard to ministers of the gospel; a kind husband and tender parent. His death is a great loss to the public, considering his usefulness in many respects, particularly on the western frontiers, where, in the late wars, in his be~~tr~~ustments, he has shown himself faithful, vigilant and careful. Of late years he has had the command of Fort Dummer, and always used his best endeavors for the protection of our exposed infant towns; and his loss will be greatly regretted by them." He was succeeded in the command of the fort by his son, <sup>Major</sup> Lt. Col., now become <sup>Lt</sup> Col. Willard, to whom the secretary wrote, "I heartily join with you and your family in mourning for the Death of your father, esteeming it a great Publick Loss."

In 1750 <sup>Major</sup> Lt. Josiah Willard, jr., had under his command at the fort the following men:

Lieut. Nathan <sup>supt</sup> and William Willard, Oliver and Simon Willard, Moses Wheeler, John Alexander, Ebenezer Alexander, Daniel Sergeant, Simeon Knights Wilder Willard, Valentine Butler, Fairbanks Moor, John Sergeant, Elias Alexander, John Moor, Nathan Fairbanks. *Caleb Wilder*

The same force was continued in 1751, with slight changes of men.

a The fort appears to have been in the hands of the Willard family during the interval between the old and the last French and Indian wars. The latter began in 1755, when we find Capt. Nathan Willard in command with the following men: William, Oliver, Wilder and Joseph Willard, Jacob Ball, John Sergeant, and Uriah Morse. It was during the command of Capt. Nathan that complaints of his mal-administration reached the general court. The fort had been in charge of the family so long, that possibly the younger sons of Col. Willard presumed to manage matters for their own benefit and pleasure. Nor is this singular, taking human nature as it is in all ages and generations of men. As early as <sup>June 17</sup> 1740, when the fort was in a defenceless condition, and the Indians were hostile, the senior Col. Willard, offered, with those under him, at their own expense, "to put <sup>of</sup> the <sup>ing</sup> Garrison into a posture <sup>of</sup> Defence, and erect two sufficient <sup>of</sup> Bastions," if the government would furnish the materials. <sup>carpenter</sup> From that time the fort appears to have been the home of the sons, and it is quite possible that they became careless and grasping in their mode of doing things. However this may have been, such was the opinion of others in and about the fort. Capt. a" Fairbank Moore and ten others, made complaint to the general court, while Nathan was the superior officer, that the defence of the place was neglected; that guns were left in exposed places, and were growing rusty; that the locks were in one place and the <sup>barrels</sup> stocks in another; and generally that the state of affairs was very much out of order. They go on to state that the Willards were false to the Province, and ready to swear in favor of New Hampshire; that they sold stores <sup>b</sup> to outsiders; that in addition to the number <sup>(9)</sup> of soldiers allowed, he had put in Oliver and Wilder Willard; that there were four large houses in the fort, and he had given each of the Willards one, and taken a fifth to himself, and turned all the rest of the families into two small rooms, and finally, that the Wil-

a Mass. Archives Vol 93 p 100 - The <sup>roll</sup> number of the Drummer  
for the year 1753, contains only the Willard Family, five  
in all

Josiah.

Nathan.

William.

Oliver.

Wilson.

a' Vol. 72 (Military 6) of Mass. Archives p 496 -

a'' - 1756 May 17<sup>th</sup> this Complaint was made, + is to  
be found in Mass. Archives.

b''  
^ both of Powder and Lead to Hampshire Forts + also  
Hampshire Soldiers''

See. On p. 748. of vol. 3. "Province Laws" edition of 1876.

"August 15. 1755. A Petition of Nathans Willard  
 Commander of Fort. Drummer shewing that the Number of  
 the Garrison Soldiers there is so reduced, as renders it  
 hazardous that upon the Appearance of any Body of the  
 Enemy it will fall into their Hands. Praying that the  
 said Garrison may be reinforced.

In the House of Representatives: Read & Voted that  
 his Honour the Commander in Chief be desired to give  
 Directions to the Memorialist, Nathans Willard to enlist  
 Six Men for a Term not exceeding Six Weeks, as an  
 Augmentation of the Forces already posted at Fort  
 Drummer: None of the said Six Men being Inhabitants  
 of that Place or of the Lands round about the  
 same except Daniel Sergeant who is now there:  
 And that each of the said Six Men be paid  
 one Dollar as a Bounty on their Enlistment as  
 aforesaid.

In Council: Read & Concurred. Consented to  
 by the Lieut Governour."

Willard had only 3 men besides himself in garrison before above order.

The above order was not made without much opposition &  
 the first report of the Committee: "find the Land whereon  
 Fort Drummer stands & round about the same belongs to the  
 Petitioner and some others of the same Family" and  
 they apprehend the said owners will defend it & therefore  
 they recommend no addition to forces there.

b Why did not the author tell us what connection Ft. Drummer's site  
 had with Mrs Rowlandson's sad fortunes? On page 112 he has stated  
 that this point was the northern limit of Mrs R's removes. & this  
 accords quite well with the very indefinite statements of 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> Removes.

lards had appropriated all the lands to themselves, allowing but a small garden spot to the rest of the soldiers. The complaint is in the Archives, but there is no record of any action by the general court, in reference to the matter. The probability is that the authorities in Massachusetts had confidence in their men. In 1755, Capt. Willard represented his exposed condition to the court. During the summer, nineteen persons had been killed near the fort by the Indians, who "were constantly lurking in the woods around and near." If attacked, he said, the fort "must fall." Partial relief was granted. The next year another petition was presented, and a few more soldiers were added to his force.

The fort had now become a kind of thoroughfare, soldiers constantly going and coming between the Province and the frontiers by lakes George and Champlain. During the last French war, troops passed up through the routes by No. 4, Fort Dummer, and Fort Massachusetts, to meet the enemy on and near the lakes, and thus Fort Dummer was often crowded with passing soldiers, while the war was removed to a greater distance. By degrees, as the country was settled, and the seat of conflict was changed, and the Indians were driven far to the north and west, the need of Fort Dummer became less pressing. Soon all interest in it became historical. But whatever interest attached to the locality, as connected with Indian wars, or with the sad fortunes of Mrs. Rowlandson, its history has a peculiar connection with the town of Lancaster. Fort Dummer closed the path by which the French and Indians came down from the north in the year 1704, and assaulted Lancaster; and it was fitly manned by her soldiers. *i.e.* - if it had been so manned, it would have been an excuse for much of this chapter. It never was so manned. Northfield & her sister towns on the river usually manned it, and the Willards who were prominent there were neither natives of Lancaster nor sons of residents of that town. Col. Josiah was born in Lancaster, at least in Harvard which then belonged to Lancaster but his children were born in Lunenburg. The story of Fort Dummer belongs to New Hampshire, & is lugged in here.

*There is !!*

*a*

*b*



## CHAPTER XI.

### THE CHURCH DURING THE MINISTRY OF REV. JOHN PRENTICE.

THE settlement of Mr. Prentice in 1708 was followed by a long, harmonious and successful pastorate. The Covenant renewed by the church at the beginning of his ministry remained unchanged. The only change in the manner of admitting to the church, made in 1734, allowed a written instead of an oral relation of experience and confession of faith, at the option of the candidate. Mr. Prentice must have had enduring qualities, which enabled him, during a long term of years, to keep his hold of the confidence and esteem of his people. In this, however, he was aided by the habitual respect for the ministry which characterized our fathers. He was a native of Newton, and was the son of Thomas and Sarah Mary [Stanton] Prentice. The father, (together with Capt. Thomas Prentice, who had been a "brave and distinguished commander of a corps of cavalry in Philip's war," and another relative of the same name,) is famed, by tradition as one of Oliver Cromwell's body guard. (As he died in 1722 at the great age of ninety-three, he was <sup>1710</sup>eleven years old, at the outbreak of the revolution of 1640; and had reached the age of <sup>at 38</sup>twenty-nine, at the time of the Protector's death.) Mr. Prentice, the minister, was admitted to the church, in Newton, March 14, 1708, and dismissed the same day. His relation was then, (~~according to the conjecture of the historian Willard~~) transferred to the church in Lancaster, over which he was ordained on Monday, March 29, 1708. Among his classmates at Cambridge, where he took his first degree in 1700, we find the names of Winthrop, Bradstreet, Hooker,

a - These statements about the Prentice family are copied from Willard's history of 1826 without modification even copying the misspelling of "Stanton". I find in the Genealogical Register of 1853 - a quite full genealogy which, though I detect several errors in it, is perhaps nearer history than that given. It states that Capt Thomas Prentice was father of Thomas the father of Rev<sup>d</sup> John Prentice & that Thomas died July 6. 1710 in consequence of a fall from his horse while returning from public worship in Newton. It states moreover that he was born in 1620 & came over in 1648 or 9. with wife and daughter Grace 4 years old - Thomas Jr. died 1684 aet 36.

Willard was careful to state in a note that his information about parentage &c of Rev John Prentice was derived from the investigations of others. Perhaps his informants were in error.

See Jackson Hist. of Newton p. 391 &c also "Prentice Family" p 165 &c

Willard shows he did not conjecture - Prentice had been preaching in Lancaster from May 1705. Sturmius is authority for this.

\* He began preaching here May 1705 -- married  
Mrs Gardner Dec. 4. 1705. at Roxbury.

\*<sup>2</sup> This "old book" is the Book of Estrays, in the first leaves  
of which are some accounts of the trustees of the  
Province loan, and these rate lists.

\*<sup>3</sup> Instead of "about one hundred and five" names, the  
Province rate list contains just one hundred and  
two in Constable Aaron Osgood's part and one hundred  
and fifty nine in Constable Joshua Houghton's part.  
i.e. 261 in all.

Whiting, and Robert Breck. Probably he had preached in other places before coming hither. Perhaps his marriage with Mrs. Gardner, the widow of his predecessor, conciliated the good will of his parishioners. x

Before giving in brief detail the incidents of his ministry, it will be well to glance at the state of his parish, and get some notion of the families to whom he ministered. A tax list made out in the last year of his life, helps us in our investigation.

The town was still agitated by the later horrors of queen Anne's war. The church had been twice bereaved, within a few years, of two excellent and esteemed ministers. But the war soon came to a close, and with the exception of Lovewell's war, was followed by a lasting peace. The breach caused by the death of Messrs. Whiting and Gardner, was healed by the acceptable and permanent ministrations of their successor.

At the same time, population was beginning to increase rapidly, not only by the excess of births over deaths, but by the coming of families from the eastern towns. If the people had increased from about three hundred and sixty in the spring of 1708, to four hundred and fifty before the close of 1711, as was <sup>guessed</sup> computed in a former chapter, Mr. Prentice soon had a large congregation, and an extensive parish. There is no reason for doubting that the ratio of increase continued substantially as above for a period of twenty-five years, when the population of this town was lessened by the formation of Harvard. In rapid succession, Bolton including Berlin, and Leominster were incorporated. The process was completed by 1742, leaving the old town somewhat reduced in numbers. Still there were more people in Lancaster in 1749 than in 1711, as is proved by a tax list for the year 1749. In an old book <sup>of 1749</sup> are found the "Province Rate" and the "Town and County Rate" for 1749 and the two following years. The Province Rate including "Polls, Real Estate and Personal Estate," numbers about one hundred x 2 x 3

<sup>2.61</sup>  
~~and five names.~~ The list includes ~~two or three~~<sup>9</sup> widows, and  
~~probably a few minors.~~ Supposing the minors who paid  
 a poll tax were ten, there would be left about ~~ninety-five~~<sup>2.57</sup>  
 families; and allowing five and a half souls to a family, the  
 population would amount to ~~five hundred and twenty-five.~~<sup>1375</sup> In  
 1751 the "Province Rate" contains ~~one hundred and thirty-~~<sup>2.25</sup>  
~~five names,~~ including <sup>8</sup> widows and ~~taxable minors.~~ This  
 (making the proper deduction for minors) would give as  
 the total population not far from ~~six hundred and sixty,~~<sup>1500</sup> or  
 an increase of one hundred and ~~thirty-five~~<sup>2.5</sup> in two years.  
 This seems incredible, at first sight, but it must be remem-  
 bered that this was the period between the two French and  
 Indian wars. When the war of 1745 closed, there was a  
 rush of settlers from nearly all the lower towns towards the  
 interior. Many of the towns west of Lancaster witnessed  
 incipient efforts at settlement just at this time. Things were  
 so unsettled however that these settlements went on slowly.  
 (m<sup>2</sup>) Some of them were abandoned till after the battle of Quebec  
 in 1759. But Lancaster was, ever after the old French and  
 Indian war of 1745-8, so far from the frontier that it was  
 considered secure. This may account, in part, for the rapid  
 increase of the population. Besides, the estimates must be  
 taken with many grains of allowance. There is no exact  
 way of finding the number of souls in any town or country  
 but by actual enumeration. The ratio of individuals to a  
 family is subject to some variations, and the tax lists are not  
 always correct. It will be safe to say that there were, in  
 1751, about ~~six hundred and fifty~~<sup>1500</sup> people, in the town, includ-  
 ing the second precinct, or Sterling.

A list of the names of those taxed in 1751 will show <sup>Some of</sup>  
 the families which made up the congregation of Mr. Prentice till  
 the year 1742, (when the church in Sterling was formed)  
 which was only five years before his death. It contains the  
 names of some of the thirty-three male members who renewed  
 the Covenant in 1708; as Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard,  
 and probably others. Some were children when Mr. Prentice

See note  
 p. 161-3

o There are nine widows in the 1749 Province list.

x Only 133 are given in list by Mr. Loring on next page. There are 184 in the original; including 4 widows. These errors like the preceding prove the learned author's inability to count, but worse than that he has omitted, as before, one Court-bill list containing 151 names. That is, the Province rate has 285 names in all. All but 45 were assessed on real estate and 24 of the 45 were assessed on personal estate. The minors taxed were probably all included in their father's rate. Many were assessed two & several for three polls. The ministers & schoolmaster's names are not in list (paying no tax).  
The polls assessed number 3155

<sup>(m<sup>2</sup>)</sup> This is what the old Professors of Rhetoric would style "Cacophonous tautaphony"

The author's page of elaborate guesses at the population of the town, based on so atrociously careless an error as the half reading of a tax list, is an impertinence in history. As the census of 1764 gives the total of 1999 persons in Lancaster inclusive of the second precinct, it is very "safe" to say that <sup>there</sup> were, in 1751, about six hundred and fifty — as it would if he had said twice as many.

<sup>m<sup>3</sup></sup> There were religious meetings in Chockset before 1742. & a Cluggman, for May 14 1738. Rev. Jno. Prentice records that Rev. Mr. Cushing of Chrewsbury baptized a child there "at the meeting of the Neighbourhood" having "chang'd with Mr. Brown" also, sundry baptisms at house of Jonathan Cogsd. "the Place of Publick meeting" during 1736/7. Also Cotton Brown who was invited to succeed Mr. Prentice Feb 28 1748. but declined. & was settled at Brookline Oct 6. 1748. - died, April 13. 1751 -

On page 7 Vol 13 of Genealogical Register is copy of a petition asking protection for Township No 4 dated Dec. 31. 1746- The signers are from Lancaster Leominster, Lunenburg, Groton Townsend, Harvard & Bolton - These are the Lancaster men, alphabetically arranged -

- |  |                             |                       |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Baley, Shewbell                            | Osgood, Hooker jr           | Wheelock, John        |
| Ballard, Josiah                            | " Joseph                    | Wilder, John          |
| Bennet, John                               | " Daniel                    | " Caleb               |
| Bennet, Joseph                             | " Jonathan                  | " Ephraim             |
| Bemond, Phin <sup>s</sup>                  | Phelps, Asah                | " Eph <sup>r</sup> jr |
| Bemond, Ebez.                              | " Edward S.                 | " Jona <sup>t</sup>   |
| Baynton, Zaccary                           | Powers, Jona <sup>t</sup> . | " Andrew              |
| Burpee, Thos                               | Prentice Stanton            | " Daniel              |
| Buss, Eben <sup>z</sup>                    | Roper Ephraim               | Willard Phinchas      |
| Carter, Saml                               | Ross James                  | Wynnan Abijah         |
| Clark, Matthew                             | Rugg, Ruben                 | " Nathaniel           |
| Crocker, John                              | Richardson, Asa             |                       |
| Divet, Menassa                             | Robins, Edward              |                       |
| Dresser, Aaron                             | Sawyer Nathaniel            |                       |
| Fowl, Jacob                                | " Thos                      |                       |
| Haskell Jeremiah                           | " Saml                      |                       |
| Haskell, Henry                             | " Ezra                      |                       |
| Houghton, Isreal                           | " Eph <sup>s</sup>          |                       |
| Houghton, Benj                             | Snow, John                  |                       |
| Houghton, James                            | Taylor, Eben <sup>z</sup>   |                       |
| Houghton, Benj <sup>m</sup> 2 <sup>d</sup> | White, Nathaniel            |                       |
| Hosely, John                               | " Joseph                    |                       |
| Jewett, Daniel                             | " Josiah                    |                       |
| Kendall, Jona <sup>t</sup>                 | Whitcomb, Asa               |                       |
| Hilborn, Jewett                            | " Ebez.                     |                       |
|  | " Joseph                    |                       |

62 names, 34 of which are not in opposite tax list. being most of 2<sup>d</sup> precinct probably. although several prominent men of the first precinct are included in it.

began his ministry here, and others had been born, and grown to man's estate during his forty years pastorate. The tax list which follows is therefore one of the most interesting historical documents which could be presented to the student of our local history. The names are arranged alphabetically for convenience. *Those marked o are not in list of 1749*

Abbott, Joseph,	Harris, Asa,
Atherton, Amos,	"    David,
Ballard, Benjamin,	"    Ebenezer,
"    Josiah,	"    John,
"    Sherebiah,	Haskell, Henry,
Barrett, Jacob,	"    Jeremiah,
Beaman, Ebenezer,	o Hill, Enoch,
"    John,	Houghton, Israel, <i>Seaman</i>
"    John, jr.,	"    James, -
o "    Thomas,	o "    James, f
o Bennett, Elisha,	"    James, jr.,
"    John, <i>Captain</i>	o "    Nathaniel,
"    Keziah, <i>Widow</i>	"    Phinehas,
o Bowers, Jerahmeel,	Holte, Thomas,
"    John,	o Hubbard, Capt. Jonathan,
Carter, Ephraim,	Hunt, Sherebiah,
o "    James,	James, Joseph,
"    Lieut. John,	o Johnson, Daniel,
"    Samuel,	"    Joshua,
Clark, Mathew,	Joslin, Peter,
o Crosfield, James,	"    Peter, jr.,
Divoul, Ephraim,	Kendall, Jonathan,
o "    John,	"    Joshua, jr.,
"    Manasseh,	"    Thomas,
Dole, Thomas,	Knight, Amos,
o Farmer, William,	"    Amos, jr., <i>Daniel</i>
Flagg, Gershum,	"    Jonathan,
o Fletcher, John,	o Lepingwell, Reuben,
"    Joshua,	"    Thomas,
"    Robert,	Lock, Samuel,
Fowle, Jacob,	Nichols, Israel,
Garey, Thomas,	"    John,
Goodfree, James,	o "    John, jr.,
Green, Peter,	"    Roger,
Hadley, John,	Osburn, Alexander,



Osgood, Aaron,	Steward, John,
“ Benjamin,	Tomson, Simon,
“ Dea. Hooker,	Wheelock, John,
“ John,	Whitcomb, Hezekiah,
“ Joseph,	“ Joseph,
“ Joseph, <i>jr</i> ,	White, John,
o “ Joshua,	“ Joseph,
“ Josiah,	“ Dea. Josiah,
“ Moses,	“ Nathaniel,
Phelps, Asahel,	Wilder, Abigail, <i>Widow</i>
“ Dorothy, <i>Widow</i>	“ Andrew,
“ Edward,	“ Caleb,
“ John,	“ David,
“ Joshua,	“ Hon. Joseph,
o “ William,	“ Joseph, jr.,
Phillips, John,	Willard, Capt. Abijah,
“ John, jr.,	“ Aaron,
Priest, Joseph,	“ Aaron, jr.,
o Reed, Joshua,	“ Benjamin,
o Rice, Peter,	“ Daniel,
o Richardson, William, 2d,	“ Ephraim,
Robins, Edward,	“ Col. Samuel,
Rugg, Amos,	“ Simon,
“ Daniel,	“ William,
“ Daniel, jr.,	Wood, Hannah, <i>Widow</i>
“ John,	“ Nehemiah,
“ Nathan,	Wright, Nathaniel,
“ Reuben, <i>jr</i> ,	“ Thomas,
Sawyer, Nathan, jr.,	o “ Thomas, jr.,
Serjant, John, <sup>^</sup>	o Wyman, Abijah,
Snow, John,	“ Nathaniel.
o Sterns, Joshua,	

In this list the names of Fairbank, Moor and Prescott will be missed. In the Rate for 1749 are the names of Jabez, James, Jonathan and Joshua Fairbank, Dea. Joseph Moor, and John Prescott. The name of Sawyer occurs but once; but in the Rate for 1749, there are not less than twelve Sawyers, viz: Abigail, Abner, Amos, Bezcaler, Bezaleel, jr., Derias, Elisha, Ezra, Josiah, Nathaniel, Phinehas and Thomas. There were several other changes in the course of two years. The spelling has been copied literally. Derias stands

Province Rate List of 1751. [Omitting Names]

Albert - Daniel	Butler - James
Allen - Ebenezer	Cooper - Moses
- Ebenezer jr	Croabee - John
Bayley - John	Dreiser - Aaron
- Jonathan	Dunsmoor - Widow Eunice
Joseph	- William
- Moses	Fairbank - Lieut. Jabez
- Samuel	- Jonathan
- Shubael	- Jonas
Beam and Widow Mary	- Deacon Joshua
- Phinehas	Samuel
Bennett - Joseph	- Deacon Thomas
Bigelow - Ebenezer	Farrer - John
Bigbee - Samuel	Gates - Heseckiah
Baynton - Zaccheus	Gibbs - John
Brigham - Silas	Goodridge - John
Brooks - John	Glassier - Benjamin
Burpee - Jeremiah	- John
Nathan	Goss - Widow Abigail
- Samuel	- Philip
- Thomas	Graham - Andrew
Buss - Ebenezer	Hattings - Nathaniel
Jonathan	Henderson - John

Holt - Barzillai  
 Houghton - Abijah  
 - Benjamin  
 - Benjamin jr  
 - Elijah  
 - Ezra  
 - Josiah  
 - Joshua  
 - Saul  
 - Solomon  
 House - Joseph  
 - Joshua  
 How - Phineas  
 Jewett - Amos  
 - David  
 Kendall - Ezekiel  
 - Isaac  
 - James  
 - Josiah  
 - Samuel  
 Kilburne - Isaac  
 - Jacob  
 - Joseph

Larkin - Matthias  
 - Peter  
 - Philip  
 May - John  
 - John jr  
 Moore - Saint Joseph  
 - Oliver  
 - Samuel  
 Nelson - David  
 - Jonathan  
 Osgood - David Deacon  
 - Jonathan Deacon  
 Pike - Jacob  
 Pollard - John  
 Powers - Daniel  
 - Jonathan  
 Prentice - Dr Stanton  
 Prescott - Ebenezer  
 - John  
 - Jonathan  
 Proutie - Richard  
 Rice - Zebulon

Richardson James  
- Josiah  
Tilley  
- William jr  
- Capt. William

Robbins Daniel  
- Roger

Roper - Ephraim

Ross James  
- Thomas  
- Timothy

Russell Jonathan

Sampson - John

Sawyer Amos  
- Abner

- Bezabed jr  
- Lieut Bezabed  
- Darius  
- Elisha

- Ephraim

Ephraim jr

Ezra

- Josiah  
- Moses

Sawyer - Nathaniel

- Phineas

- Samuel

- Thomas

Smith - Jacob

Stewart widow Sarah

Stone - Abiel

- Daniel

- Isaac

- John

Taylor - Ebenezer

Thurston Samuel

Tooker Lieut. Thomas

Turner Amasa

Walker - Hersekiah

Whitcomb Asa

Whiting Timothy

Wilder - Abner

- Benjamin

- Capt. Ephraim

- Capt. Ephraim jr

- James

- John

Wilder - Jonathan

- Josiah

- Joshua

- Jotham

- Nathaniel

o - Nathaniel jr

- Oliver (Colonel)

- Oliver jr

o - Phineas

- Tilley

Willard - Benjamin

- Phineas

Williams - Lephaniah

Names in 1749 list not in those of 1757

Andrew John

Ball Jonathan

" Thomas

Bennett Ephraim

" Josiah

Brown Josiah

Carter Phineas

Cook Josiah

Crosbee Daniel

Dupe John

Glazier Joseph

Haywood Thomas

Kendall Widow Hannah

Kyes Elkannah

Knight Daniel

Osgood Ephraim

Priest Joshua

Rugg Isaac

Lawyer Widow Abigail

Stewart Charles

Turner Elisha

Whitlock Joseph

Willard Levi

a A Sawyer of more notoriety than any of these according to News Letter of March 4. 1742 lived in Lancaster. (See also Gen. Register Vol. 14 p. 222)

"It is nicely taken Notice of by some of our Curious Inquirers, that at Lancaster there is one Mr John Sawyer of that Place who has had by one Wife (at eight single Births and four double ones) no less than sixteen Children, in seventeen years; one to every two years from the time of her being five years old. By which some of our learned in Whithornick, may possibly calculate the present Age of this fruitful Mother in our Exalt! her four last Children were born within the compass of one year and ten months! and if her Faculty continues as long as some have boasted of. she has a considerable Chance of being the Mother of no less than Eight and Twenty more and one half."

The fact of there being but one Sawyer in this list ought to have told the author at once that this list is but a partial one. - that of one constable Bezalael Sawyer was ~~was~~ the prominent citizen of South Lancaster ten years longer. and his sons Bezalael. Darises, Josiah, Thomas. with their cousins and their aunts and uncles still survived and probably lived where they did in 1749 -

The list contains only tax-payers east and north of the river with perhaps the residents upon George and Mallard Hills. (The Carters + Ballards are included). (The other constables list from the same book is here indented, having been readily found in Book of Abstracts within three or four pages of the one copied by Mr Marvin.

The 20 paying the highest tax in 1751, in order  
of amount assessed, were:

- |    |                         |    |                          |
|----|-------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| 1  | Col. Samuel Willard     | 11 | Lieut. Ezra Sawyer       |
| 2  | Lieut. John Carter      | 12 | " Thomas Tucker          |
| 3  | Lieut. Joseph Moore     | 13 | Josiah Richardson        |
| 4  | Joseph Stone            | 14 | Capt. William Richardson |
| 5  | David Wilder            | 15 | Ephraim Sawyer           |
| 6  | Col. Oliver Wilder      | 16 | Bezaleel Sawyer          |
| 7  | Meremiah Gates          | 17 | Benjamin Houghton        |
| 8  | Capt. John Bennett      | 18 | Capt. Ephraim Wilder     |
| 9  | Capt. Ephraim Wilder jr | 19 | Joseph Wilder jr         |
| 10 | Ephraim Carter          | 20 | Manasseh Dival           |

for Darius; and Bezealer for Bezaleel. The female names represent widows in most if not all cases.

A careful inspection of the Church Records would disclose the fact that a large proportion of the names in the above list belonged to members of the church either by confession, or by owning the Covenant.

The allusion to the practice of "owning the Covenant" warrants a brief explanation in this place. In former times the Orthodox churches in this State contained three classes of members exclusive of baptised children. The first class included those who were received into full communion by the church, on confession of their faith, and the relation of their experience in conversion. The second class comprised those who "owned the Covenant," as it was phrased. In 1662 a synod was held in Boston which gave sanction to the "half-way Covenant," so called, which provided that baptised children of members of the church, when they came to maturity, if correct in their morals, might give their assent to the church Covenant, without professing conversion, and have their children baptised. These baptised children, when grown up, and having children, might present their offspring for baptism, in the same manner. They were considered members of the church, in a limited sense, but could not be admitted to the Lord's table without making known their hearty acceptance of Christ as their Redeemer and Lord.

The third class of members embraced, first, all "baptised persons," and afterwards all "persons not immoral in their lives," allowing them to come to the communion with those who professed conversion. This was the plan originated by Dr. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, who was settled there from 1672 to 1729. He dated his own conversion at a communion service, and this led him to value that ceremony as a "converting ordinance." The practice begun by him had considerable prevalence, but was opposed by his grandson and successor, the celebrated Jonathan Edwards. Whether any



were received into the church in Lancaster on the plan of Stoddard, is not known. But the half-way Covenant was used here till the close of Mr. Harrington's ministry. Young persons were generally received on confession of their faith, and as hopefully converted. The members taken in on the "half-way" plan were, for the most part, parents who had been baptised, who were reputable in conduct, and had some sense of religious obligation, and desired to have their children brought into some special relation to the church of Christ.

Going back to the beginning of the ministry of Mr. Prentice, it appears from the Records that six persons were received to full communion before the close of the first year. In 1709 three were received, including <sup>Edmund Harris.</sup> ~~one~~ from the church in Sudbury, and Josiah White, senior. (His son Josiah was already a member.) The additions for a series of years were from three to eight, all by profession. In 1728 twenty-one were admitted, four-fifths of them being females. The next year, ten joined the church, four males, and six females; eleven were added in 1730.

The following extract under date of December 13, 1731, brings to mind a custom prevalent in the last century, and not yet quite obsolete. "Baptiz<sup>d</sup>, with the consent of the church, (several of the brethren present) at the house where William and Elinor White his wife live, their twins, (a son and a daughter,) the names William and Margaret. This was done at the desire of the parents, and because the children were both weak and feeble, and not able to be brought out, and one of them was especially under threatening circumstances by reason of a sore mouth." The baptism of children at home, when dangerously sick, occurred quite often, and doubtless was sometimes craved by parents under the unscriptural notion that baptism was either a converting ordinance, or else in some way brought the child into saving relations to the Head of the church. When done as a grateful offering of a child to the Author of salvation, the service is free from objection, and a graceful recognition of the fatherhood of God.

a On the contrary Josiah the son with his wife joined the church  
April 7 1728.

During the first century of the Colony the rite of  
of Baptism could only be performed on Sunday -  
& at the meeting <sup>house</sup> during regular service. We find  
for instance 1660 - Mr Robert Jordan having baptized  
"three children of Nathaniell Wales," after exercise was  
ended upon the Lord's day, in the house of Mr  
Madeworth - "to the offence of the government of this  
Commonwealth" - he was required "to desist from  
any such practises for the future" and to answer  
to General Court for what he had done -

Records of the Colony Vol 4 p 436

Possibly Boston, though plainly written. There was  
no Bolton until 1738! Hence it must have been written  
later in error.

Jonathan Moor Jr. was a Quaker 1741-

C 1742 Aug 29. Mr. Prentice records baptizing two  
Children. "The first day of yr meeting in their new  
Meeting House" at Lebanon -

See note about previous meetings at Chocksett p. 234  
The first meeting in the first church built there was, Mr.  
Prentice records, on Nov. 28 1742.

The time had now come for the church to give up its members for the purpose of forming new churches in the towns around. In 1733, August 9, "the <sup>B</sup>brethren present, by vote, discovered their willingness that <sup>J</sup>Joshua Fairbank, Henry Willard, Peter Atherton and Elijah <sup>Whitney</sup>, all of Harvard, should join with others in said town, in forming of a church there." The church was organized on the tenth of October. Another entry of the same date needs explanation. It was voted that "Sarah Smith, (heretofore Atherton,) should be recommended, according to her desire, to the church of Christ in Bolton." As the church in Bolton, according to Whitney, was not organized till November 4, 1741, it is not easy to understand this action. Was there a church in Bolton as early as 1733? In the following January, four female members, the wives of prominent men in the new town were dismissed and recommended to the church in Harvard.

*Was there any  
Bolton before  
1738?  
See Leominster?*

Under date November 1, 1741, is the following: "Sundry brethren manifesting their desire of the consent of the church to their <sup>yr</sup>lying with others in the <sup>ch</sup>foundation of a church at Bolton, and being recommended to <sup>the</sup>business, viz.: Jeremiah Wilson, Jonathan Moor, John Wilder, Jacob Houghton, John Priest, John Fletcher, Jabez Fairbank, David Whitcomb, Nathan <sup>Butler</sup>, Nathaniel Wilson and Joshua Sawyer; it was voted by the Brethren present that it should be according to their <sup>yr</sup>desire."

Next in order came the church in Leominster. The church was formed on the fourteenth of September, 1743, but previous to this the Brethren by vote signified their willingness that Gardner Wilder, and Thomas White, should join with others in forming a church in Leominster." Other members were, from time to time, recommended to the churches in Harvard, Bolton and Leominster. Though living in these towns, some of the members felt a lingering love for the mother church, and reluctantly withdrew as circumstances required.

*?*  
*August 21, 1742*

December 9, 1744, a church was formed in <sup>Chesett</sup>Choxet, and

*a* the Rev. John Mellen was ordained. With a view to this, the following brethren were dismissed and recommended, at a meeting held on the twenty-fifth of the preceding November. David Osgood, Benjamin Houghton, jr., Joseph Moor, Josiah Wilder, Jonathan Osgood, Jonathan Bayley, Thomas Fairbank, Thomas Burpee, Josiah Richardson, Reuben Rugg, Samuel Bayley, David Nelson, William Goss, Oliver Moor, Edward Robins and Daniel Powers. May 5, 1745, "the widow Annah Ross, the wife of Thomas Burpee, the wife of John Snow, the wife of Jonathan Powers, and the wife of James Ross, desired to be dismissed and recommended to the communion of the second church in Lancaster. It was consented to by <sup>ye</sup> vote of the <sup>ye</sup> brethren on said <sup>ye</sup> day."

It was a practice more frequent in former generations than now to receive members of other churches to occasional communion, on the strength of letters of credence. For some reason the person was not ready to withdraw from the church, at his former residence, but desired to be in good standing with the church where he resided. There are several cases of this kind on record. One dated August 21, 1740, may be given as a specimen, showing also the origin of a well-known family from which more than one physician sprung. "At a church meeting at my house, the brethren present, upon hearing the case of old father Dunsmoor, a member of a church in Ireland, of which Mr. Matthew Clark was the pastor, discovered their willingness that he should, (according to his desire, and upon his submitting himself to discipline,) have the privilege of attending communion with us in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper."

(John)

*a* All writers of the religious history of New England testify to the laxity of morals which began in the later years of the seventeenth century, and continued for nearly a hundred years. There were many towns which furnished exceptions to the general state of religion. Many churches, at different times, received large accessions of members. During the wonderful season which goes under the name of the

It is refreshing to find in Court records of the time thus described, a case of conscience like the following from the Memorandum Book of Judge Joseph Warden.

"August ye 20"

"Then Jonathan Wheeler of Bolton in the County of Worcester yeoman, appearing and entered a Complaint against himself and Confessed that on the 29 of July 1744 at Bolton in the County of Worcester he had broken ye Law by laboring on said day, it being ye first day of ye week"

It is however not a rare thing to find record of persons complaining of various sins committed by themselves, perhaps to forestall the anticipated persecutions by others, or to mitigate the offence in the eyes of Justice.

N.B. Half of the fine always went to the informer

9 "Rev. John Miller of Sterling was the most distinguished divine in this region of his period: he possessed an intellect of power & was deeply conversant with metaphysics, and decidedly Arminian in his faith. He published a volume of Sermons - " x x x - Aaron Bancroft D.D. in his sermon at the termination of fifty years of his ministry - appendix -

Mr Prentices views of Whitefield and  
the "Great Awakening" have been perpetuated in print.  
They can be found in a pamphlet.

Entitled "The Testimony of an Association of Ministers  
Convened at Marlborough Jan<sup>y</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1744-5 against  
the Reverend Mr George Whitefield, And his Conduct  
as also The Testimony of a Number of Ministers  
in the County of Bristol Against the Said Gentleman  
Boston - N. E. Printed and Sold by J. Fleet at the  
Heart & Crown in Cornhill Th<sup>o</sup> 4<sup>5</sup> - "

The Marlborough signers were.

John Prentice	Lancaster	Aaron Smith	Marlborough
Israel Loring	Sudbury	Ebenezer Morse	Shrewsbury
Job Cushing	Shrewsbury	Thomas Lewis	Boston
John Gardner	Storrs	Elisha Marsh.	Ware
William Cooke	Sudbury	Joseph Davis	Holden
Nathan Stone	Southborough	John Miller	Lancaster
John Swift	Acton		

\* "Josiah Sawtle" He grew from bad to worse & finally  
was formally admonished & suspended.

\* "Barnard Sewell"

"Great Awakening," it has been computed there were as many as thirty thousand received into the churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut, including a few in New Hampshire. This movement had its origin, chiefly, in Northampton, in 1735, under the preaching and prayerful labors of Pres. Edwards. Whitefield was a mighty instrument in the work. But there were many churches which did not derive great benefit from the revival; and some took the position of antagonism. Not till after the close of the revolutionary war, and the frightful revelation of infidelity in France, was there a decidedly upward tendency on the part of the churches in the eastern states, and throughout the country. War raged, with intervals of peace, from 1689 to 1710; and passing the eastern war in 1724-5, from 1739 to 1783. And war is always a time of moral deterioration. Lancaster was in all these wars, and doubtless came under their debasing power. The admissions to the church, however, were quite uniform during Mr. Prentice's ministry. From two or three to ten or fifteen were received to full communion annually. In 1745, near the close of his life, the aged minister received fifteen; all but one on confession of faith.

Cases of discipline at some periods were rather frequent. Occasionally a brother was arraigned for intemperance. In 1728 a member "made an acknowledgment of his having been guilty of excessive drinking." At a meeting held near the close of that year, another member submitted his acknowledgment of "disorderly leaving his wife, and living from her; of his Vain Company Keeping and excessive drinking, vain and foolish Talking," etc.

The sin which most frequently stains the pages of the church Records, was some form of violating the seventh commandment. Children were born prematurely in reference to the date of marriage. Public sentiment, if not legal coercion, in almost all cases of the kind, constrained wedlock, and the parties lived happily and reputably together. But the memory and the stain were enduring.



At a church meeting held at the pastor's house, March 28, 1728, the following vote was passed by the "Brethren of the Church, *nemine contradicente*, viz: That such as are to be lookt upon as offenders shall not be obliged in ordinary cases to make a Confession before the Congregation, but that it shall be lookt upon as sufficient for such to offer satisfaction to the Church."

Several cases of discipline are detailed at length in the Records, and they all serve to show the tenderness and patience of the church towards offenders. One case was that of a woman who absented herself from the communion so long that the brethren felt called upon to inquire the cause. It appears that she felt aggrieved by the treatment she had received from her father-in-law, also a member of the church. She was treated with all kindness, and finally confessed her error in debarring herself from a great and previous privilege on account of the supposed misconduct of another. It does not appear that her opinion in relation to her grievance was changed, but she asked forgiveness of the church for having broken her vows, and was retained in fellowship.

In another case a man and his wife were dealt with for using improper language, and abstaining from public worship. The woman was abusive, and at last confessed as much. In reply to a neighbor who spoke in approbation of the preaching on the preceding Sunday, she said that "it would have been as much for the advantage of the people if the minister had sworn and cursed as to say what he did." The real trouble consisted in the fact that Mr. Wheeler and his wife had leanings towards Quakerism in the form and spirit which characterised that system in those days. They absented themselves from worship; denied the right of the church to the name and privileges of a church of Christ, and were otherwise possessed with too much individuality to conform to the church of their fathers. The brethren held meeting after meeting, and waited upon them in hope of obtaining satisfaction. The final action of the church is not found in the Records.

Rebeckah Wilson wife of Benjamin

The accusation was made by Benjamin Wilson in the words here given - & supplemented by the letter given below. Anna Wheeler is the sister of Benj Wilson.

" Newtown Nov. 30 1730.

b To any Person or Persons whom this may Concern. This may certify you that we the Subscribers Octob. 28 1730 were at ye house of Joshua Wheeler and in answer to Benjamin Wilson, saying it was good preaching the last Sabbath, heard Anna Wheeler his wife say. that our minister had as good stood in the Pulpit and Swore and Curst as said what he said."

Jonathan Fish  
Sarah Wild

The Wheelers were admonished & suspended.

Titles in full of Prentice's Sermons - 2 mentioned p 246

CHRISTS Compassion on the Multitudes  
Scattered abroad as Sheep without a Shepherd.

SERMON  
Preached at Marlborough  
on occasion  
OF THE DEATH  
of the Reverend and Learned  
Mr. ROBERT BRECK  
Late Pastor of the Church there  
Who Died Jan<sup>y</sup> 6 17<sup>30</sup>/<sub>31</sub>  
In the 49 Year of his age  
By John Prentice, A.M.  
Pastor of the Church in Lancaster

24p.  
black border

Mark 6. 34. And Jesus, when he came out  
Saw much people, and was moved with compassion  
toward them because they were as sheep not having a shepherd.

BOSTON N.E.  
Printed by S. Kneeland & T. Green  
MDCCLXXXI

KING Jehoshaphats Charge to the JUDGES  
appointed by him in the Land of Judah  
Considered and Apply'd

SERMON  
Preached at Worcester  
August 10. 1731  
At the Opening of a Court of General  
Sessions of the Peace and of the Inferiour Court  
of Common Pleas for and within the Courts  
of Worcester, Being the first Court Held in  
the said Place and County.

By JOHN PRENTICE, M.A.  
Pastor of the Church of Christ in Lancaster.

Exra VII. 25. 26. And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God that is  
in thine hand, set magistrates and judges which shall judge all the  
people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God:  
and teach ye them that know them not. And whosoever will not do  
the law of thy God, and the law of the King, let judgment be executed  
speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment or to  
confiscation of goods or to imprisonment.

BOSTON Printed by S. KNEELAND and T.  
GREEN for D. HENCHMAN at the Cornes Shop  
on the South-Side of the Town House 1731

In all the cases, so far as examined, the utmost care appears to have been used to avoid injustice, and to bring about reform and reconciliation. The offending brother or sister was visited, according to the directions of Christ, in Matthew 18 : 15-18. Then the case was reported to the whole church. Before censure was uttered, brethren were sent to converse with the party. The accused was notified of the meeting, when his case was to be considered. If the trouble was not removed by these means, the church sent a written admonition, expressed in kind but faithful language. If this failed, the second admonition [Titus 3 : 10] was sent, and not till patience and forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, did the church pronounce the sentence of exclusion.

The churches enjoyed quiet and harmony during the greater part of the ministry of Mr. Prentice ; but bitter dissensions broke out before his decease. In these he was involved, and the whole community took a deep interest in the controversies which were rife. The Rev. Mr. Bliss, of Concord, had trouble with his people, and several councils were called to compose matters, without much success. The history is given at some length in Shattuck's History of Concord, and may be read with profit at this late day ; but it need not divert us from the current of our own history, except so far as the church and minister of this town were mixed up in the strife. The church was represented in an *ex parte* council called by the opponents of Mr. Bliss, and held in June, 1742. This council justified the action of those by whom it was convened. The church in Concord was divided ; but after all this commotion, the majority adhered to their minister, and he died in his pastorate after a very successful ministry. It is clear that Mr. Prentice did not approve the course of Mr. Bliss, in some particulars ; but there is nothing to show that there was a difference between them in relation to the essential truths of the Gospel.

No preacher, whether as a pastor or an evangelist, has ever rivaled the celebrated Whitefield in popularity among the

people of New England. A division of opinion was inevitable, and the division was at many points. Some disliked his methods; others rejected his doctrines; and others still did not approve of any measures which interfered with the regular ministry. Meetings of ministers were held which criticised him and cautioned the churches against his labors; and other meetings were called, which cordially approved of him and his work. The ministers and churches in this region, as well as in other parts of the province, were divided, and met in separate meetings to give expression to their views. Mr. Prentice was among the opponents of Whitefield, and joined with others, at a meeting held in Marlborough, January 22, 1745, in censuring the new measures. At the same time he was a firm believer, doubtless, in the system of Christian doctrine, of which Whitefield was the champion. Lasting effects followed this controversy, the end of which is not yet reached.

The number admitted to full communion with the church, during the ministry of Mr. Prentice, by himself, is as follows: males, 127; females, 203. Total, 330. Under the record thus given, some minister<sup>x</sup> writes, "Per me, 27, 37." <sup>b</sup> That is, he received 27 males and 37 females into the church. Adding these, the total number of admissions was three hundred and ninety-four. (These are rightly included in the results of the ministry of Mr. Prentice, as they were made during his life.) <sup>no b</sup> His health began to fail in 1746, and from that time till his death, Messrs. Benjamin Stevens, William Lawrence, Cotton Brown and Stephen Frost, the latter a member of this church, and all graduates of Harvard, supplied his pulpit. <sup>c</sup> It is supposed that one of these gentlemen <sup>no. b</sup> wrote the words "per me."

The half-way members are not counted in the Records, and it was not customary to enumerate them in giving the number of members. However, the numerous entries give the impression that a large proportion of the people of the town, who were not in full communion, held this relation to the church.

a See a note (which should be here) opposite p 241

b x Timothy Harrington 5 years after when preparing his Century Sermon, made lists of membership from Mr Prentiss coming to the pulpit to that date, and derived therefrom a summary of results which he used in his discourse. His notes in the Book are what Mr Mason is here turning over.

c { Benjamin Stevens Hll 1740 S.T.D. 1785  
William Lawrence Hll. 1743 M.  
Cotton Brown Hll. 1743 M.  
Stephen Frost. Hll 1739 M. died 1749 (See note p 524.)

Willard mentions Deacon Roger Sumner in Whittier's  
day - as one

ca This statement is entirely without any authority  
from Rev. John Prentice's Records.

Mr Prentice's salary was in	1717	70±
	1718	85±
	1726	100±
	1731	130±
	1737	210± old tenor
	1744-5-6	210 present currency

Rev<sup>d</sup> John Seccomb. was a man of unusual  
talent. The somewhat noted "college poem" called  
Father Abbeys Will is credited to him -  
See "A Collection of College Words & Customs" by  
B. H. Hall (1856). It was printed in both the  
Gentleman's Magazine & London Magazine May 1780.  
& reprinted in Massachusetts Magazine Nov. 1794.  
He was b. at Medford Apr. 25, 1708, graduated at Harvard 1728  
Minister of Harvard Oct. 10, 1733 to Sept 1757 & of Chertin Nova Scotia  
1763 to his death Oct. 27, 1792

The number of baptisms from "Rev. Mr. Prentice's ordination to the last recorded by him," was fifteen hundred and twenty-three. From this time, October 25, 1747, to November 16, 1748, the date of his successor's settlement, thirty-eight were baptised by other clergymen, making a total of fifteen hundred and sixty-one.

The deacons in this period, as far as can be found, were "Capt. Peter Joslin and Joseph Wilder,"<sup>Aug. 4</sup> elected in 1715; James Wilder and Josiah White,<sup>Jan. 30</sup> in 1728; and Hooker Osgood and Israel Houghton,<sup>Oct. 1</sup> in 1742. The choice was in all cases unanimous, or by a large majority, and those chosen were requested not to decline, at the time, but take the subject into consideration, and give an answer at a subsequent meeting. The meeting of the church for the choice of deacons was opened, and generally closed with prayer; and the designated deacons requested the prayers of the minister and brethren that they might be led to a right decision.

Two days before the decease of Mr. Prentice, January 4, 1748, the church voted to settle a colleague if "God should spare their minister's life." On the sixth he was called to a higher ministry. By appointment, the twenty-first was set apart for a day of fasting and prayer, and the neighboring ministers, Messrs. Gardner of Lunenburg, Seccomb of Harvard, Rogers of Leominster, Goss of Berlin, and Mellen of the second precinct, were all invited to be present.

He died much lamented, at the age of sixty-six, "after a life of much service and faithfulness." He had been married twice. Mrs. Mary Gardner, widow of his predecessor, was his first wife. They had three sons, Stanton, a physician, Thomas and John. The eldest daughter, Mary, became the wife of the Rev. Job Cushing of Shrewsbury, and the mother, besides other children, of Jacob Cushing, D. D., (H. C., 1748,) minister of Waltham, and John, also D. D., (H. C., 1764,) minister of Ashburnham, and father of Thomas Parkman Cushing, founder of Cushing Academy. Elizabeth, the second daughter, married Mr. Daniel Robins of Chocksett

xx  
Bolton

1705 Dec 4



and after his death, Capt. Curtis of Worcester. Sarah was the wife, successively, of Dr. Smith and Col. Brigham, of Southborough. Mr. Prentice's second wife was also a widow, Mrs. Prudence [Frost] Swan, mother of the Rev. Josiah Swan. They had three daughters, two of whom became wives of ministers. Prudence married Josiah Brown, of the west parish, and a Harvard graduate. Relief became the wife of Rev. John Rogers of Leominster, in 1750, and Rebecca married the Rev. John Mellen, of the west parish, or Sterling. One of her sons was Judge Mellen of Portland, Maine. Charlotte Mellen, his daughter, was the wife of William Kent, of Concord, N. H. His daughter, Rebecca Prentice Kent, became the wife of Rev. Charles Packard, the first pastor of the Orthodox church in Lancaster.

Mr. Willard, the historian, must have conversed with aged people who remembered Mr. Prentice, and he probably gave the voice of tradition when he wrote these words: "He is said to have possessed great dignity and severity of manners, and to have been bold, direct, and pointed in his style of preaching." He was thoroughly orthodox after the pattern of orthodoxy then prevalent in New England. He died too early to have been much affected by the writings of Edwards. It is evident that he was highly respected at home, and throughout the province. Among his occasional sermons was one preached at Marlborough on occasion of the death of Rev. Robert Breck, in 1731. Another was an ordination sermon, for the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman. When Worcester county was formed, he was invited to preach at the opening of the first court, August 10, 1731. The text was from II. Chron. 19: 6-7, and was appropriate to the occasion. "And said to the judges, Take heed what ye do: for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you; take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of bribes." Perhaps Mr. Prentice was selected for this service at the suggestion of one

(22)  
See p. 237  
blank.

(m<sup>2</sup>) Willard in answer to an inquiry addressed to a grandson of Mr Prentice received this reply.  
 "I know not that he leaned to Arminianism but I believe he was not rigid in his orthodoxy"

John Prentice Jr died the next year after his father, March 1749. The widow died in 1765. July 10 (Rev<sup>s</sup> Mrs. Prentice's widow - Prudence)

Willard mentions no more daughters of Mr Prentice but Bond says that Dorothy about 1740 "d<sup>r</sup> of Rev. John and Mary (Gardner) Prentice of Lancaster" married Josiah Stearns a farmer and blacksmith of Wakeston. See also N.E. Hist & Gen. Register Vol 411 p 74. She is named in Prentice will. also opposite p. 249

Willard & others say Mr Prentice's wife, the widow of Ebenezer Swan was Prudence "Foster". She was d. of Timothy of Charleston born 1684 Dec. 3 m. Ebenezer Swan 1707.

See Jackson's History of Newton p. 391 & Genealogy of Prentice Family p. 165.

Family Record - John Prentice, son of Thomas & Sarah Stanton, born in Newton 1682. married in Roxbury Dec 4, 1705 Mary widow of Rev. <sup>(Andrew)</sup> Gardner, who died 1717 <sup>1717</sup> when he married 2<sup>d</sup> Mrs Prudence (Foster) Swan, mother of Rev. Josiah Swan. She died July 10 1765. John Prentice died aged 66. January 6<sup>th</sup> 1678. Children

By wife Mary - 1 Mary b. 1708 m Rev Job Cushing March 16 1727. had 2 ch. & died May 24 1748 -  
 2 Thomas baptised Sep. 3 1700 m. 1<sup>st</sup> Abigail Willard 1737 Graduate of H. U. 1726 Master of Grammar School in Lancaster 1729 & 1736. A surveyor also. Removed to Newton about 1750 - probably died Nov 29 1775 - aet 67. 2<sup>d</sup> wife Mrs Borodell Jackson.

3<sup>d</sup> John - married Anna Bailey in Roxbury 1748

4 - Stanton b. 1711. Physician (see p. 645 & c) died Dec 1 1769

5. Elizabeth bapt 2<sup>d</sup> Nov. 22 1713. m. 1<sup>st</sup> Daniel Robbins, 2<sup>d</sup> Capt - Curtis

6. Sarah " March 11 1715<sup>6</sup> m 1 Dr Joshua<sup>1742</sup> Smith 2<sup>d</sup> Col. Timothy Brigham

7. Dorothy " Jan 12 1717<sup>8</sup>

8. Prudence " Nov. 29 1719 m Josiah Brown

9. Relief " m. Rev<sup>s</sup> John Rogers 1750 & had 7 children

10 - Rebecca " m. Rev<sup>s</sup> John Miller 1749. " 8 "

Epitaph  
See p  
646

By wife  
Prudence

(22) A copy of this sermon is in the Lancaster  
Library - The title page is worded as follows:

Pure & undefiled Religion The  
highest Obligation and truest Liberty of Civil  
RULERS.

---

A  
SERMON  
Delivered at Boston  
In the Audience  
OF  
The Great and General Court  
or ASSEMBLY of the Province of  
the Massachusetts Bay in New England  
May 28<sup>th</sup> 1735

Being the Anniversary for the Election of His  
Majesty's COUNCIL for the Province

By John Prentice A.M.  
Pastor of the Church in Lancaster

BOSTON: Printed by S. KNEELAND Printer to the  
Honourable House of Representatives. for D. Hinckman,  
in Cornhill MDCCLXXXV

On the opposite side of leaf -

" In the House of Representatives  
May 29 1735.

Ordered that John Chandler Esq and  
Capt Ephraim Wilder give the Thanks of  
the House to the Reverend Mr John Prentice of  
Lancaster for his Sermon preached yesterday before  
the General Court, and desire a Copy for the  
Press.  
J Quincy Speaker

of his deacons, the Hon. Joseph Wilder, senior, who was on the bench at this time.

In 1737, when Belcher was governor, he was invited to preach before the general court. The sermon was printed with the following title. - "A Sermon delivered at Boston, in the audience of the Great and General Court of Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, May 28th, 1735. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for the Province. By JOHN PRENTICE, A. M., Pastor of the Church in Lancaster." (o<sup>2</sup>/

The text was from II. Chron. 17 : 3-6, and the subject, "Pure and undefiled Religion, the highest Obligation and truest Glory of Civil Rulers." The closing page is a fair specimen of his matter and style. He was addressing the governor, council, lower house, clergy, and people, and said : "Let us *all* be deeply sensible, and thoroughly convinced of the necessity and utility of our being truly religious, and on the other hand, of the evil, danger, manifest unprofitableness, and manifold disadvantages, of our being irreligious, or only formalists in religion ; and let us be concerned to have our hearts found in God's statutes. Let our aim and endeavor be, to be really, personally, and relatively good. Let us not seek unto Baalim, but let us know and acknowledge, worship and obey the living and true God, the God of our fathers, with a perfect heart and a willing mind ; and walk in all his commandments and ordinances blameless. Let us imitate Christ, our great pattern, walk in the ways of pious Predecessors, and imitate the graces and virtues of the Saints and People of God upon record in the sacred pages, and of our forefathers in this Land. If we do thus, may we not hope to have God with us, as he was with our fathers, and that he will not leave us and forsake us, but establish us an holy people to himself? If we return to the Almighty, shall we not be built up, and have the Lord our God nigh unto us in all that we call upon him for? I conclude with that in Psal. 85 : 9, 12, "Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him, that glory

may dwell in our land. Yea the Lord shall give that which is good, and our land shall yield her increase."

This sketch of the history of the church during forty years, and of the services of Mr. Prentice, may be fitly closed by the following extract from the sermon of Rev. John Hancock, preached at the installation of Mr. Harrington. "Since the <sup>several</sup> days of affliction have rolled over you, God has shown you that he had <sup>the</sup> mercy in store for you. O how have you been greatly smiled upon in the life and labors of the Rev. Mr. John Prentice, who having obtained help from God, ministered unto you for the space of forty years. God made him a blessing to you; he was a burning and shining light, and you rejoiced in the light for a long season.

"As God gave him the tongue of the learned, so he knew how to speak a word unto him that was weary; The God of the spirits of all flesh fitted him for his work, and taught him how he ought to behave himself in the house of God.

"They that knew him, esteemed him for his piety, his probity, his peacefulness and gentleness, and for his commendable steadiness in these uncertain times. And ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, how justly, how unblameably he behaved himself among you, serving the Lord in all humility of mind. He was a practical scriptural profitable preacher, How you profited under it, God knows, and your own consciences they know.

b "He was of a firm, unbroken constitution, till about a year before his death, and was temperate in all things. And as to his secular affairs, with the help of that PRUDENCE God gave him, he managed them with discretion."

a ? Mr. Prentice's estate was probably not large, but he left sixty-six acres of land to two of his sons. He left also three grandchildren who had Daniel Wilder for their guardian. Caleb Wilder, John Phelps and Zachariah Williams appraised his personal property as follows :

Corrected by comparison with printed copy in the  
Lancaster Library.

D. This pun upon Prentice's 2<sup>d</sup> wife's name, was put  
for she was a financial success. She kept a "shop" during  
his life and probably later, as Mr Prentice mentions it in his  
will and secures her rights in the goods etc.

a. Daniel W? Was it not Dea. David? His wife was  
Anna Prentice, & I find no Daniel Wilder so early as  
this in Lancaster history -

yes it was. See a petition of David Wilder in class  
Archives -

1 Capt. Thomas Prentice

Thomas Prentice, born 1620 died 1710 Sarah Stanton.

Ordained in L. Mar 29 1708

3 Rev John Prentice, b. Newton 1682 d. Lancaster, Jan 6, 1748. 1<sup>st</sup> Mary, W<sup>o</sup> of Rev. Andrew Jackson. 2<sup>nd</sup> Prudence, W<sup>o</sup> of Edward Swan. 3<sup>rd</sup> died July 30 1765 in Lancaster. 4<sup>th</sup> Prudence, W<sup>o</sup> of Edward Swan.

4 Mary	John	Born 1708? Married 1727 Rev. Job. Cushing of Shrewsbury Children 6 Died 1798 aet. 90?
	Thomas	Born 1704 <sup>10</sup> Married 1 <sup>st</sup> Abigail Willard of Shrewsbury 1737 " 2 <sup>nd</sup> Mrs Rowdel Jackson widow, 1751 Was a Surveyor & Teacher, removed to Newton 1750 Died perhaps at Cambridge 1775
	Stanton	Born 1711 - A physician of Lancaster Married 1 <sup>st</sup> Mercy Junison of Watertown 1740 - died 1758 " 2 <sup>nd</sup> Rebecca Stearns of Groton, who m 2 <sup>nd</sup> Dr. Deed Children 16 - 7 by 1 <sup>st</sup> , 9 by 2 <sup>nd</sup> wife, mostly died young. 1772 Died 1769
	Elizabeth	Born 1713 Married 1 <sup>st</sup> Daniel Robbins of Lancaster " 2 <sup>nd</sup> Capt. Curtis of Worcester
	Sarah	Born 1715 <sup>6</sup> Married 1 <sup>st</sup> 1742 Dr. Joshua Smith of Shrewsbury " 2 <sup>nd</sup> 1759 Col. Tunott, Brighton of Southton Children -
	Donothy	Born 1717 <sup>8</sup> Married Josiah Stearns 1740, a blacksmith of Watertown
	Prudence	Born 1719 Married Josiah Davenport of Lancaster
	Relief	Born? Married Rev John Rogers 1750, of Lewinnton. Children 7- Died?
	Rebecca	Born 1727? Married 1749 Rev John Mellen, of Lancaster! Children 8! Died at Hanover Mass. 1802

"Purse and Apparel,	£56. 9. 8.
Firelock, Ammunition and Sundry Utensils,	9. 19. 1.
	<hr/>
Total,	£66. 8. 9."

His grave, with that of his wife, his son, Dr. Stanton, and a long row of little mounds, which cover the remains of the Dr.'s children, is in the old burying ground, east of the railroad. Rev. Mr. Harrington, Rev. Andrew Gardner, and Rev. John Whiting were all buried in close proximity, and all have stones to mark their last sleeping place. "They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."



## CHAPTER XII.

### THE LAST FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1755-1763.

LEAVING the civil and educational history of the town for the present, we resume the more stirring, but sadder narrative of military expeditions. The last French and Indian war began in 1755, and continued till 1763. Though the colonies were involved in its heroism and its losses by their connection with the mother country, yet it is a historical fact that the people of New England were ready if not eager for the contest. It was felt by every man of ordinary intelligence that there was no permanent peace or safety for the English colonies, so long as the French retained their power in North America. France ruled from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, through Canada and the lakes, to the source of the Ohio river, and farther on to the Mississippi. By the aid of Indian allies, she was continually harassing the English colonists, with a view to their conquest, and her own undisputed supremacy everywhere in North America north of the Spanish possessions.

As years passed, the necessity of reducing the French power was felt to be more pressing, and all New England was moved to combined action, in conjunction with forces from some of the middle colonies. The enterprise came home to the "business and bosoms" of every family, and here in Lancaster, as elsewhere, the war was entered into with great spirit. No apology needs therefore be made for devoting a few pages of town history to this general war. Since the town, in common with the province, and indeed the whole English-speaking population, in America, were

In the Boston Gazette - Tuesday April 16 1754 is  
this news item -

"On the 28<sup>th</sup> of last Month, as some Children were  
at Play in the House of Mr Aaron Willard of Lancaster  
(he and his Wife being from Home) one of them, a Boy  
of the Neighbourhood took down a Gun and snapt it several  
Times and continued playing with it till it went off, and  
being loaded with shot, Killed a Girl about 13 years old and  
her Brother about 9, in an Instant -" not recorded unless  
Child of Samuel Willard

In the same paper. for Monday Nov 22<sup>d</sup> 1762  
is this -

"We hear from Lancaster, that a few Days ago as  
Mr <sup>Belovain</sup> Read of that Town was sitting on a cart. and  
driving the Oxen, he accidentally fell off, when one of  
the Wheels going over his Body, crushed him to Death  
in an Instant."

In 1753 by law, a tax was levied upon wheeled  
Carriages throughout the Province. to be given for the  
encouragement of Linen Manufacture in Massachusetts.

The Sum of 10 shillings was to be paid for each coach.  
5 shillings for a chariot; 3 shillings for a chaise, 2 shillings  
for a Calash or Chair. This tax continued five years.

In 1753 in Lancaster tax was levied upon 3 chaises

1754 do

1755 do

1756 do

1 chair

2 chaises + 3 chairs

2 Chaises + 2 chairs

During these years Harvard Boston and  
Serrinster had but 1 chair among the three.



deeply engaged in the contest, it would be inexcusable to pass by the event with a merely casual notice.

Four expeditions were planned for the campaign of 1755. One was under Gen. Braddock, which ended disastrously. Another, under the command of William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts Bay from 1741 to 1749, was designed for the reduction of Fort Niagara, at Kingston, now Lewiston, N. Y. The third had for its object the taking of Crown Point, a fortress on the west side of lake Champlain, some eight or ten miles north of the point where lake George unites with it, near Ticonderoga. Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was invaded by the fourth expedition. These movements were planned mainly by Gov. Shirley, an active, ambitious man, who like Sir Walter Raleigh, could "toil terribly." The march towards Niagara was under his immediate leadership, with Col. <sup>John</sup> Bradstreet, who had fought under Pepperell at Louisburg, for his second in command. It does not appear that any troops from Lancaster were with the governor, this year, and the enterprise may be dismissed with the remark that it was managed with efficiency, but succeeded only in reaching Oswego, where the troops were engaged in strengthening the works of defence, and preparing for an attack on Niagara in the ensuing spring.

Lieut. Col. Monckton, of the British army, was in chief command in the conquest of Acadia. The first battalion was commanded by Gen. Winslow, and the second by Col. Scott. It is believed that a few men from Lancaster were in this service, but how many is unknown. Capt. Abijah Willard, afterwards colonel, commanded a company. Under Shirley's advice, the British government determined to break up the settlement, as a nest of French intrigue and mischief, and scatter the people among the towns. This hard service was laid upon Gen. Winslow, and carried out by him with as much humanity as was compatible with the execution of the command. Some of the French captives were quartered upon Lancaster, and were lodged in families here. They

(a lawyer) and by one historian styled "a military umbreller!"

a.

- ?  
Lawrence had much more to do with it than Shirley.

Col. Monckton gave the orders directly - not through Winslow.

\* Maj. Gen. Winslow, in Mass. Militia, but Lt. Col. in this expedition. Governor Shirley being Colonel. Lt. Col. Monckton had the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion & Winslow the 2<sup>d</sup>. but each battalion had a Lt. Col. + two majors. + Lt. Col. Scott belonged to the 2<sup>d</sup>. Shirley not accompanying the expedition. Monckton became its head + Winslow commanded the troops of Mass.

helped themselves to some extent. As far as necessary the town supplied their wants, and the province paid the expense. The state Records contain a few of the old bills, one ~~or two~~ specimens of which follow, dated in 1758.

"The Province of the Massachusetts Bay  
To the Town of Lancaster, Dr.

"To <sup>said</sup> Billeting the French Neutrals sent to ~~this~~ Town by order of the General Court, from the sixth Day of March last, to the fifteenth Day of April last, being six weeks at 26 shillings <sup>8</sup> per week." — — — — — viz: — — — — — £8.

"To billeting ten of <sup>said</sup> Neutrals, one man and two women, and one <sup>aged about 50</sup> Girl, <sup>17</sup>, and six children, <sup>that were</sup> unable to support themselves from the 15th day of April to the 25th <sup>of</sup> Day of December <sup>Instant</sup>, being <sup>36</sup> thirty-six weeks, at 12 shillings, 8 pence per <sup>22d 16s</sup> Week. John Carter, Abel Willard, John White, selectmen." *Lancaster December 25 1758*

The unhappy exiles were kindly treated by our people, but they did not take easily to the ways of the English, and gradually sought more congenial settlements. Here and there an individual or a family became permanent. An active lad would find a home in some good family, and a bright-eyed girl would win the heart of some Yankee youth.

The Crown Point expedition engrossed the interest of the people of Lancaster, in 1755, and they marched in considerable numbers, under the lead of different officers. ~~Col.~~

~~Abijah Willard was in this service also before its close.~~ The troopers were in the regiment of Col. Josiah Brown. Their names follow.

John Moore,	Nathaniel White,
Jonas Whitcomb,	Paul Sawyer,
Oliver Pollard,	Simon Willard,
Ephraim Houghton,	Phineas Willard,
Israel Greenlife,	Samuel Cumings,
Jonathan Powers,	F <sup>ather</sup> bank Moor,
Nathaniel Houghton,	Nathaniel Benitt,
Nathaniel Hudson,	

Sept. 30 1755.

See note a''

Mass Archives  
Vol. 93 p 215.

x Col Samuel Willard B had a regiment 1755 & died in October. He was an older brother of Col. Abijah.

<sup>a</sup> The story of the French Neutrals in Lancaster can be pretty fully deduced from the Mass. Archives Vols. 23 + 24. Two families were (1756 - 60) in Lancaster containing 15 persons thus described by the Selectmen -

"And here Followeth an account of the Circumstances, age + sexes of those people, there is two families Consisting of fifteen In Number, the whole to witt - Benoni Melanson with his wife of about forty four or fives years of age, and they have seven children. three Boyes and four Girls the Eldest Girl about 17 years old, the Boyes Next about 15 years old, + ye four Girls all under thers Down to two years old, and the woman almost a Ripple but Notwithstanding she is pregnant with Child, the Name of the others is Jeffrey + his wife, he almost an Doct, and about 46 years old, + his wife pregnant, they have four children 3 Boyes + one Girl, ye Eldest Boye 10 years old + ye Rest Down to two years old "

Am Richardson } Selectmen  
John Carter }  
Joshua Fairbank } Lancaster

(a) Benoni Melanson + the other French Neutrals early in 1757, "in a disorderly manner withdrew themselves" from Lancaster to Weymouth. + Complaining of their treatment here, petitioned the General Court to permit them to stay in Weymouth - They were however sent back - the Committee to whom the matter was referred Declaring that they had no grounds for Complaint against the Selectmen of Lancaster - In 1760 the Melansons (Melanson) family were distributed to Lunenburg, Rutland + Hardwick Lancaster retaining Jeffrey Benway with wife + six children. The Melanson family were probably sent to France 1760 or 1761 + the Benways disappeared from Lancaster -

Phineas Willard 2<sup>d</sup> son of Hezekiah born in Lancaster (Harvard) 1714. (Henry 14<sup>th</sup> son of Major Simms was Hezekiah's father -

a" Enlistment roll among T.M. papers -

" 1755 - We the Subscribers Do acknowledge to have Voluntarily enlisted our selves as Private Soldiers to Serve his Majesty King George the Second In a Regiment of foot Now a Raising In the Province of the Massachusetts Bay In New England out of the Several Regiments of horse and

Continued

(a) Roll 86 Volume 94 Mass. Archives.

and out of the Regiment in particular whereof Oliver Wilder Esq<sup>r</sup> Is Collored to Reinforce the Army under the Command of Major General Johnson destined for Crown Point and under such Collored as his Honor the Sept<sup>m</sup> Governor Ships shall be good to appoint as witnesses our hands this fifteenth Day of September in the year of our Lord 1755

Luke Jarvis	accepted in ye	Rome of Stephen Tuttle
Benjamin Wilder	John Dow Jr	Moses Whitney
Phineas Carter	Samuel Cummings Juner	Phineas Willard
Jonathan Power	Simon Willard	Collet Sawyer
Paul Sawyer	Joseph Wheelock	Ladock Davis Trump
Nathan Houghton	Jonas Whitcomb Trump	Williams Houghton
Nathaniel White	Ephraim <sup>his</sup> Houghton	Jordan Hutchins
Nathaniel Hudson	Oliver Pollard	Jeremiah Loughton Corp
Jonathan Houghton	Faithank Moor	Daniel Houghton
Israel Greenleaf	Seth Oak	Nathaniel Cobleigh
	Bensa Bridge	Oliver Feeny
		Robert Whitcomb
		Benjamin Hale Corp

In the Journals of General Court. are numerous petitions

in favor of sick + wounded soldiers. & votes of money to be paid for their use to the representatives of their towns -

I find moneys paid for such to Lancaster representatives

1755 for Wm Kendall  
 Daniel Houghton  
 Seth Barker  
 James Johnson

1757 Henry Hasbrel for son Abner.  
 Henry Hasbrel Jr  
 Jonas Wilder  
 Jonathan Houghton  
 William Stickney  
 Ureah Holt.

Hezekiah Gates & William Willard are petitioners as having been at Crown Point -

b

Johnson was not a baronet when in command of expedition against Crown Point, but was made one in reward for his victory over Dieskau. This patent of baronetcy reached him March? 1756.

Oliver Warner  
Simon Alexander  
Inferred

Some of these were from the second precinct, now Sterling, and possibly a few from other towns.

Another company—infantry—had Joseph Whitcomb for their captain. These are the names.

(a.)

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Corp. James C <sup>o</sup> field,     | Joseph Robbins,                               |
| Corp. Joseph Robins, jr.,             | Jonathan Houghton,                            |
| Jona. Priest Whitcomb, <i>Drummer</i> | Cyrus Gates,                                  |
| Joshua Sawyer,                        | Marmaduke J <sup>os</sup> Hamilton,           |
| Josiah Pratt, jr.,                    | Abram <del>Kenilton</del> , or Knolton,       |
| Robert Longley,                       | Josiah Pratt, <i>ser.</i>                     |
| John Richardson,                      | Abraham Bruce,                                |
| Nathaniel Holman,                     | Robert Fletcher, <i>Clerk.</i>                |
| Abijah Cole,                          | <i>Clerk</i> , Eltham <sup>ph</sup> Phillips, |
| Ebenezer Snow,                        | William Willard,                              |
| Robert Forskit,                       | Phinehas Randell, <i>dead</i>                 |
| John Wheeler,                         | Peter Kendell, <i>dead</i>                    |

These soldiers were not in service the same length of time. Some of them were engaged ten weeks, and others longer, even to forty weeks, from March, 1755, to the following January. The rolls also contain the names of some who returned home by way of Albany, either because of sickness, or expiration of the term of service. In the regiment of Col. John Whitecomb, of Bolton, Capt. <sup>*Lieutenant*</sup> Jonathan Goodnough, were the following Lancaster men, who were nearly a month returning from Albany to Bolton, where they were dismissed. Lieut. Hezekiah Whitcomb, <sup>*dead*</sup> Aaron Dresser, Thomas Dole, John Whitcomb, <sup>*dead*</sup> Abner Osgood.

*Mass Archives  
Vol. 94, p. 52.*

Capt. Benjamin Ballard, of Lancaster, was in this expedition, and the following men, who were in service from nine to forty weeks in the summer and fall, of this year, returned home by Albany in the early winter of 1756.

- |                         |                   |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Sgt. Sherebiah Hunt,    | William Kendall,  |
| Clerk, Timothy Whiting, | Josiah Fairbanks, |
| Samuel Ballard,         | John Manning,     |
| Elijah Woods,           | Elisha White,     |
| Joseph Woods,           | William Barron.   |

The chief in command of this enterprise was Sir William Johnson, of New York. Col. Williams of Massachusetts was



X <sup>third</sup> ~~second~~, and Gen. <sup>Thames</sup> Lyman of Connecticut, third in rank. The old histories tell the story of the battles near lake George. It is enough to say here, that the provincial troops behaved like veterans. Col. Williams, with Col. Whiting of Connecticut, was sent from the post at the south end of lake George to intercept a party of French and Indians, under the celebrated baron Dieskau, on the eighth of September. They were ambushed and defeated, though bravely led by Williams, who fell at the first charge. The retreat was conducted by Whiting with great credit. The enemy marched directly upon the position held by Johnson, but were met with resolute bravery, and completely defeated. Dieskau was wounded and taken prisoner. He entered the fight with about two thousand men. ~~Seven~~ hundred were killed, and thirty made prisoners. This shows how deadly was the fire of our troops. Their loss was about two hundred, chiefly those who were with Col. Williams. The soldiers who survived and returned, told the story with thrilling details, in every family. With all the glory there was mourning in many households.

X

The following paper lets us into the personal experience of many who went forth strong, but returned weak or wounded. The date is "April ye first, 1757," and the address is to the general court.

a

"The <sup>P</sup>etition of William Willard humbly <sup>ely</sup> showing that he was an <sup>I</sup>nlisted Soldier under the Command of Capt. Joseph Whitcomb, in the <sup>R</sup>egiment <sup>whereof</sup> Col. Timothy Ruggles, Esq., was <sup>Colonel</sup> of in the Crown Point Expedition in the year 1755; and so it was, may <sup>it</sup> Please your <sup>Honors</sup>, that your poor petitioner was taken Sick at Lake George, and was obliged for to hire a horse, and make the Best of way home with the <sup>Leave</sup> of my Superior Officers, and was obliged for to lay by four days on my journey home, I being so very sick and weak, and the <sup>fourteenth</sup> 14th Day, with great Difficulty, I arrived at my home <sup>at</sup> in Lancaster, and then was Confined to my Room and bed, for five weeks with the feyer and Camp Distemper, and my body and legs being Swelled for four or five months

x No! General Phineas Lyman was second in Command, and Colonel Ephraim Williams third. Lyman was in command at first.

Lieutenant Colonel Whiting - not Colonel.

x<sup>2</sup> The English loss, returned was 262 killed, wounded & missing mostly killed. The French according to their own account but 228, while Johnson Commander of the English sets Deschamps lost at 400. Where Mr. Leary got his 700 killed & 30 prisoners I know not. Deschamps force was not two thousand but 216 regulars, 684 Canadians & about 600 Indians = 1500. In the morning fight, according to Rev John Keller, four men of the Second precinct were killed - Samuel Fairbanks, William Fairbanks, Dease Kendall & Ithamar Bennett.

a Massachusetts Volume 76 - p 573 -  
Williams probably son of Henry<sup>2</sup> (Henry) born 1753.

• Capt Joseph Whitecomb lived on the Lunenburg road -

(a) Mass. Archives Volume 55 p. 202. & 162.

The first William Richardson owned from Woburn - son  
of Capt James? In Worcester Registry Book 66, p. 438.  
is record of a deed. May 1772. from Mr Richardson to  
James Pratt of "two parcels of land where I now live"  
one contained one acre one hundred and fifty rods,  
with Dwelling house, Barn and shop, bounded east and  
north on land of Samuel Locke westerly on land of  
Samuel Ward & south on Highway - The other piece  
contained 25 rods, lying on southerly side of the Highway,  
bounded southerly by land in possession of David Greenleaf  
southeasterly on land of Timothy Harrington, north on Highway.  
The probable that moved to Princeton. His wife was Esther Joslin. See below x  
W.R. Jr who a sailor, moved to Princeton about 1772, was Justice of the Peace, kept a store &  
a Bay Broadoaks death Shurly had become chief of the English forces in America.  
x Parkman our latest authority writes always "Abercromby" though most authors have  
this name "Abercrombie" -

a" Mass. Archives Volume 74. p. 354. Aug 11 - 1756  
A full statement of terms of enlistment of the Massachusetts men in this campaign  
will be found in Parkman's Montcalm & Wolf I. 394. 56. - "The complement of a Regiment  
was 500. of a Company 50. men.

a" Mass. Archives Volume 95 - p. 88 -

x In News Letter March 30 1732 is an account of the burning of Mr Richardson's  
House in a letter dated March 19. saying "On the night after last Lord's day,  
about 11 o'clock a fire broke out in the house of Mr William Richardson of this town  
and raged to a great degree before it was perceived by any in the family, they being all  
in bed asleep. The first that discovered it was the servant that lay in the chamber  
who was awaked by the smoke and the roaring of the fire. He cried out and  
awoke his master, and those that lay below, and attempted to get down stairs  
but could not by reason of the smoked and flame, but got out of a window without  
much hurt, his hair considerably singed. Mr Richardson his wife and children  
had no other way possible for them to get out, but at a window below. The  
fire increased so fast that they had no time to get anything out of the house,  
save one small bed -

See over

afterwards, which cost me in money, besides all other <sup>Nesse</sup> ~~Notes~~ sary Charges as to Candles, <sup>would</sup> boarding, nurses, etc., which sum of £1. 12sh., your poor petitioner humbly pray your honors to Repay him. As in <sup>to</sup> Duty bounds shall ever pray. William Willard." The petition was granted.

In March, 1756, William Richardson, of Lancaster, bought <sup>with eight</sup> ~~seventy-two~~ cattle for the board of war. (a)

Gov. Shirley had great plans for the next year's campaign, but by intrigues here and in England, he was displaced, and Gen. <sup>James</sup> Abercrombie put over the troops, subject however to the superior orders of lord Loudoun. Under their dilatory management, the whole season passed away without any decisive action, either in the middle colonies, against fort Niagara, or in attacking the enemy at Crown Point. And this notwithstanding the very great sacrifices made by the colonial governments in furnishing soldiers and the munitions of war. The fortifications at Oswego fell into the hands of the French and nothing was effected on lake Champlain, which was completely commanded by the fort at Crown Point. "Forts Edward and Henry were made more defensible, and furnished with numerous garrisons," says Trumbull, and as winter came on, the <sup>provincial</sup> soldiers returned home.

In the service, this year, are found the names of a few men who were in Capt. Reid's company, Col. Ruggles' regiment; as William Barron, William Warren, Jonathan Houghton. The names of Capt. Wilder, and Col. Oliver Wilder turn up in the Archives, as if in some kind of service. (a")

Capt. Asa Whitcomb, of Lancaster, second precinct, appears on the scene with his company, between March 28, and December 12. They were in the Crown Point expedition, and returned at the close of the campaign, in which they had gained no victory, but much experience, in the last month of the year. a"

Here follow the names.

<sup>Asa Whitcomb Capt</sup>  
Lt. Ezra Houghton,  
En. Elijah Houghton,

Thomas Fairbanks,  
Oliver Dustin,

Shirley was as dilatory as Loudoun or Abercrombie who did not arrive until June. The Colonial Government were blame to blame than either for the want of forces and supplies. probably there was no unity of action.

August 14 1756

7	Clk. Philemon Houghton,	Nathan Gary,
	× Corp's. Isaac Kendall, and	John Bailey,
	× Samuel Fairbanks,	Tilley Littlejohn,
a	× Drumer, William Fairbanks,	Oliver Osgood, and
	× John Farrar,	Nahum Houghton.
	John Brooks,	Osgood died. a
	× Ithamar Bennitt,	

*Phineas Phelps*  
*was Surgeon*  
*made in Coll*  
*Willard's Regiment*  
*1755*

Col. Samuel Willard, and Phineas Phelps were in ~~some~~ sphere of service not specified, ~~one~~ month.  
 From November 8, 1756, to February 1, 1757, Capt. Benjamin Ballard was again in the expedition with the following men.

	Lt. Sherebiah Hunt,	Andrew Godfrey, "dead"
	Sgt. Henry Haskell,	Joseph Houghton,
×	Corps. James Crosfield, and	Benjamin Houghton,
	John Manning,	Gardner Wilder,
	Clk. Samuel Ballard,	David Thurston,
	Elijah Woods,	Samuel Ross,
	Samuel Woods,	Henry Bridgman,
	Elijah Beeman,	Joseph Priest,
	Abner Hascal,	Josiah Divol, "deserted"

They were eleven days on their return from Albany; the same time occupied by Capt. Whitcomb's men.

*Mars. Inchain*  
*Vol 95. p 288*  
*266*

During this year, as already noted, the Willards and a few others, were holding Fort Dummer, while the following soldiers were stationed at No. 4, now Charlestown, N. H., from June 21, to April, 1757.

(b)	Sergeant Fairbank, Moore,	John Sawyer,
	Benony Wright,	Jos. Chamberlain, <i>Jos Chamberlain</i>
	Jonas Davis,	Gideon Shattuck,
	Uriah Morry,	Amos Davis,
	Jos Nutting Willard,	Moses Willard, <i>with hand</i>
	Benjamin Allen,	Jonathan Houghton.

*26*

*x*  
*b*

The campaign of 1756 was worse than wasted, by the imbecility of Loudoun and Abercrombie. The year 1757 was also a year of disaster and shame. Instead of pressing on to the north, and the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, a new expedition was started against Louisburg, which

Continued.

Everything else in the house was consumed with it in a very short time. All the clothing from head to foot belonging to the whole family that was saved was only two coats, and one petticoat. How the fire began no account can be given. The loss sustained (at a moderate computation) is adjudged to be about five hundred pounds."

"We hear from Lancaster that on Friday last died there William Richardson Esq formerly a Representative of that town" News-Letter Thursday July 5, 1772. The first W. R. probably lived on George Hill. He was a son-in-law of Capt Ephraim Wilder, who deeded him 32a of land "westerly side of George Hill adjoining where W. R. dwells" Nov 19 1730.

a - See p. 263. Miller does not name Oggood, but does name as "lost" the five men marked x In The Lancaster Church records I find "Oliver Oggood killed by ye enemy Sept 8" 1755.

In Keyes "Historical Memorandum of West Baylston" "Ephraim & Ithamar Bennett sons of Phineas Bennett" are said to have been killed in the so called "Morning Fight" at Ticonderoga in 1758 - an error for Lake George Sept. 8 1755.

Phineas Phelps of Lancaster was the "surgeons mate" of Col Willard's Regt.

x Creafied on p. 253. Crosfield right.

In church records of deaths 1757 is "John son of Henry Hoastal killed Sept 22"

1759 "Samuel Woods killed by ye enemy"

(18) Fairbank above became Captain and was killed by the Indians at Brattleboro's March 6, 1758 -

26

Moses Willard was probably son of Sicut Moses killed by Indians the year before (1686). He lived in Charlestown & died 1822 Oct. 84 - J. Nutting Willard was probably a grandson of Henry whose second wife was Sarah Nutting. Another Roll p 388 has same names adding James Willard & Willard Stevens - but this list after all has no right here, as these were not Lancaster men with perhaps one or two exceptions -

x b. Parkman supposed to be best because latest authority says "Hercroby" & "Louisbourg" - Abercrombie & Louisbourg are according to general usage however.

a. Volume 95 p. 535 Mass. Archives.

There is a host of blunders. Firstly, the company here given was a Leominster Company with hardly a Lancaster man in it, while a Lancaster Company under Capt. Nathaniel Wilder in the same service seems to have escaped the author's notice.

Secondly, Col. Oliver Wilder did not lead the company. The very title of the roll tells the story. "A muster roll of a Foot Company commanded by Thomas Wilder, Detached out of Coll: Oliver Wilder's Regiment, that marched on the late alarm for the Relief of Fort Williams Henry, as far as Springfield."

Thirdly, twenty three named (19 at the end) are omitted for no apparent reason -

Fourthly, The Lancaster "Troop," commanded by Capt. John Carter was also "detached out of Coll: Oliver Wilder's Regiment" and "march'd in the late alarm for the Fort William Henry as far as Springfield" - The names follow

	Cop. Nathaniel Houghton
Capt. John Carter	" Gabriel Priest
Lieut. Hezekiah Gates	" Abijah Wyman
Cornet Jon <sup>a</sup> Wilder	Trumpeter Simon Butler
Squad. Martin Nath <sup>l</sup> Longley	" Abijah Houghton
Chaplin Moses Hunningday	Privatey Jonas Whitcomb
Corporal Manasseh Dibble	Thomas Sawyer

had been foolishly given up to the French at the close of the late war. The season was wasted, and nothing was achieved. Not only was there no material advantage gained, but the glory of reputation and honor was dimmed. Louisburg was reinforced and made impregnable. At the north, our forces met with a great and mortifying reverse. Instead of making headway on the lakes, Montcalm came down from Canada, and hastened to the siege of fort William Henry, about fourteen miles from fort Edward. On the ninth of August, 1757, after a siege of six days, the fort surrendered, and a panic spread all over New England. By the taking of this fort, every barrier to the inroad of the enemy was broken down, our troops retreated, and it was supposed that Montcalm would rapidly advance with his army of allied French and Indians, and overrun the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Orders went hurriedly from Boston to Hampshire and Berkshire, for the people to withdraw without delay, from the western counties, and to bring away all their movable property and wheeled vehicles. In hot haste new levies were called out, and sent to meet the expected enemy. Lancaster felt the scare, and sprang, as one man, to the rescue. Col. Oliver Wilder, Esq., a veteran aged sixty-three, <sup>ordered</sup> led the following men on a march westward. The <sup>title</sup> ~~note~~ of the Roll reads: "~~marched as far as Springfield, on the alarm at Fort William Henry, 1757.~~"

~~Col. Oliver Wilder,~~  
 Capt. Thomas Wilder,  
 Lt. Samuel Nurse,  
 En. Josiah Bayley,  
 Sgt. Nathaniel Page,  
 " Caleb Sawyer,  
 " Oliver Halle,  
 " Nathan Bennet,  
 Cor. William Wilder,  
 " Nathaniel Hastings,  
 " Phineas Wheelock,  
 " John Pollard,  
 Benjamin Whitcomb,

Oliver Wyman,  
 James Ballard,  
 Gardner Wilder,  
 Jacob Houghton,  
 Matthew Knight,  
 Samuel Moore,  
 Henry Satel,  
 James Snow,  
 Samuel Bruse,  
 William Pollard,  
 James McBride,  
 Jabez Beers,  
 Elijah Wilson,

*Phillip Vorbach*  
*Silas Bayley*  
*Thomas Gull*  
*James Fife*



19 other  
names at end of  
roll are here  
omitted & among  
them most of the  
Lancaster men.  
The names here  
given are almost  
all from other towns

Jonathan White,  
James Simonds,  
Rufus Houghton,  
Amos Kendall,  
Kendall Boutell,  
Joseph Polley,  
Nathaniel Colburn,  
Luke Richardson,  
Asa Johnson,

Jonathan Holman,  
John Pyper,  
John ~~Grant~~ or Grout,  
Jonathan ~~Meslar~~, *meslar, meslar*  
Jonathan Page,  
Joseph Davis,  
Reuben Wyman,  
Jacob Gould,  
Aaron Taylor.

But the panic was soon over. Montcalm, prudent as well as brave, had no idea of rushing into such an agitated hornet's nest as New England had become. Word came from the lakes that there was to be no invasion, and in fourteen days, <sup>the companies returned</sup> Col. Wilder returned, and mustered out his men.

Here may be inserted two little items which seem to show how the ravages of war reach to individuals and families, far from the battle-field. In March, 1758, Caleb Willard, who was in the service of the province in 1757, under Col. Frye, petitioned for aid. On his return from camp he was taken ill of the small-pox, and was at great expense for nurses and doctors. He asked an allowance of £6, 5sh.

Phinehas Atherton, in the same regiment, Capt. Hartwell's company, in 1757, had the small-pox at Albany. Besides suffering from a loathsome disease and loss of time, he was at considerable extra expense, and asked for £4, 19sh., by way of reimbursement. ~~Edward~~ Hartwell, of Lunenburg, formerly of this town, was the captain.

The summer of 1758 witnessed a great change. William Pitt, the elder, assumed the reins of power, because the king and country felt the need of his genius. The season was too far gone for him to achieve great results in the lake region, even if the general in command had possessed the requisite ability. Massachusetts voted seven thousand men, and Connecticut five thousand. In every town there was the throbbing excitement which attends great enterprises. A large army was collected, and on the sixth of July, moved towards Ticonderoga. In a skirmish, Gen. Howe, the soul of the

W  
N

Frye.

a

b

b'

b''

Troop list continued

Ephraim Fairbank  
 Daniel Priest  
 Thomas Beckford  
 James Easton  
 Hezekiah Giles  
 Elijah Woods  
 Deacon Whitcomb  
 Josiah Gault  
 Elizabeth Hunt  
 David Postcard  
 Hooker Rogers Jr  
 Joseph Hildrick  
 John W. Wilder Jun.  
 Paul Sawyer  
 Daniel Thurston  
 John W. Lewis Jun  
 Levi Woods

The names are many of them from towns adjoining the present

Stephen Chandler  
 Daniel Atkins  
 Ezekiel Snow  
 Nathan Ancker  
 Jacob Giles  
 Joseph Houghton  
 Hezekiah Whitcomb  
 James Tompkins  
 Thomas Day  
 Walter Houghton  
 Edward Houghton  
 James Day  
 David Rogers Jr.  
 Ray & Hastings  
 The Whitcomb  
 James Rice  
 Joel Houghton  
 Elijah Houghton  
 John & Robbins

Sept 9 1758 known to John the Richardson + Joseph W. Lewis Jr

a Lieutenant was Major Caleb Willard was of Danbury  
 son of Jonathan, born 1731 - Major in Col. Abigail  
 Williams Regt. His Patrie is in Charles Oakman Vol 97  
 p. 596. Abel - One of these was at Fort Edward & had with a detachment of  
 about 800 Mass. troops & 200 regulars to Ft. Henry, Tenn; just before its capture by  
 the British in Sept 9, 1757, and hardly escaped in the massacre. There may have been  
 other families there in his Regiment -  
 b Vol 78 p 81 of Mass. Archives -

Edward Postcard, 1st Lt. Danbury militia this date have been seen  
 60 years of age & blind. He was made judge in 1750. I pre-  
 sume the Captain was his son, & his name was Capt Edward.  
 E. Gordon was recalled.

To Mr. Boscawen writing to Pitt says Massachusetts raised & maintained in 1758  
 7000 soldiers for themselves. Besides 2500 more serving the King by land and  
 sea, amounting to one in five of her able bodied men. When in 1760  
 \$200,000 were granted the Colonies to be paid each according to their efforts in  
 the war, Mass received almost one third of the sum \$59,575.

a Lord Howe, aged 34 at his death. The tablet upon which Hannah Dunstons testified her love for him is in Westminster Abbey - After "Stecromby" see note \*B page 256.

The regiment of Colonel Jonathan Bagley of which John Whitcomb of Lancaster (now Bolton) was Lieut. Col. was in the thick of the fight when Howe was slain July 6<sup>th</sup> 1758 (See notes last pages of this Vol.) "Col Bagley's Regiment was ordered to charge the enemy on the right. The brisk Engagement lasted about an hour" (See Rev John Cleaveland's Journal in Essex Institute Hist. Coll. Vol. XI p 85-90) Chaplain John Cleaveland was friend of Lt Col Whitcomb, they occupying the same hut. In the assault the next day the regiment lost "two officers and four privates killed" - Dr Rees Journal in Essex Inst. Hist. Coll. XLIII. shows that he was Surgeon in Bagley's Regt. and gives some general information of interest -

a. Wolfe was the youngest of three brigadiers under Amherst. the elders being Lawrence and Whitmore. Louisbourg surrendered July 27. 1758. Amherst "slaw died" enough in his advance to Crown Point.

(Mass. Archives Vol 96 - pp 451-2

a" Naason Willard - see note (a) p. 208. Nathan was a brother of Col. Josiah. born in Lunenburg 1726. His father Josiah was Colonel. Commanding Ft. Dunsmore, grandson of Mayor Willard.

Joseph Bigsby or Bisby. probably was of section now in West Boylston -

Capt Benjamin Stanton's grave is in the oldest burial ground of Bolton. He died 1786 act. 95.

a" Here is an astonishing blunder. There are three sheets of the muster roll of Capt Aben Whitcomb, and the alphabetical order of names ought to show the author that these three belonged together -

expedition, was killed. He was much beloved in America, and Massachusetts voted a monument to his memory. Abercrombie, the general in command, filled with "the extremest fright and consternation," withdrew to the landing place on the lake, but as Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, pressed forward, the general followed, and the army encamped within half a mile of the enemy. The attack on the next morning, owing to the strength of the works, was a complete failure. Bradstreet shortly after, by the reduction of Fort Frontenac, relieved partially the gloom, but the loss of the campaign was a grief to New England. However, Fort Du Quesne at the west, and Louisburg in the east were captured, and thus the year closed more hopefully. The spirit of Pitt was breathed into every arm of the service. His proud assertion: "I am sure I can save this country, and no one else can," began to be fulfilled. In the expedition against Louisburg he had joined Generals Jeffrey Amherst and Wolfe, with Admiral Boscawen, men who went forth not to dawdle, but to fight. Whether any of our men were engaged in the capture of Louisburg, is unknown, but a large number were in service at the northwest, or, as the Rolls say, in the "reduction of Canada." The following names indicate the men who served, this year. Capt. Aaron Willard and Lt. Nathan Willard were engaged nine months, in the "reduction of Canada," under Col. Oliver Partridge.

In the regiment of Col. Jonathan Bagley, Capt. Asa Whitcomb's company were engaged nearly ten months. <sup>March to December</sup> The Lancaster men with him were these.

Sgt. Jacob Smith,	John Bailey,
Abner Osgood,	Joseph Bigsby,
Benjamin Atherton,	Ebenezer Bigelow,
John Brooks,	Jedediah Cooper,
Shubael Bailey, jr.,	Oliver Butler, Dresser
William Brabrook,	Oliver Dymore.

These names were followed by a still longer list, who are placed under the years 1758-9, in one place, and in another are said to have served from March 13 to December 5, of the

a

Aug. 27. 1758

Louisburg  
taken July 26. 1758.from  
Rancroft.

a'

a''

a'''

former year. It is probable that many of them were out in the year 1759, when Quebec was taken and Canada was reduced. However that may be, here are the names of Asa Whitcomb's men, in addition.

Nathan Eager,	Ezekiel Snow,
Robert Fletcher,	James Squineen,
Phinehas Goodale,	John Sampson,
Jonathan Gear <del>y</del> ,	Aaron Tufts,
Ephraim Goss,	David Thurston,
Nathaniel Hastings, jr.,	Jonathan Townsend,
Daniel Johnson.	Phine <del>as</del> Wilder,
Joshua Johnson,	Silas Warner,
Philip Jen <sup>ts</sup> , <i>Geno p. 263</i>	Elijah Wood <sup>s</sup> ,
<sup>Edward</sup> Larkin,	Jedediah Wood <sup>s</sup> ,
William Larkin,	<del>Silvanus Johnson, servant a</del>
John McBride,	<del>to the Captain.</del>
Moses Sawyer,	

The year had its casualties, many of them, doubtless, if we could find a full report, such as the public became familiar with in the recent war of the Rebellion. One or two must be taken as specimens of all. Phinehas Wilder enlisted into his Majesty's service, for the conquest of Canada, in Asa Whitcomb's company. He was sick about the first of September, with camp distemper. He was brought in<sup>a</sup> carts, and by water, to Greenbush. There he was very sick, and lost all recollection for two weeks. Thence he came home, sometimes on horseback, and then on a horse litter, just alive, and remained so during six weeks. He was allowed five pounds. *He enlisted again the following year.*

And here is a statement by Capt. Ballard, September 18, 1758. "These may certify that my son, Samuel Ballard, was taken captive near Ticonderoga, about the 25th of June, being with Lt. Stephens. He was a ranger in Capt. John Stark's company. BENJ. BALLARD." This was the famous Gen. Stark of the revolution.

By the spring of 1759, the intense energy of Mr. Pitt had entered into the whole army, and the campaign was opened and carried forward with resistless power. The land forces

*Mass. Archives,  
Vol. 78. p. 56.*

*Mass. Archives  
Vol. 77.  
p. 722*

" 1759. Samuel Woods Killed by y<sup>e</sup> Enemy"  
Hastings records.

(a) Silvanus Johnson was not upon this roll - but upon that of Capt Aaron Willard the next year as his servant.

(b) xx being brought some of y<sup>e</sup> way in a cart & some of the way by water to Green Bush where I layd about a fortnight as they toll me I not being in a posture to Recollect the time myself, and then I was brought part of the way from Green Bush on a horse & part of the way in a horse litter, and I arrived at home but just In Life & Remained above six weeks after I got home the biggest part of the time In Doubt of Life "x x x x"

The author cannot resist his tendency to "improve" the orthography & rhetoric of every scrap of original material he uses. In my humble opinion the pathos & picturesque features of the originals rarely survive in his versions -

In Essex Institute Historical Collections, XIX, is a diary of Samuel Wood of Roxford who was in Capt Francis Peabody's Co. Col. Abijah Willard's Regt during Canada Ex<sup>o</sup> of 1759. The diary begins May 24 1759 & ends Sept. 27. 1760 -

"2 Sergeants xx for not going to hear Prayers xx were sentenced to be reduced to the ranks" but were afterward restored by Col. Willard."

Capt. Hastings (Bolton) was "Dismissed y<sup>e</sup> Service with Disgrace" for mutinous conduct 15. Sept

"  
Lancaster April 20 1759  
ba Rec<sup>d</sup> of Col<sup>l</sup> Oliver Willm<sup>s</sup> duty two private Detach<sup>ts</sup> out of  
his Reg<sup>t</sup> to serve in his detachment King George's band in a  
Reg<sup>t</sup> of foot Rec<sup>d</sup> for a General Discharge of Lancaster -  
Rec<sup>d</sup> by me James Willm<sup>s</sup> Capt - "  
[3M. 40. 10. 10]

a. There is absolutely no reason to think Col Oliver Willm<sup>s</sup>  
and any farther than Worcester. He surely acted as  
muster<sup>ing</sup> officer. & the list of names going are those he  
mustered with service - Mass. Archives Vol 97 p. 373 -

The Rec<sup>d</sup> is headed "Return of the Men enlisted or impressed for his  
Majesty's service within the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in  
the Regiment whereof Oliver Willm<sup>s</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> is Colonel. To be put under  
the immediate Command of his Excellency Jeffrey Amherst Esq<sup>r</sup>  
General & Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in North  
America for the Dominion of Lancaster." -

There are 45 names added to Lancaster - 142 names in all  
The muster is dated Lancaster April 14 1759. In December Col Willm<sup>s</sup>  
died in his account for mustering these men - including Capt & Warrant  
Boston 40: which account is strong enough that he did not "serve in  
the expedition" -  
x Rank & File lists in what is now West Bay Water.

To the Muster Roll - copied in part on next page - a strong  
attack - James Willm<sup>s</sup> in 1759 was sent for by the  
General Council to answer charges. He was discharged in  
Capt. Col<sup>l</sup> Willm<sup>s</sup>'s Co. of Artillery. & was made Captain  
of Light Infantry. but there was no establishment for  
pay of Light Infantry? Capt Col<sup>l</sup> made out his roll  
with James as Lieut. - But James made out a  
muster roll for pay of his Company in Light Infy.  
Carrying out his own pay as Captain & William's  
as Lieut. & they drew their pay as such. They both  
had to repay the money - Journal of General Council  
See notes to page 202 -

With all the author's fondness for James Willm<sup>s</sup> he has omitted  
to tell how at the Battle of Schemong the Captain was shot  
through the Throat of his Army, about the bottom of his Breast  
so weak that he could not be raised to any height for above  
a month & from Thence &c got home by slow degrees about the end  
of September" &c. - See Mass. Archives Vol 98 p 22 -

were led by Jeffrey, lord Amherst, while Wolfe approached Canada with the British fleet. The French, unable to resist the force of Amherst, abandoned Ticonderoga, blowing it up to prevent its falling into our hands; and on the first of August withdrew from Crown Point. Col. Oliver Wilder served in this expedition, and led quite a detachment of Lancaster men. They entered the service in April. Some of them were enlisted, and some of them impressed men. A note on the old muster roll says, that twenty-one were "impressed," and that "most had been in former expeditions to Nova Scotia or the lakes," and also that they carried their "own arms." Below are the names of Col. Wilder's townsmen and fellow warriors.

July 26. 1759  
?  
a

omitted		Age	Former Service	Name	Age	Former Service
John Willoughby	19	-1758	Lake George	Henry Wyman.	17	1758 Lake George
Robert Phelps,	28			Joseph Bixby,	x 18	do
William Perham,	30	-1758	do.	Jedediah Cooper,	19	do
Joseph Turner,	16			Ephraim Goss,	26	do
Thomas Barney,	39			John McCarthy,	25	do
Abner Osgood,	20	-1758	do.	Joseph Squibb,	19	do
Jonathan Townsend,	20	1758	do.	Ebenezer Pike,	x 22	do
Matthew Larkin,	32	1758	do.	Joseph Bailey,	28	do
John Headley,	36	1758	do.	Samuel Goodenow,	30	
Phineas Bailey,	18	1758	do.	Daniel Cook,	17	
Jotham Wilder,	40			Reuben Walker,	19	
Joshua Proutie,	21	1758	do.	John McBride,	33	1758 Lake George
Daniel Allbert, jr.,	28			Joseph Steuart, (hired)	27	do
Peter Larkin,	27			John Dunsmoor,	16	Impressed
Frederick Allbert,	20			George Bush, jr.,	37	
John Bailey,	40	1758	do	John Crosby,	36	hired
John Goodenow,	21			Micah Bryant,	24	(hired) 1758 L. George
Stephen Kendall,	?			Nathaniel Wright,	40	
Samuel Kendall,	17			Joseph Turner.	16	impressed
Levi Kendall,	23	1758	do.	James Pratt	20	1758 Lake George
				Phineas Wilder	28	x do

Capt. Aaron Willard, with about eighty men, was with brigadier Ruggles, thirty-five days, during this spring. There were several Lancaster men in his company, but their names cannot be identified in all cases.

(ba)

The forces of Amherst did not reach Canada, this year, but they occupied so large a proportion of the French army, that Wolfe was thereby aided in the conquest of Quebec.

\* add Isaac Eubeth 24 - 1758 Lake George  
Moses Redman 37 do.



Pitt pronounced the highest eulogiums upon the campaign of Amherst. Whatever credit was deserved, belonged in part to <sup>Col. Willard</sup> Col. Wilder and his townsmen, and we can imagine how their dangers and exploits were the theme of conversation and interest round every fireside in the succeeding winter. Col. Abijah Willard led a regiment under Amherst. <sup>1759-1760</sup> His adjutant was Cyrus Fairbank, and his quartermaster, Manassah Divoll. <sup>Caleb Willard of Lunenburg his Major - Saint Ward Adjutant?</sup>

W  
on  
W

Sept. 13. 1759

The war was now virtually ended, since the fall of Quebec involved the conquest of all Canada, which took place next year, and led to the peace which was declared in 1763. Still it was necessary to keep a large force in the field, and Lancaster furnished its quota in 1760. Capt. Aaron Willard, says the muster roll, went "serving westward from March 3<sup>d</sup> 1759, to January, 1760." The place of service is given with no greater definiteness. But the following men were engaged somewhere in the public service. <sup>he was the same as Col. Abijah Willard's Regt.</sup>

(X)	Lieut. Jacob Stiles,	Abner Osgood,
	Sg't Jonathan Hutchins,	Robert Phelps,
	Sgt. Peter Willard,	Jonathan Phillips,
Vol. 97 Mass Archives	Benjamin Atherton,	William Perham,
p 398	John Bailey,	Joshua Proutee,
	Thomas Barney,	Moses Rodman,
	John McCarthy,	James Squierean, <i>Squirean's p 260</i>
	Silvanus Johnson,	Joseph Turner.

See notes opposite 100 -  
 (a) <sup>Silvanus Johnson</sup> Besides these, Capt. Caleb Willard, <sup>of Lunenburg</sup> Lt. Aaron Willard, and Ensign Nathaniel Willard, are mentioned as in the service in 1759. Lieut. Jacob Stiles, Sgt. Josiah Prentice, and Richard Holland, a soldier, were under Capt. Aaron Willard in 1760, about nine months. <sup>The company being from various towns.</sup> In April, 1761, Capt. Willard went to Crown Point, by way of No. 4.

In the words of Mr. Willard, who probably knew some of the veterans of this contest: "During this war a large proportion of the able-bodied men, both cavalry and infantry, in town, were actively engaged in the service. The whole company of cavalry, excepting five privates, was out during the war." Capt. Aaron Willard afterwards became colonel

See note p 208

(a) Mass. Archives Vol. 98 p 218.  
 Holland was of Taunton not Lancaster

Two unsigned Muster Rolls of Capt. Aaron Willard are in the Lancaster Library. One is entitled,

"A Muster Roll of a Company of Foot in his Majesty's Service under Command of Captain Aaron Willard in a Regiment raised by the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, for the Reduction of Canada, whereof Oliver Partridge Esq is Colonel". There are 36 names upon it - but the only soldiers credited to Lancaster - are "Capt Aaron Willard Esq" & "Lieut Nathl Willard". Gordon Hutchens of Harvard was Ensign. The majority of the rank & file were from Stoughton. The term of service was from June 25<sup>th</sup> to Nov. 13<sup>th</sup> - Most of the soldiers furnished their own arms. The Captains pay was £8 per month; the Lieutenants £5; Ensigns £3.10<sup>s</sup>; Sergeants £2.3<sup>s</sup>.1<sup>d</sup>; Corporals £1.18<sup>s</sup>.7<sup>d</sup>; Privates £1.16<sup>s</sup>.

Upon the second Roll are the names of forty nine different men - headed by the same Captain John Pell of Sheffield was first Lieut. & Jacob Giles of Lancaster 2<sup>d</sup> Lieut. The Roll does not specify any Regiment, or place of service. The time of service is from March to December generally. - The following are the Lancaster names -

Capt Aaron Willard  
2<sup>d</sup> Lt. Jacob Giles.

Serjt. Jonathan Hutchins.

Serjt Peter Willard

Privates Benj<sup>a</sup> Atherton

" John Bailey.

Thos. Barry.

John de Carty.

The other names are found however on the Mass Archives Roll as given credited to Lancaster.

The Commission of this Soldier as Ensign is in Library - dated Oct 1759 - assigning him to Elijah Smith's Company in Col Abijah Willard's Regt. He was son of Aaron Willard.

See note to previous page

"Feb 7, 1760 Mr Thomas Grant & widow Hannah Churchel, (married)  
 "Grant lately returned from Captive at Montreal"  
 Harrington's Church Records.

(p. 2) A copy of this sermon is in the Lancaster  
 Library. Its title is: "A Sermon preached at the  
 West Parish in Lancaster October 9: 1760 on the  
 General Thanksgiving for the Reduction of  
 Montreal & Total Conquest of Canada" &

Note - The Soldiers of 1760 from Lancaster are found scattered under many  
 Captains & have been omitted by the margin - Notably the following

<p>Compagny          Thomas Deenan Capt. [Feb to Dec 1760          Sherebrak Hunt Lieut.          Daniel Warner Serjt          Nathan Gary Corp.          Ephraim Fairbanks Drummer          Benjamin Atkinson          William Brooks          John Burroughs          Chas. Beams          Jedidiah Blaney          Joseph Bigsby          Daniel Cook          James Crossfield          Isaac Euelth          Thomas Fairbanks          Thomas Henderson          John Locke          Amos Pownis          Joshua Price          Benjamin Punit          Ethan Phillips          John Richardson          Paul Richardson          Richard Stewart          Isaac Sollandine          Levi Woods          Ezra Wilder          James Willard</p>	<p>Henry Winsow          Nahum Wilder          David Wilder          Phineas Goodell          See Mass Archives          Vol. 98 p 327          In Co of Capt Jos Reed of          in 1761          Lunenburg          Henry Wyman          Ephraim Carter          Jedidiah Coupler          Jonas Carter          David Puffer          Thomas Henderson          Daniel Johnson          Mass. Arch. Vol 98 p 335          In Capt Wm Barron's Co          John McCarty          John Prentice          Moses Redman          James Squireman          Nat. Turner          Jos. Turner          Jos Yeans          Stephen Toth</p>	<p>In Nathan Brigham's (Southton) Co          Levi Divil          Obadiah Cross          Joseph Stewart (died)          See Mass Archives Vol 98 p 287          In Co. of Capt. Wm Williams          Henry Hoakell Lieut          Joshua Johnson Corp          Amos Atkinson          Paul Johnson          Joseph Woods          Joshua Wyman          In Co of Capt Jos<sup>a</sup> Bathfield of Dunstable          Benjamin Houghton          Uriah Holt          Edward Robins          Joseph Robins          Mass. Archives          Vol 98 p 291          Vol 98 p 307          In Co. of Capt. Daniel Reed.          Ensign Jedidiah Lock          In Co of Capt. Jonathan Rolfe          Robert Phelps -</p>
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5  
 Wm Fairbanks killed 1747 see p. 223 note ? 57  
 V Keyes says, Ithamar Bennett & a brother Ephraim were  
 killed at Ticonderoga 1758 - see Memorandum of  
 West Boylston p. 69 - He is probably wrong about Ithamar.

Manasseh Divil was 1760 Feb 15 to Dec 2 1760 in Co. of Capt Giles Harris.  
 Mass Arch. Vol 98 p 231

In Co. of Capt Richard Lykes - Mass. Arch Vol. 98 p 281  
 Abel Farnsworth  
 Nath. Gates  
 Robert Spear  
 Frederick How 1st Lieut.  
 Jacob Williams died Oct 19

Aaron Willard Sen. born 1701 would not be serving as Captain. His son born Sept. 10, 1725 could be of suitable age. He died in Lunenburg 1781.

CHOCKSET HEROES. 263  
"Capt. Aaron" was Aaron W. of Lancaster. His father was Col. of Worcester Regt. - Aaron Jr became Col. in Revolution May 27 of one of the Worcester county regiments, and died in 1784, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. "aged 83 yrs. 4 mo 3<sup>d</sup>."

The joy of the people in view of the conquest of Canada and the other French possessions, was commensurate with the greatness of their sufferings in the war, and the importance of the result. The government of the province appointed a day of thanksgiving, October 9, and "recommended it to all ministers of the gospel, with their several congregations, to meet on that day to return thanks to Almighty God for his having so visibly supported us in this just and necessary war; and that all the people of the province might at one time, and with one voice, express their thankfulness on this glorious occasion." It was a memorable thanksgiving. No record remains of the service in the first parish; but the sermon preached by the Rev. John Mellen, in the meeting-house of the west parish, (now Sterling,) was printed. It was an able discourse, and may be read with interest after more than a hundred years. At the close, Mr. Mellen gives the names of the "men lost by the war out of this parish." They are inserted here. (p. 2)

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| - Samuel Fairbanks, See p. 257 | - William Brabrook, See p. 259           |
| - William Fairbanks, "         | - Ebenezer Bigelow, "                    |
| - Isaac Kendal, "              | - Jacob Smith, (Sgt) "                   |
| - Ithamar Bennet, "            | - Jonathan Geary, See p. 260             |
| - Hezekiah Whitcomb,           | - Philip Geno, See on p. 260             |
| - John Whitcomb,               | - Reuben Walker, See p. 261              |
| - Jacob Glazier,               | - Stephen Kendall, "                     |
| - Simon Kendall,               | - George Bush, (Jr) "                    |
| - John Farrar, See p. 256      | - Joseph Stewart, "                      |
| - Jeremiah Dickenson,          | " in the morning action at Lake George " |

The first four were killed in 1755; the last was drowned in 1760 in Lake Champlain, and the fate of Brabrook was unknown. How many from Lancaster, first parish, were cut off in battle, or by disease, cannot be told, but probably double the number from Chocksett. Of the survivors not a few lived to engage in the revolution. (p. 2)

"The other 13 Mr Mellen thinks were all lost by sickness abroad or Indian position they brought home with them, from the camp."

CHAPTER XIII.

ANNALS,—1743—1776.

THE period between the close of the last French and Indian war, and the opening of the Revolution was marked by no events of special interest. A chapter may here be interposed which will bring up the annals of the town, from the year 1743, in respect to schools, roads, bridges, and other matters that exhibit the social and domestic life of the people. The progress in population and wealth will also find a place. Parish matters pass from view, after the year 1744, when the salary voted for the minister, was £211 old tenor. At that time, the town was divided into two precincts or parishes. All the affairs of the first church in Lancaster, were henceforth connected with the first parish, and are, so far as recorded, in the Records of that parish. The history of the pastorate of Mr. Harrington will be given as a whole, at its close.

As we proceed, the chronological order will be followed. In 1743, £15, new tenor, were appropriated for schools. Peter Frye was a teacher; (also Benjamin Atherton.) The town spent £17 for ammunition. In this and the following years, many private ways were opened, but chiefly in remote parts of the town. Many of them were in Chocksett, which seemed to be inspired with a passion for road-making. For highways £50 were voted. A bounty of five shillings was paid for a wild cat.

Joseph Wilder, jr., Esq. was <sup>Town Clerk</sup> a teacher in 1745-<sup>4</sup>9<sup>52</sup>. The school money was £30. The next four years, £40 were raised for schooling. In 1744, Josiah Brown and Stephen

ca) The only record I find respecting Atherton is one that I think led Mr. Larson into an erroneous statement. Here follows a copy positive & all. Atherton killed a wildcat - Frost was the teacher.

"To Dea White eleven shillings, five shillings he paid Capt Benjamin Atherton for a cat six shillings for part of ten. (Keeping school)"  
Shillings s<sup>d</sup> White Paid Mr Stephen Frost of his own money for

b) The record reads. "To Joseph Wheelock five shillings for a Wildcat that he gave in and never Recd his Bounty" The proper bounty according to law of 1741-2 was 6 shillings for a full grown wildcat 3<sup>s</sup> for a whelp.

Joseph Wilder Jr. was town clerk and held other town offices during this period. but I find nothing showing him to have been a teacher.

1747

The town made "answer to a presentment ye last August court of 1747 for not keeping a constant school in ye year 1746-7"

May 17 1748 a petition was presented by Henry Haskell + others "to see if ye town will let of ye North Part of the town for a separate Township or Precinct"

a Proprietors Meeting March 23 1747. xx "Voted that Joseph Wilder Esq and David Wilder their Heirs and assigns forever, have full right and privilege to Pass + Repass without molestation on said Swan Swamp Road to their respective lots of Land, as they shall have occasion both to Cart off their hay + other materials; and to drive their Cattle to pasture as need shall Require--"

a Hooker beyond born 1668 - wife Dorothy Wood - came from Andover + bought the Rowlandson property of Phillip Goss 1710. He was a saddler by trade - his eldest named Hooker is the Deacon here spoken of - born 1693 - died 1765.

1749. In this year there was an extraordinary drought drying up many brooks + springs - grass + corn destroyed trees killed etc - Drought ended by rains which began July 6. See Sermons of Mr Smith of Marlborough.

Frost kept school. Both were graduates of Harvard, as was Josiah Swan, all of whom taught, at different times, several years. In 1747, the town voted to discontinue "Swan's Swamp way," and also the <sup>high</sup> <sup>way above ye</sup> road west of the bridge by Deacon Osgood's. <sup>all to five rods wide</sup> Not long after this date a new bridge was built across the main river, thirty rods farther up stream, and the old road which ran east from the river, by the row of great <sup>wood</sup> button-bush trees that extend from the river, eastward far into the intervale, was discontinued; but Joseph Wilder, Esq., and David Wilder had liberty to use it for carting, and for driving cattle. a

A grant of land had been made by the proprietors to Rev. Andrew Gardner, but never fulfilled. The grant had "slept (March 23 1747) unobserved by his <sup>of late</sup> heirs till about the present year, as also <sup>by the town</sup> the grant made, to Mrs. Mary Gardner," of ten acres of upland. The grant depended on his being ordained, but he was killed, while defending the garrison, before the act of ordination. It was thought the claim was founded in equity, as it would have been if he had lived to receive ordination. The town negatived the claim.

The <sup>Proprietors</sup> town, in 1748, voted to sell the church lands and meadow, in Lancaster, and also the church meadow, so called, in Harvard and Bolton. Also the Common on the west side of the river, in South Lancaster, six acres, left for a training field, except six rods wide for a private way across the same."

The "bridge by Dea. Osgoods" requires a note, in passing. The deacon's house was near the bank of the river, where now is a cellar hole, a few rods above the present Sprague bridge. At first the bridge was some fifteen or twenty rods up stream, and therefore the road was west of the deacon's house. It went southerly, on the east side of Mr. Rowlandson's garrison, crossed the road and ran into the west border of the Center cemetery, and so on towards South Lancaster. Next, the bridge was six or eight rods west of its present site, and the house of Dea. Osgood was just west of the road as it then lay. For 6  
? a



From 1750 for several years the school rate was probably <sup>a</sup> about £40. The vote reads for <sup>s</sup> schools and necessary town charges, £53, 6sh., 8d. silver money." Mr. Brown, and Hezekiah Gates, afterwards captain, and employed in many town offices, kept school. About <sup>1745</sup> that time, Edward Bass, afterwards Episcopal bishop, and <sup>1747</sup> Joseph Palmer, both graduates, were here teaching.

In 1753 a road was opened from some point on the Lunenburg road, in the north part of the town, to White's (or Still river) bridge; but whether it was the present road, by the brick tavern, or one through the woods, farther north, is doubtful. A committee was chosen to examine and report in relation to the location and bounds of the roads throughout the town; but they could find nothing definite, and so reported. Similar efforts since have always proved useless.

Forty shillings were voted to Henry Willard, in 1754, for "keeping <sup>the</sup> widow Rebecca <sup>Kah</sup> Willard <sup>xxxx</sup> in her distractions."

The town gave consent that the river might be straightened in "Dr. Prentice's interval." This was ~~probably~~ between the Atherton and Center bridges. The work seems not to have been done till several years later, when labor then was allowed instead of work on the highways. A road also was granted from Mr. Joslin's to the North bridge. Mr. Joslin lived near the residence of Mr. John Cunningham. The old road was on the hillside.

In town meeting the clerk read "an extract from a <sup>s</sup> bill," passed by the general court, "granting <sup>to</sup> his majesty, [king George II.] an excise <sup>on</sup> wines, and spirits <sup>distilled</sup>, sold by retail, or consumed within this <sup>pro</sup>vince; and upon <sup>b</sup> Times, Lemons and Oranges, together with the govern<sup>r</sup>'s speech <sup>thereon</sup>; and after a long <sup>debate</sup>, the <sup>question</sup> was put, whether the substans and the <sup>essential</sup> parts of the said bill, <sup>were</sup> agreeable to their minds, and it passed in the affirmative by a grate majority." This was not a question whether parliament could tax the people of the colonies, or raise a revenue by duties and customs; but whether the col-

(a) The school rate was definitely voted

1751 - \$45

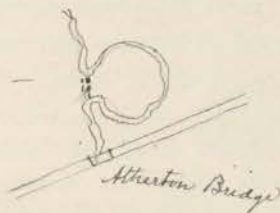
1752 - \$40

1753 - \$35

1754 - \$20

° Rebecca Gates widow of James the son of Henry Willard

x The calf-pasture cut -



z This is in the spelling of a new Town Clerk Abijah Willard, Joseph Wilder having declined service (1752)

In 1755, Nov. 18 the most noteworthy earthquake ever experienced in New England occurred. Its effects are found recorded as quite severe in Boston, Newbury & other old towns of Mass. John Mellen mentioned the event & some of its effects, in a sermon preached June 16, 1756 in Sterling. See Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol 4 p 231 -

In "Province Laws" p. 1055 of Vol 3 ed. of 1878 is recorded -

"April 16. 1757 A Petition of Wm Richardson Esq. for himself & the rest of the Selectmen & Assessors of the Town of Lancaster setting forth. That in the Rate Bill for the year 1756 which they committed to Asabel Phelps one of the Constables of said Town there were some circumstantial mistakes but none as to the sum to be collected. Therefore Praying Relief." It was ordered that the tax should stand, & Phelps was <sup>not</sup> empowered to collect the same any supposed mistake in the Rate Bills to him committed notwithstanding."

a Moses Commensway - a graduate of Harvard 1755 afterwards clergyman at Wells Me. & S.F.D. taught the Grammar School 1756-9.

Rev Josiah Swan graduate of Harvard 1733 - was minister in Dunstable 1738-46. & continued resident there several years? years later - before removing to Lancaster - From L. he removed to Walpole N.H. <sup>1760</sup> & there died 1777. I suppose him to have been the son of Ebenezer Swan of Charleston whose wife's name was Prudence, who became Rev. John Prouty's wife. An Ebenezer Swan died in Lancaster 1750 aged 42, probably brother of Josiah. see p. 645.

Capt Ebenezer Swan (commander of a brigantine 1713) married Prudence, daughter of Timothy Foster of Charleston <sup>Dec 23</sup> 1707. He died at sea about 1716. Children <sup>1</sup> Ebenezer (of Lancaster), <sup>2</sup> Josiah b. 1710 & died an infant - <sup>3</sup> Josiah b March 18, 1711<sup>1/2</sup>, Thomas b. 1715<sup>1/4</sup> - William 1715.

1759 "The day following (Thursday) a sorrowful accident in this town (Boston) as Mr Gershom Flagg of Lancaster was on a house to mend some of the slating the ladder slipped from under him, whereby he fell to the ground on the pavement, which fractured his skull, and otherwise bruised him to such a degree that it deprived him of his senses and he expired before the next morning. He had left a widow and three children."

Boston News Letter Jan 4. 1759.

See next page.

onies would tax themselves for the benefit of his majesty. After a "long debate" the town said yes, by a "grate majority."

In February of the next year, a question of the deepest concern came before all the towns. The record reads: "Respecting the general plan of union proposed to be come into by the eleven governments in this North America, now upon the carpet; and, after taking the said affair into consideration, have voted as our advice, that our representative [in the general court] oppose all plans of a general or partial union that shall any ways encroach upon the rites and priviledges of the people." It was feared by the colonies that this was a plan to govern them, by a combination of British governors, and leading Americans, in a general congress.

In 1757 the town voted £60 for schools, and that there should be a grammar school in each precinct. Probably this school was under the care of Mr. Swan, as he was here till 1767. The school was to be in each precinct in proportion to their part of the tax. Schools for reading and writing were to be kept five months, during the colder part of the year, in the extreme parts of the town. The schools were in winter to accommodate the elder scholars, whose work was needed in the farming season.

Forty pounds were devoted to the support and comfort of the poor.

A road was opened from the Old Common to the county road which runs east from Carter's mills towards the south part of Bolton. The opening of the road was from the school-house near the house of Joseph B. Moore.

In 1760, the town raised £50 for schools, and the next year £40 for the grammar school, and an equal sum for reading and writing schools in parts of the town remote from the centers of each precinct.

A year later the town granted "Abijah Willard, (the colonel, who lived on the old major Simon Willard place,)"

and others, leave to build a school-house on town land below the meeting in the first parish." This school stood, <sup>the</sup> many years, near the house of Mr. Stowell. For schools this year, £100 were raised. The next year the grammar school was to be where the selectmen should choose.

On petition in 1762, it was voted that the Pine hill road might be turned into a "bridle way." This road extended from the old White place, over Wheeler <sup>ock</sup> hill, now owned by S. R. Damon, by the middle brick yard to the south end of Pine hill, and thence the whole length of the hill to the John White place, this side of Still river bridge. It was now closed from public travel by gates.

A project for dividing the county came before the town, in 1763, but met with firm opposition. William Richardson, Joseph Wilder and David Wilder were chosen a committee to help defeat the measure.

*In 1762* The selectmen were authorized to hire a "work-house for idle persons, if need be." And the next year, they were to use the "school-house as a work-house, if need be."

*In 1762* The plan of making the second precinct a separate town was voted down. Before the year <sup>1763</sup> closed it was voted to build a work-house, and the work was committed to David Osgood, Hezekiah Gates and Nathaniel Wyman.

*In 1765* It was moved to build a bridge across the river by Abel Willard's, that is, the "Neck bridge," and £30 were raised for the purpose. Probably the bridge of 1748 had been carried off by a flood. Josiah White, Abijah Willard and Nathaniel Wyman, all living near, and interested in the work, were chosen a committee; ~~but from some cause~~ nothing was done.

In 1764, the town, for the first time, was divided into school districts, and £100 were raised for education.

The sum raised for schools in 1766 was £100. The town voted to have the road run north instead of south of the house of the widow Atherton. This road is between the house of Mrs. Jane Humphrey and that of the late Col. Fay.

1771 "Last Friday evening Mr Litchom Flagg, late of this town, housewright, but for a few years past removed to Lancaster, went to bed at his lodgings here, to all appearance as well as usual, but at 5 o'clock in the morning was seized with an Apoplectic fit and died in a few minutes after" - Boston Evening Post Monday March 25, 1771

The School house of 1762 was probably not, as Mr Marvin here implies near the Stowells. The grammar school-house was built there - that is "opposite General Greenleaf's" in 1790. This school of 1762 if "below the meeting house" must have been near the vote place, perhaps on the slope of the hill above, or on the little public square, the triangular piece of ground there.

See page 352 of this history about school of 1790  
 & page 189 for Stearns Hill.

1762 - "We hear from Lancaster that a few days ago as Mr Reed of that town was sitting on a Cart, and driving the oxen, he accidentally fell off, when one of the wheels going over his body crushed him to death in an instant!"  
 (Ephraim Reed)  
 in Harvard Boston News Letter Nov. 18 1762

1766 "We hear from Lancaster that on Monday last a son of Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Mellen, about 3 years old accidentally fell into a tub of boiling water, and was scalded in such a manner that the child died in a few hours after"  
 Boston News Letter Aug 14, 1766

In 1767, "John White's bridge" is mentioned.

In 1764. A Census was taken. See p. 274.

Lancaster Houses	301	Families	328
Inhabitants under 16 yrs of age		Males	514
		Females	421
do over do		"	505
		"	532
do Colored		"	12
		"	14
do Indians		"	1
		"	1

Lancaster Total pop.	1999
Harvard	1126.
Bolton	933.
Lemuel etc	743.

"Shrewsbury Leg"

(pp) From page 273 Worcester Magazine, (History of Sterling)  
This annex to Lancaster in 1768 - was described  
as follows: "All that part of Shrewsbury Leg.  
bounded South on Quinepoet River, west on  
Holden line, north on Princeton line, & East  
on Stillwater River" - the historian adds  
"about three miles in length by one and one  
half miles in breadth" - This tract is shown  
on map inserted at page 20. Of course it did  
not therefore include the site of West Boylston  
village though it did that of Oakdale. In 1781  
it went with Sterling. About one third of it  
was set off from Sterling in 1808 to West  
Boylston. In 1768 the inhabitants of the Leg.  
of which we have the names, were Wm Whitney,  
Zachariah Eager, Jonathan Foster, Zachariah Harvey,  
Edward Newton, Saml. Newton, Ezekiel Newton, &  
Daniel Wheelock. See Ward's Shrewsbury p. 31.  
— (xy) see note p. 265. This was the second presentation of  
this petition.

The question came before the town in relation to the incorporation of the second precinct as a township, and it was voted in the affirmative. For some reason the measure was not effected, and for nearly twenty years longer the old town had to bear with the wayward humors of her stalwart child.

A special meeting was called, on the eleventh of August, to consider this article in the warrant. "To give the representative some instruction concerning the requisition sent from home, [England,] to make up the loss sustained in Boston." This referred to the anti-stamp act riot and mob in Boston, in the month of August preceding, when the house of Gov. Hutchinson was ravaged, and his furniture, books and papers destroyed. The town voted "unanimously that requisition [reparation] should be made to all those persons that suffered by the mob or mobs in the town of Boston in August last, by the reason of the stamp act."

It was in this year that Henry Haskell and others requested the town to set off the north part as a separate parish. The plan was quashed, but possibly if a parish had been formed, the population of the northern section of Lancaster, now far less than in former times, might have been increased, and the taxable property augmented. Mr. Haskell became a colonel in the revolution, and was an efficient officer. He kept tavern some rods north of the "old brick tavern," on the road from Leominster to Harvard. The turnpike ran by his house, east and west. A meeting-house in that vicinity would have been convenient to many families.

£220 were raised for highways and bridges in 1767, and the town responded yea to the request of the people living on "Shrewsbury Leg," to be received as a part of Lancaster. The territory occupied by these people included the site of the village of ~~West Boylston~~ and Oakdale. This section went with Sterling in 1781; <sup>a part was cut off</sup> with Boylston in 1786, and West Boylston when it became a town. (27)

It was voted that the grammar school should be kept seven months in the first precinct, and five months in the second



precinct. £100 were granted for education. After paying for the grammar schools, the remainder was to be laid out in parts not benefited by them.

a The town was called upon to pay for removing and "shipping off the French people," [Acadians]. The matter was left with the selectmen.

In view of the state of public affairs and the disturbed relations between the province and the mother country, it was voted, in concurrence with a general movement, to "take all legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this province."

For several years in succession the sum raised for schools was £104. In 1770 it was voted that the grammar school be kept six months in each precinct, and that each district in the town should school out its own money. The same sum was raised in the two succeeding years, and 1772 the selectmen were directed to provide houses for the grammar schools. In 1775 the appropriation for education was omitted. The vote was "to dismiss the article for schooling for the present year." A similar vote passed in relation to roads and bridges. All spare money was invested in warlike material, as "ammunition" and great guns.

x ~~The Neck bridge was not yet built.~~ In 1770 the selectmen were directed to "view and agree upon the most convenient place where to build a bridge across the river near Abel Willard's, Esq., and to agree with the said Abel Willard and Col. Caleb Wilder for the land, as they shall judge necessary for a highway." Voted to raise £300<sup>for repairing highways &c</sup>. The reference to land for a highway shows that the intention was to build in a new place, up the stream. For that purpose some land would be needed. Later it was voted to build "where the <sup>neck</sup> bridge used to stand." Still later the town voted to place <sup>^</sup> the bridge "thirty rods above where it used to stand." In the spring of 1771, the town voted ~~not~~ to build a Neck bridge. In the autumn, September 24, the town meeting

a In 1767 David Wilder received of the town £6.<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> for transporting  
the French.

The "Calf Pasture" cut, near Atherton Bridge giving the  
Nashua a more direct course between that bridge and the  
Centre Bridge, was made in the year 1767.

Built & rebuilt sundry times.!

(a) \$25 were then raised to build the bridge, to which \$8.13<sup>3</sup> had to be added on completion of bridge to cover cost.

The vote of 1772 was "to build a bridge over Col. Wilder's Mill Pond". No mention of Col. Oliver is here - In fact Col. Oliver died seven years before in 1765 - See p. 242. The article in the town warrant for 1772 moreover, had been discussed in the town meetings of 1771 & postponed. In Oct. 1771 it was voted to ask the "Justices of General Sessions" to discontinue or alter to a more convenient place, "the County road which was lately laid out" x x "over Col. Joseph Wilder's Mill Pond". The second bridge & the second mill had no existence, save in the fertile imagination of the author. No mill or mill pond existed in Lancaster on the South branch until 1805 when Moses Sawyer & Abel Wilder built the dam & mill where they now stand in South Lancaster. Though it is probable that Elias Sawyer about 1800 had begun a dam and mill at the falls where now are the Lancaster Mills - He did not complete them however.

was held in the meeting-house in the second precinct, when a vote was passed to build the bridge, and £5 were raised "to buy land each side" of the river. This indicates that the bridge was to be above the former position. This is supposed to be the third place of crossing. The position is still marked by the remains of an abutment on the north side, and a raised bank on the south side of the river. The bridge has been taken up the river a little farther on one or two occasions. The committee to do the work were Josiah Ballard, Joseph White and Jonathan Whitney. Raised £400. *for highways &c 1772.*

This meeting was held in the first precinct, and was adjourned to the second precinct. The town meetings were held alternately, in each district, for some years. That is, the town often met in Chockset as well as in the old parish meeting-house.

The names of Dr. Dunsmoor and Dr. Cleverly occur in connection with doctoring the poor. Dr. Cleverly had been attending on the "widow <sup>Arundel</sup> Farrar," and wanted his pay, which the town allowed.

In 1772, there was a project for building ~~two~~ <sup>a</sup> bridges ~~one by Col. Oliver Wilder's mill, in South Lancaster; the other by the mill of Col. Joseph Wilder, at Ponakin.~~ It was voted that taxes "raised for highways in each precinct, should be spent in said precinct." At a meeting in March, <sup>2</sup> a vote was passed in favor of building the bridge over Col. Wilder's mill pond. ~~This was what is now called Carter's mill.~~ The Neck bridge had already been set up, and the bills presented to the town. ~~Both~~ the other bridge ~~came~~ into being in due time. In 1774 the sum raised for roads and bridges was £400.

The names of the men who held the principal town offices during the time under review are given below. They are arranged in this order: moderator, town clerk, treasurer, selectmen, delegate to the general court. No reference will be made to the year in which each man was in official life.

The moderators during this period of thirty-three years, were as follows.

Dea. Josiah White, 1744-5	Oliver Moor,
Col. Samuel Willard, 1744-7-8-9	David Wilder,
Capt. John Bennet, 1747-55	Hezekiah Gates, 1770-75
Col. Oliver Wilder, 1750-1-2-3-4-5-8-60	Peter Green, 1771-2-3-4
Col. Joseph Wilder, jr., 1745-61	Jonathan Fairbank, 1771-5-6
William Richardson, 1755-6-7-63-4-5	William Dunsmoor,
John Carter, 66-7-8	Col. Ephraim Sawyer, 1776
Capt. David Osgood, 1759-62-6-7-9	
John Fairbank, 1764	

The clerks were

Joseph Wilder, jr., 1744-52	Abel Willard, 1760
Abijah Willard, 1753-4	Daniel Robbins, 1770-2-3-5-6
Wm Richardson 1745. Samuel Willard, 1755	Samuel Ward, 1771-4
Capt. Levi Willard, 1756-7-8-9 616-69	

The following are the names of the town treasurers.

Dea. Hooker Osgood, 1744-5	Dea. Joshua Fairbank, 1753
Capt. John Carter 1746. Peter Joslin, 1747-8	Samuel Willard, 1754
Ephraim Carter, 1749	Peter Green, 1755-59-60 to 1774.
Capt. Ephraim Wilder, 1750	Hezekiah Gates, 1756
David Wilder, 1751	Joshua Houghton, 1756-7-8
Caleb Wilder, 1752	Cyrus Fairbank, 1775-6

Here follows a list of the names of the selectmen.

Capt. Oliver Wilder, 1744-50-1	Capt. John Carter, 1750-6-7-8-9-60-1-3-4-5-6
Capt. William Richardson, 1744-5-6-8-9	Dea. Asa Whitcomb, 1755-6-63-4-5
Jonathan Osgood, 1744	Dea. Joshua Fairbank, 1755-6
Josiah Richardson 1746. Joseph Wilder, jr., 1744-5-6-7-8-9-50-1-2-3	Josiah Kendall, 1757-8
Dea. Oliver Moor, 1744-5-6-9-50-1-2-3-4-5-7	Abel Willard, 1757-8
John Snow, 1745	John White, 1757-8
Dea. Josiah White, 1747	<del>Isaiah Kendall,</del>
Capt. David Osgood, 1747-8-9-50-1-3-4-5-6	Jonathan Fairbank, 1747-8-63-4-5
Lieut. Ezra Sawyer, 1747	John Prescott, 1759-60-1-70-6
Capt. Ephraim Wilder, jr. 1747	Dr. Greenleaf, ?
Dea. Hooker Osgood, 1745-6-9	Jonathan Wilder, 1760-1
Thomas Fairbank, 1748	Capt. Levi Willard, 1760
Col. Samuel Willard, 1749-55	Ezra Houghton, 1762-8-9-73
Hezekiah Gates, 1752-9	Peter Green, 1762-8-9-70-4
Ephraim Carter, 1752-3-4	Nathaniel Wyman, 1762-6-7
Thomas Burpee, 1752-9	Jeremiah Burpee, 1762-74
Col. Abijah Willard, 1754-62-3-4-5-8-9-71	Caleb Wilder, 1763-4-5-6-7
John Fairbank,	Thomas Sawyer, 1766-7-8-9-70-2-3
Dea. David Wilder 1753-4-61-7-71.	

Fragment of text from the adjacent page, visible on the left edge of the image.

(a)

List of Delegates to General Court 1743 to 1776

1743. Col. Samuel Willard.  
1744. Capt. Ephraim Wilder.  
1745. Capt. William Richardson  
1746. Joseph Wilder jun.  
1747. Joseph Wilder jun.  
1748. Capt. William Richardson (Jos. Wilder jr. declined)  
1749. Col. Saml. Willard.  
1750. Capt William Richardson  
1751. Joseph Wilder jun.  
1752. Joseph Wilder jun.  
1753. Joseph Wilder jun.  
1754. Capt. William Richardson  
1755. David Wilder  
1756. Capt. William Richardson  
1757. David Wilder.  
1758. Capt. William Richardson.  
1759. Capt. William Richardson  
1760. Capt. William Richardson  
1761. Capt. William Richardson.  
1762. David Wilder.  
1763. David Wilder.  
1764. David Wilder.  
1765. David Wilder.  
1766. Capt. Asa Whitcomb  
1767. David Wilder  
1768. Capt. Asa Whitcomb  
1769. Capt Asa Whitcomb  
1770. Capt Asa Whitcomb  
1771. Capt. Asa Whitcomb.  
1772. Capt. Asa Whitcomb.  
1773. Capt. Asa Whitcomb.  
1774. Capt. Asa Whitcomb.  
1775. Capt. Hyeekiah Gates & Ebenezer Allen  
1776-7-8 Doct. Wm Duns moor.

For earlier years. suppt.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 163 \\ 214 \\ 167 \end{array} \right.$  - for later see pp. 329, 330-331

Aaron Sawyer, 1766-7-8-9-70-1-2-3	Dr. William Dunsmoor, 1772-3-4-5
Joseph Kilburn, 1770-1-6	Josiah Pollard,
Josiah Ballard, 1771-4	Samuel Thurston, 1775-6
Ephraim Sawyer, 1772-3-5	Joel Houghton, 1776
Ebenezer Allen, 1772-3-5	Daniel Robbins. 1775-6

A remark or two may be inserted here in regard to this list of selectmen. The last mentioned was chosen in 1776, at the last town meeting called in his majesty's name. The daring step of casting off the king's allegiance was taken. Some of the men whose names are in the list, were chosen many times, and some not more than once, and then the last of the five. (Willards, Wilders, Osgoods or Carters were generally chairmen.) Some of them held several offices, and were sent as representatives to the general court, as will be seen in the next list; and quite a number of them have already appeared in this history, as officers in the field, in the first and last French and Indian wars. In 1755 Abijah Willard went to the war as colonel, and Asa Whitcomb as captain. *Samb. Willard also went as Colonel for a brief time - dying at Lake George.*

*(See Oliver Moss record more than any of these named. Sawyers & Willards as often - !)*

There was quite a revolution in the choice of town officers, as the troubles with the mother country increased. Certain familiar names disappear after the year 1771. Some of these, with others in leading families, were not ready to break away from England, though most of them became thorough patriots as the time of conflict drew nigh. The more earnest "Sons of liberty" took the offices into their own hands. In 1773 three Sawyers with Dr. Dunsmoor, and Ebenezer Allen, were the selectmen. It is believed that most of them lived outside of the present limits of the town. Men of the same stamp were elected in the following years. It was a time of change and trial.

*Aaron  
Ephraim } Sawyers  
Thomas }*

The following were delegates to the general court during the generation from 1743 to 1776. Ephraim Wilder, ~~two~~ <sup>at</sup> 1 years; Joseph Wilder, jr., five years; William Richardson, <sup>at</sup> seven years; Samuel Willard, one year. He had held many offices, but died, either in 1752 or 1755. <sup>(a)</sup> The Records differ. David Wilder, six <sup>7</sup> years; Asa Whitcomb, eight years, Ebenezer Allen <sup>18</sup> - Capt. Hezekiah Gates 1.

*(b) his tomb stone don't "differ"; that says 1752*



and seven of them in succession. In 1775 he went into the military service as colonel.

The population of the town, which began to increase rapidly about 1748-9, continued in equal ratio till 1764, when a census was taken, with the following results.

Houses,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	301
Families,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	328
Whites, males under 16,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	514
“ females “	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	421
“ males above 16,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	505
“ females “	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	532
Negroes and Mulattos, males,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
“ “ females,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
Indians, male,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Total,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1999

In an old manuscript statement, the same items are given, but the aggregate is made to be 2228, an evident mistake. Willard in Mass. Magazine gives the same number of families, but makes the total population only 1862. In his historical address 1853, he puts the number as above, 1999, which is probably correct. Supposing, according to a former estimate, the population in 1751 was six hundred and sixty, we have an increase in thirteen years of thirteen hundred and thirty-nine, or an annual increase of one hundred and three, on an average. The tax list of 1770, (Mass. Arch., vol. 130, pp. 820-48,) contains about five hundred names, omitting widows and administrators, and the ratable polls in 1776 were six hundred and seventy-two. These show that the increase had been quite uniform from 1764 to 1776, and [that the population in the latter year was about three thousand and twenty-four, or four and a half to each ratable poll.] The addition, above deaths and removals, was not far from one thousand and twenty-five, or an average of eighty-five annually. The town had been a safe place of settlement

We are asked  
to believe that a  
farming town  
troubled the popula-  
tion in 13 years,

careless guess

a

a<sup>2</sup>

2746

Of negroes:

"Choicett a Negro man slave to Benjamin Houghton of Lancaster xxx being presented by ye Grand Jurors for said County for that at & before said air or about the 27 day of March last past, did feloniously take, steal and convey away a River Hat of the Value of 20 Shillings, a Callimancoe Jack coat of the Value of forty Shillings, a handkerchief of the Value of four Shillings, a bond of 50 £, a Rect of 4 £ 17<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> & a paper of acct. property of David Farrar. xx plead not guilty xx convicted & sentenced to pay a fine of 3 £ or be "whipt on the naked body between the hours of four & five of the Clock in the afternoon of this day at the Publick Whipping Post" + c. x x x

(a) Mass Archives Vol 88. p - : see note, p. 268,

for population of Harvard. Bolton & Leominster, part of original Grant of Lancaster.

What proof is there that it "began to increase rapidly" at that date? None, except the author's unfounded assertion on page 233 & 4.

a. By the tax list of 1770 we find a total of 501 persons taxed, of whom 15 were females 7 nonresidents & 7 administrators guardians &c. leaving 472 - The number of farm animals is given. The three heaviest stock owners were

Asa Whitcomb	2 horses	12 oxen	6 cows	1 swine	24 sheep
John Prescott	4 "	5 "	7 "	5 "	18 "
Abijah Willard	4 "	4 "	10 "	2 "	45 "

a<sup>2</sup> - The fair way of calculating the population of 1776 from the census of 1764 would seem to be this -

(505 + 12) <sup>males over 16</sup> : 672 as 1999 <sup>do.</sup> : 2599 population of 1776

This would give 600 increase, an average of 50 per annum instead of 85. However as the Colonial Census of 1776 gives the actual population and this was 2746, all this calculation is useless. Mr Marvin himself on page 616 puts the population of 1776 at 2746 !!

In Vol. 133 Mass. Archives Pages 100 to 113 is "a list of the Polls + of the Estates Real + Personal of the several Proprietors + Inhabitants of Lancaster." for 1771. This of course included Chocklet now Sterling -

The total of Polls was 580  
 " Dwellings 338  
 " Horses 383 (over 3 yrs old)  
 " Oxen 529 (over 4 yrs old)  
 " Cows Horses 1124 (over 3 yrs old)  
 " Sheep + goats 2310 " 1 yr "  
 " Swine 625 " 1 yr "  
 " Bushels Grain 26905.  
 " Barrels of Cyder 2689.  
 " Tons English Hay. 1578.  
 " Tons Meadows Hay. 1463.

There were 17 Squire + Law clerks

5 servants for life between ages of 14 + 45.

(a) In Judge Joseph Wilder's Memorandum Book, is "An account of Cyder made in ye year 1728" for various citizens. The list begins

"for the Reverend Mr John Prentice	Barrels.
Capt. Sam Willard	61
Benjamin Wilson	12 1/2
Thomas Wilder	52
	22 1/2 "

There are 23 names. + the whole number of barrels made is 616. besides half barrels + c. William Bloughton had the largest product 113 bbls. In 1770 + 71 the Cyder product was more than one barrel for each man woman + child in town. For whole list see p. 191 note.

ever after 1748, and therefore the growth had been rapid. The ratio of increase after 1764 became less; and this is accounted for by the fact that after the capture of Quebec in 1759, and the peace of 1763, the towns on the west began to fill up, and drew largely from the older towns, including Lancaster.

Referring to the census of 1764, it will be noted that there were males under sixteen years of age to the number of five hundred and fourteen, and females, four hundred and twenty-one. There was an excess of ninety-three males. Male births in all countries exceed those of females; but the difference here was extraordinary. It can only be accounted for by the fact that there was an uncommon drain on the lives of males. Nature makes her own compensations. The number of males over sixteen, was five hundred and five; and of females, five hundred and thirty-two. Here is another remarkable result. The males were enrolled at the age of sixteen, and became liable to military duty. The excess of females was twenty-seven, showing the fearful waste of male life in the war, by killing, mortal wounds, camp distempers and lingering disease. Under sixteen, there were ninety-three more males than females; over sixteen, twenty-seven more females than males, making one-hundred and twenty males' lives the forfeit of war, and of casualties in life at home and at sea, in the course of a generation.

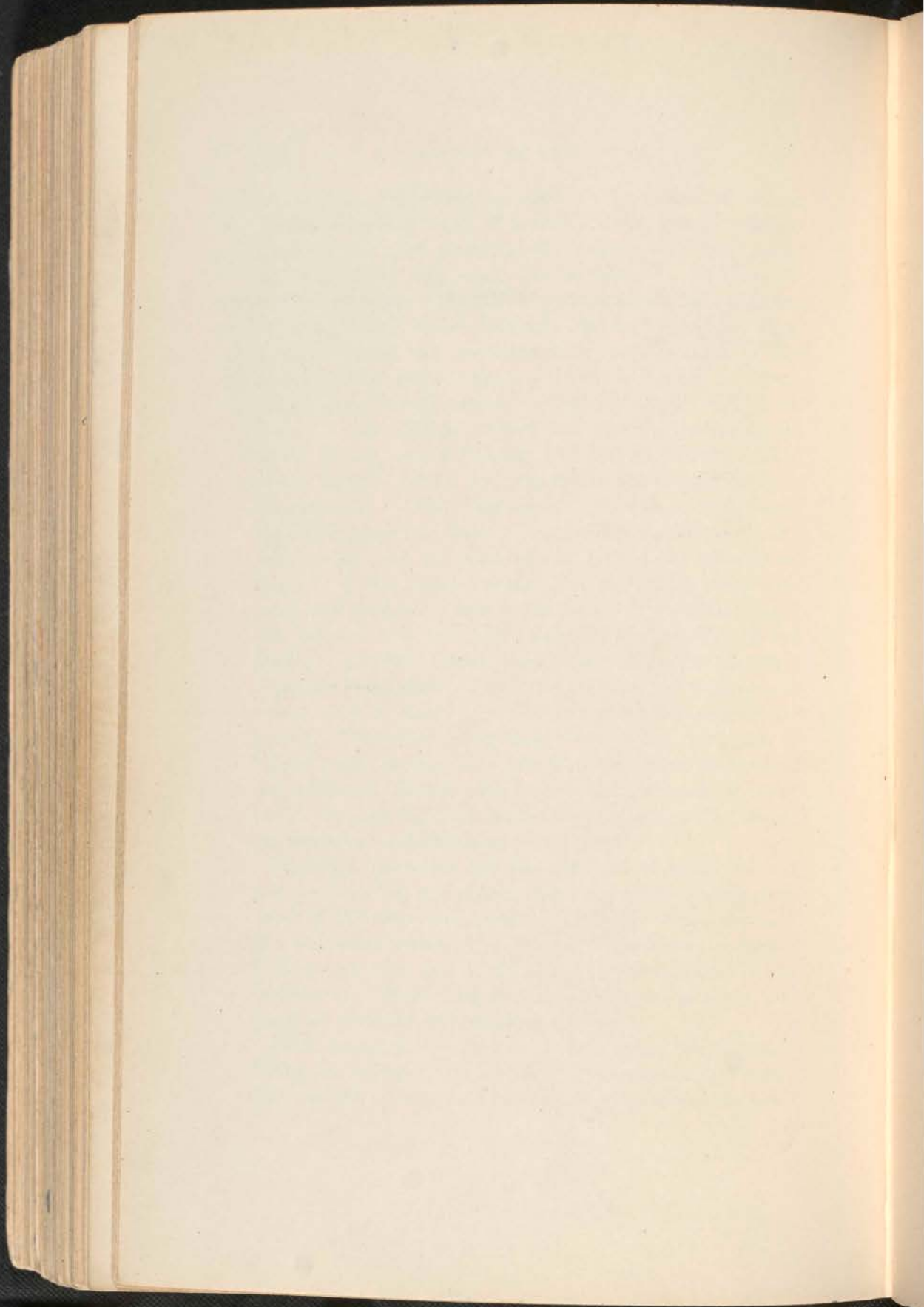
The state of morals during the early years of this period has been noticed in a former chapter. From the time of Mr. Prentice's death in 1748, there had probably been no improvement. The records of the county court concur with those of the church, in showing a looseness of moral sentiment. The years of war, in which a large number of young men were away from home, and exposed to the temptations of camp life, and intercourse with English officers and soldiers, had a corrupting influence. Intoxicating drinks, from cider (ca) to Jamaica and St. Croix rum, were freely used. Besides, there were causes at work, unsettling the faith of many in

the verities of the Christian religion. Looseness of opinion generally leads to laxity of morals. John Adams, who was a teacher and a law student in Worcester, two or three years, 1755-8, throws light upon this subject. In his Diary for 1755, he writes: "For three months I boarded with one Green<sup>e</sup>. Here I found Morgan's Moral Philosopher, which I was informed had circulated with some freedom in that town, and that the principles of Deism had made considerable progress among persons in that and other towns in the county." Mr. Adams studied law with the leading lawyer of the county, named Putnam, who had imbibed the notions of the English deists, and who talked about them freely at his own table. "He would argue to the extent of his learning and ingenuity to destroy or invalidate the evidences of a future state, and the principles of natural and revealed religion." It was claimed at the time, that nearly every educated and prominent man in the county, except the clergy, was infected with the infidel tenets of Morgan, Tyndal and Collins. And Mr. Adams reveals something of the condition of morals at the time. The following lines had reference to scenes which he knew were real, but which he intensely abhorred. "Let others waste their bloom of life at the card or billiard table, among rakes and fools, and when their minds are sufficiently fretted with losses, and inflamed by wine, ramble through the streets assaulting innocent people, breaking windows, or debauching young girls."

Doubtless Lancaster felt the influence of such men, and such conduct, but it is certain that many of the leading characters of this town stood firmly on the side of revealed religion and sound morals. Col. Samuel Willard, the two judges Wilder, and other men of that stamp, were members of the first church. Much of the ancient austerity of manners, and purity of domestic life remained.

Much attention was paid to the education of the young during this period. The school system became better organized, and the schools were prolonged. The schools for read-

cap<sup>x</sup> Greene, at the expense of the town, and by the arrangement  
of the selectmen."



ing and writing, which always included arithmetic, and sometimes other studies, were kept in such places as accommodated all the children in the extreme parts of the town. They were open five months in fall, winter and spring, and were attended by scholars from four to twenty years of age. As the school week included six days, a term of five months then was equal to one of six months now; and as the branches of study were not so numerous, the teachers had time to conduct a large school. Moreover, the scholars exercised a powerful educating influence over each other.

The ~~Latin~~ grammar school, in this period, became a fixed institution. It was kept twelve months in the year; part of the time in each precinct. One year, and perhaps more, the town voted that it should be kept six months in each parish; but generally the time was arranged by the selectmen, according to the number of children, and the valuation in each precinct. Sometimes the town directed that the first parish should have the school seven months, and the second, five months, annually. These grammar schools were of high grade, ranking with high schools. The higher branches of English were taught, and instruction was given in the learned languages. In nearly every case, graduates of Harvard were the masters. Brown, Swan, Frost, Locke, Prentice, and others were in the honorable role of teachers. The limits of the grammar schools, were defined by vote in town meeting, and those who lived within the bounds, paid the extra expense.

A society for mutual improvement was formed in the town in 1748. Samuel Locke, afterwards Rev. Dr. Locke, president of Harvard College, who taught here in 1752, and also in 1755, the year of his graduation, and who studied theology with Mr. Harrington, was a member. The "Articles of Agreement consented to and subscribed by ye Society of young men" is so characteristic of the theologic tone of the time, that they will be given entire.



"We, the <sup>ye</sup>Subscribers, being made, (we hope) in some measure sensible that we were shapen in <sup>y</sup>iniquity, and that in sin our mothers conceived us; that the corruption and sinfulness of our natures hath discovered itself in the <sup>great</sup>Irregularity of our <sup>T</sup>Thoughts, words and actions; and the many [<sup>words</sup> <sup>illegible</sup>] we are chargeable with, by which we have offended the great God, given <sup>G</sup>ground of <sup>G</sup>grief to them that wish us well, and wronged our own <sup>S</sup>Souls, and that we have <sup>R</sup>reason to be unfeignedly humbled; and that by our <sup>B</sup>Baptism, the <sup>ye</sup>commands of God, and our own <sup>I</sup>Interest we are obliged to remember our Creator in the <sup>ye</sup>days of our <sup>y</sup> youth, to be sober-minded, and to know in this our <sup>D</sup>day the things that belong to our <sup>P</sup>peace, and to seek first the <sup>ye</sup>Kingdom of God, and the <sup>ye</sup>righteousness thereof:—and that we are in <sup>D</sup>danger, by reason of our <sup>S</sup>spiritual <sup>E</sup>enemies of being further ensnared, encouraged and confirmed in that which is <sup>E</sup>evil, and that we are in <sup>D</sup>danger of injuring our own <sup>S</sup>Souls, by not <sup>I</sup>improving for our best <sup>G</sup>good the <sup>A</sup>advantages within our <sup>P</sup>power:— And

"Inasmuch as there are <sup>C</sup>combinations and <sup>A</sup>agreements among some to carry on evil <sup>D</sup>designs, and meetings of some together the <sup>ye</sup>tendencies and <sup>C</sup>consequences of which are hurtful, <sup>T</sup>therefore

"We have <sup>T</sup>thought that forming ourselves into a <sup>R</sup>religious <sup>S</sup>society for <sup>R</sup>religious <sup>P</sup>purposes, would not only be one way to <sup>S</sup>strengthen our <sup>O</sup>obligation to <sup>C</sup>circumspection in our <sup>C</sup>conduct, but would also, (by the <sup>ye</sup>blessing of God,) be a good means to fortify us against the temptations to which <sup>y</sup>youth is exposed, to promote our further <sup>K</sup>knowledge of <sup>T</sup>truth and <sup>D</sup>duty, and to save us from the <sup>ye</sup>paths of the <sup>ye</sup>destroyer.

"To quicken us therefore to avoid that which is evil, and to practice that which is good, we consent to, and agree in, the following Things, <sup>Viz.</sup>

"I. That we will, (by <sup>D</sup>Divine <sup>L</sup>leave,) meet together once a fortnight, at some <sup>H</sup>convenient <sup>P</sup>place, agreed upon, and there <sup>S</sup>pend about two hours together in <sup>P</sup>prayer, reading a <sup>S</sup>sermon.

The "Articles of Agreement" of this society are bound in  
with the early Church records. The alterations in the print were  
made to conform to the original manuscript.



Singing a Psalm, or part of one, and in religious conferences; and when these <sup>out</sup> exercises are over, will speedily repair to our respective homes.

"II. That the prayers to be made, both before and after the reading of a sermon, shall be made by the members of the society in their turns.

"III. That we will not divulge one another's infirmities or imperfections that may appear at any time in our performances, or speak of them to others, but will rather modestly and lovingly mind one another of things of that kind; and that we will kindly receive the notice thereof when given in a friendly manner.

"IV. That we will keep a strict guard over ourselves while together, that nothing unbecoming may be observed either in word or action, and will be very careful that our discourses savour not of vanity, reproaching and backbiting; that they have no relation to matters of government, or to things that do not concern us, the tendency of which is not to make us better and more knowing; — that therefore they shall be upon matters of religion, and even in this they shall not be upon the controversies of it, but upon the points of practical piety.

"V. That we will watch over one another for our good, and endeavor one another's spiritual profit, by labouring to assist each other in the knowledge of truth and duty; and by encouraging and strengthening one another in things that are good, virtuous and praiseworthy, and by advising one another of anything that calls for an admonition. And as we will endeavor faithfully to dispense a reproof as there may be occasion, so we will also accept a reproof when given in a just and friendly manner.

"VI. That, (by Divine help) we will behave in an inoffensive, good and exemplary manner, that none may have just ground to speak evil of any of us, or to reflect upon us as being only hypocritical, and as having only ostentatious aims in what we do; but rather that they may have reason to hope

that we are under a serious concern for the glory of God, the advancement of religion, and the promoting the good of our own, and of one another's souls. That we will endeavor to be on our guard, especially on the Lord's day, and to avoid all irregularities and indecencies on the same; and that we will also at other times carefully avoid those places that have a dangerous aspect, and the coming into an intimacy with those persons whose company is not likely to be profitable, but rather prejudicial.

"VII. That in case any should scoff at, deride and mock us, on the account of our coming into such obligations as we have, we hope (that, by Divine grace) we shall not be ashamed hereof, nor repent of our laying ourselves under them, nor renounce them; but endeavor to convince such of their sin, and to make them ashamed of it, and steadfastly continue our endeavors to fulfill them so long as our opportunities so to do are continued to us, or our circumstances will admit hereof: But in case of a removal, or if in the overruling providence of God we are brought into a married relation, we shall then look upon ourselves as released from our obligations to meet together as before mentioned.

"VIII. If any member of the society shall fall into scandalous iniquity, the rebukes of the society shall be dispensed unto him, and he shall be forbid coming any more among us, until he bring suitable expressions and evidences of his repentance with him.

"IX. If it be observed that any of the society absent themselves from our meetings, the reason of it shall be inquired into; and if no reason be given but such as intimates an apostasy from good beginnings, such upon obstinacy, after loving and faithful admonitions, shall have their names struck out of these articles.

"X. If necessary charges arise in the society there shall be a collection agreed upon for the defraying of them.

"XI. Once in three months the whole time of the meeting shall be spent in supplication for the outpouring of the



The order of signing is designated by figures —

a There is no reason to believe it - for they are not the names of men young in 1748. Warner was a Church member in 1713. The others 1730 - 34 + 35 See end of note to p. 163. These four names were perhaps signatures to the church covenant + are on a foolscap page. The articles + signatures of the "young men's society" are on 16mo pages, once forming a small book.

Spirit of God upon the rising generation in the land, and for the success of the gospel in the congregation to which we belong.

"XII. We shall be glad of an increase of our number, and therefore shall look out for some sober young men, and encourage and strengthen any good inclinations that we perceive in them, and readily two or three of us go with such to our minister, to receive his advice and counsels, and upon his advice, such person or persons may set to their hands, and join with us in these our obligations.

"Finally, we shall be glad to resort to our minister for, and be ready to comply with his advice, as there shall be occasion for it, and as he may see occasion to offer it to us; and we shall thankfully receive his instructions and encouragements, and attend to the prayers and sermons that he shall see cause to favor us with. These things we freely consent to and agree in, depending on Christ for strength to do according to them, and desiring earnestly the Divine blessing to our souls. Amen."

These Articles were signed as follows.

- |         |                       |    |                                    |
|---------|-----------------------|----|------------------------------------|
| 1       | Nathaniel White,      | 13 | Simon Willard,                     |
| 3       | Edward Phelps, junr   | 5  | Sherebiah Hunt,                    |
| 5       | John Solindine,       | 7  | Stephen Johnson,                   |
| 2       | Philemon Houghton,    | 7  | John Dupee,                        |
| 9       | John Divol,           | 21 | Benaiah Hutson,                    |
| 11      | Aaron Osgood,         | 23 | William Osgood,                    |
| 2 name  | William Jenison, junr | 18 | Isaac Solindine,                   |
| 14 name | William Phelps,       | 4  | Samuel Prentice,                   |
| 6       | Samuel Nikols,        | 18 | Thomas Beman,                      |
| 8       | Samuel Locke,         | 16 | Ephraim Wilder,                    |
| 10      | William Richardson,   | 22 | Thomas Willard, - Son of Sherebiah |
| 12      | Jonathan Ballard,     | 24 | Russell Knight.                    |

On another page are the following names, which there is reason to believe were subscribed to the document.

- |                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Samuel Warner,    | Stanton Prentice, |
| Ephraim Houghton, | Josiah Swan.      |



The Articles probably had a ministerial authorship. It will be noted that they were dated in the year of Mr. Harrington's settlement, and the writing resembles that of the Records kept by him.

This may be considered the first "Young Men's Christian Association," till some other one proves priority in date. It shows that the new minister had a strong body of young men ready to be led by him, and to sustain him in time of need. The Records of the society, if any there were, have not been found; but we may indulge the belief that it was an efficient instrumentality for good.

Such a society must have had a stimulating power upon the minds of the members, and so have yielded its quota in giving to the people of this town its reputation for intelligence, a century since. Among the young men of character and education, about 1750, was Abel Willard, born in 1732, and a graduate of Harvard just twenty years later. John Adams, in the Diary already quoted, under date of March, 1756, says: "The family of the Willards of Lancaster, were often at Worcester; and I formed an acquaintance with them, especially Abel Willard, who had been one year with me <sup>at</sup> college. <sup>W.</sup> With him I lived in friendship." Levi Willard, the brother next older, married a daughter of Judge John Chandler, of Worcester. He also was a man of intelligence and enterprise.

The wealth of Lancaster had greatly increased in this period of thirty-three years, as the valuation shows. The increase of population always raises the value of real estate; besides, some had added to their store by business. Col. Samuel Willard, in 1726, purchased the estate of his grandfather, Major Simon, and moved here from Harvard, in that or the following year. He also bought the Glazier property, between the Common and the Nashua, and in 1727, the land between the ancestral home and the river. He was a trader, and an old record book of Judge Wilder, senior, contains many entries of bills of goods bought of him. Three of

Mr Marvin quotes from p 420 of Willard Allen's, not from  
the original, as errors show.  
(a) <sup>as</sup> and had studied the law under Mr. Pratt in Boston. With him &c<sup>1)</sup>  
- see p 298 + notes -

22

\* There was no Harvard in 1726. He came from the Still River farm  
He had seven sons born to him by wife Elizabeth Phelps. - Samuel Nov. 12, 1718;  
Hajah 1720 died; Nathaniel Abijah July 27 1724; Levi April 19 1727;  
Joshua; Abel January 12, 1732

(5). His Memorandum Book of Judge Joseph Wilder is in the  
Town Library. but there are no such entries in it.

Col. Abijah's grand daughter, says that Col. Levi lived in South Lancaster opposite the Ward place - His house was standing, in her girlhood - near the well on the lawn of the Col. Fay Estate facing south - The store was between this and the Ward house - Abijah's house was built by his father Col. Saul, perhaps, although Col. Samuel lived in a house that stood just back of the site of the house built by Abel which last was known as the Whitman house in my boyhood - it was burnt - Aaron was a trader, cousin of Abijah, bought land of Abijah where the Mansion house stands and built there -

From The Massachusetts Gazette and the  
" Boston Weekly News Letter - Thursday, May 5, 1774  
SILENT WOLF News-carrier along the Road from  
Boston thro Lancaster, Putland &c, to Northampton Deerfield,  
&c, desires Seasonably to put his Customers in Mind,  
that the first Half-Year of his last Engagement ends with  
the News-Paper of the 9th of May Inst. when there will be due  
from each of them One Dollar! The Payment of which  
sometime in the Week following the said 9th of May, at  
the usual Places where he has left their Papers, he greatly  
hopes will be Certain and Punctual, and flatters himself  
therefore that none of them will be so Unkind, as by  
their Delinquency to deny him the Means of deproping the  
great Expence attending the same.  
+ x His former Customers who are yet in the Arrears may not  
expect to be called upon again in this Way as he must have  
his Pay in a short Time without fail. May 5 1774 -

his sons, Col. Abijah, Col. Levi and Esq. Abel, inherited the paternal estate in Lancaster, and lived in a row on what might be called Willard street, extending from Dr. Thompson's, easterly to the river. Abijah lived in the house now occupied by Mr. Day; <sup>Levi</sup> ~~Levi~~, near where the Mansion House now stands; and Abel near the corner of the road beyond Charles L. Wilder's house. Col. Levi was in trade in company with Samuel Ward, Esq., and they kept "perhaps the largest trading-house in the county of Worcester." They imported goods directly from England, and their customers were not confined to the town, but came from a long distance.

At the same time, Judge Joseph Wilder, jr., and his brother, Col. Caleb, were largely engaged in the business of making pot and pearl ashes, selling annually for some years, one hundred and fifty tons of pearlash, and eighty tons of pot-ash. Col. Joseph Wilder ~~and Col. Oliver Wilder~~ owned mill privileges, and others were engaged in business besides farming. This was, in some respects, the golden age of Lancaster.

*Joshua Thomas was Post Rider from Worcester in 1779-80*

## CHAPTER XIV.

### LANCASTER IN THE REVOLUTION.

THE annals of the town were brought down to the year 1775 in the preceding chapter, but the action of the town in relation to public affairs, in the year 1773, and subsequently, was omitted. This action belongs to the history of Lancaster in the Revolution, and will now begin as part of a continuous narrative. It will serve to show that the outbreak at Lexington and Concord was not a surprise, except in regard

a

to the precise time, but that the people had been, for years, preparing to defend their liberties at the dire hazard of war. A town meeting was held on the first Wednesday of January, 1773, in the meeting-house in the second precinct, Dea. Oliver Moor presiding as Moderator, to consider the following articles. "1. To take into consideration the dangerous condition of our public affairs; in particular, the independence of our superior judges, etc. 2. To choose a committee to draw up our grievances, and infringements upon our liberties. 3. To consider and act upon the request from the Boston committee. 4. To give to our Representative such instructions as the Town shall think proper, relative to our privileges. 5. To choose a committee to return an answer to Boston committee, and to correspond with any other committee, relating to our privileges, etc. 6. To act and do any thing that the town shall see proper to withstand the present progress of our enemies in endeavoring to take away our privileges."

(a)

The town voted to choose a committee to draw up a statement of grievances. These were the names of the committee.

a. Green in his History of the English People (IV p 193. London 1880) says "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States."

(a). The 1<sup>st</sup> article as usual was "to chuse a moderator for the government of sd. meeting." At the end of the second article should be inserted here - "and take such measures as shall them be thought proper" in place of "etc". At the end of the third article should be added "and to lay them before the Town when the Town shall so order". At end of 6<sup>th</sup>. article add. "and to informe the sd Town of their Transactions" from time to time". After 7<sup>th</sup> article is - "Dated at Lancaster Dec 22<sup>d</sup> 1772. Daniel Robbins Town Clerk." The Spelling is corrected to conform to the Records -

It is curious to contrast with these first utterances of the Rebellion against King George in Lancaster - the title of a pamphlet published only the year before, by Capt. Hezekiah Gates, who appears a leader now among those counselling resistance -

" KING GEORGE'S RIGHT  
TO THE  
Crown of GREAT BRITAIN  
Displayed:

Being a Collection from History, from the first known Times to the present year 1769  
Extracted for the Benefit of those in the Province of Massachusetts Bay who have not Leisure to Study History.

Shewing it to be the Duty of all Officers and others to defend the Heirs of SOPHIA being Protestants upon the British Throne, and the undoubted Right that King GEORGE the third hath to the Crown of Great Britain.

---

Extracted by  
HEZEKIAH GATES  
of Lancaster in NEW ENGLAND

BOSTON

Printed and Sold by W. M. At Pine in Marlborough  
Street MDCCCLXXII

He begins with the story of "Osiris King of Egypt" whose daughter he shipwrecks on the coast of Albion, & by their aid, some giants fortuitously coming upon the scene ("but from whence they came" he is careful to add "I know not.") he peopled the Island - To this auspicious origin he gives the exact date 2575 - In 2898 he brings Brute upon the British Arena, & so follows a historic sequence of event until the taking of Jerusalem, when "the Christian faith was first planted in this island by Joseph Simathia & with him came Mary Magdalen and Martha & Lazarus;" The remaining chapters are given to the descent of the Royal line -

Dr. William Dunsmoor, Messrs. John Prescott, Aaron Sawyer, Josiah Kendall, Joseph White, Nathaniel Wyman, Ebenezer Allen. The meeting was adjourned to the nineteenth, at the meeting-house in the first precinct, to receive the report of the committee. The report was duly received, and the same committee were appointed to reply to the letter of the Boston committee. Then the following instructions were agreed upon, for the guidance of the delegate to the general court, Col. Asa Whitcomb.

*To Captain Asa Whitcomb* - *as printed*  
 SIR,  
 "As you are chosen to represent this Town in the General Assembly of this Province, we take this opportunity of informing you of our sentiments relative to the unhappy state of our public<sup>k</sup> affairs. You will perceive, by the Resolves which are herewith sent to you, the Light in which we view the encroachments made upon our Constitutional Freedom. Particularly you will observe our serious opinion of a dependency of the Judges of the Superior Court on the Crown for their support; that they are already so dependant; or that it is in contemplation to render them so, we have Great Reason to fear. Also an act passed in the late session of the British Parliament, intitl<sup>ed</sup> an 'Act for Better Preserving his Majesty's Dock-yards,' etc., Does in a most essential manner infringe the Rights and Liberties of the Colonies, as it puts it in the power of any wicked tool of administration, either from malice or policy, to take any Inhabitant from the Colonies, and carry him to Great Britain, there to be tried, which by the Expense and long detention from his occupation, would be the destruction of almost any man among us, although his Innocence might finally appear in the clearest manner. And further, the late commissions for taking persons in our sister Colony, Rhode Island, and sending them to Great Britain, there to be tried upon suspicion of being concerned in burning his Majesty's schooner Gaspie, is an invasion of the Rights of the Colonies, and ought to excite the attention of the whole continent. We expect that you will use your utmost efforts, this session of our general assembly,



a to obtain a <sup>R</sup>adical <sup>R</sup>edress of our griev<sup>ances</sup>, and we wish you success in your endeav<sup>ors</sup>, and which we cannot but flatter ourselves, from the late happy change in the American de- partment<sup>s</sup> you will meet with. We confide in your ability and firmness in all matters which may come before the General Court, assuring you of the support of this Town in all your legal Proceedings, and earnestly praying that the Great Govern<sup>or</sup> of the world may direct and bless you in all your ways."

The resolutions reported to the town and adopted, so far as appears, with entire unanimity, evince a clear sense of right, and a stern purpose to maintain them. They were <sup>x</sup> honorable to the town, and they adorn its history.

"1. <sup>R</sup>esolved, <sup>T</sup>hat this and every other Town in this Province, has an undoubted Right to meet together and consult upon all Matters interesting to them, when, and so often as they shall judge fit; and it is more especially their duty so to do when any infringement is made upon their Civil or Religious Liberties.

2. <sup>R</sup>esolved, <sup>T</sup>hat the raising a <sup>R</sup>ev<sup>enue</sup> in the <sup>C</sup>olonies without their consent, either by themselves or their <sup>R</sup>epresentatives, is an infringement of that right which every <sup>F</sup>reeman has to dispose of his own property.

3. <sup>R</sup>esolved, <sup>T</sup>hat the granting a salary to his Excellency, the <sup>G</sup>overnor of this Province out of the <sup>R</sup>ev<sup>enue</sup> unconstitutionally raised from us, is an innovation of a very alarming tendency.

4. <sup>R</sup>esolved, <sup>T</sup>hat it is of the highest importance to the security of Liberty, Life and property, that the public administration of Justice should be pure and impartial, and that the Judges should be free from every bias, either in favor of the crown or the subject.

5. <sup>R</sup>esolved, <sup>T</sup>hat the absolute dependency of the Judges of the superior court of this Province upon the crown for their support, would, if it should ever take place, have the strongest tendency to bias the minds of the Judges, and would weaken our confidence in them.

a These Resolves are printed in Boston Gazette and Country Journal May 17 1774. John D. Washburn also introduced them in his Centennial Address. 1776 July 4. The corrections are made to accord with the town records, which the print of that day very closely follows. The preamble printed was as follows: "At a legal Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Lancaster by Adjournment.

The Committee appointed by the Town to take into Consideration the State of public Affairs, beg Leave to report the following Resolves and Instructions."

The letter closes with "Attest David Robbins  
Town Clerk"

x Yes, and we should have here a photograph of them instead of a modern translation.

In Boston Evening Post of <sup>Monday</sup> August 15 1774 is a Complaint of Jonas Wyman, about treatment he met on 12<sup>th</sup> instant from Lt Wm Cochran officer of Neck guard, as he was driving out of Boston.

"The Subscriber finding that he could get no Satisfaction in a legal Way, takes the Freedom to acquaint the Publick with the Treatment that he met with at the Boston Neck Guard, by the Office of the Guard, Lieut Wm Cochran of the 23<sup>d</sup> Regiment, and he does it rather on account of the many insults Abuses and Wrongs, that he understands have been daily offered to others. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of this Instant, driving his Waggon out of Town, which was not loaded with any Contraband Goods, he was, Contrary to Law, stopped and detained by the above officer near two Hours with his Waggon, putting him under Guard, using him with rough and Officer like Language, & not suffering him to go out to give anything to his Cattle, some of the Soldiers at the same time taking a Bag of Rum out of his Cart, which he was obliged to consent to their doing, after they had proposed it to prevent greater Abuse and Wrong &c. And when set at Liberty by the officer of the Guard, demanding Satisfaction for this cruel Treatment, all the Satisfaction that <sup>could</sup> be got was, that if I did not go about my Business he would put me under Guard again."

Attest Jonas Wyman  
Boston 13 August 1774. of Lancaster

(opp.) One of the best known names, is omitted, that  
of Capt. Samuel Ward. The Committee  
of Correspondence "for the several towns met in  
Convention at Worcester August 9, 1774" at the  
house of Mrs. Mary Starnes. The names here  
named with Capt. Ward, being present from  
Lancaster. Capt. Ward was the one selected  
from this delegation, as a member of the  
Select Committee for Worcester County to  
draw up "Resolves" &c.

The important action of this Worcester Convention  
wherein Capt. Ward, Asa Whitcomb were  
active & influential delegates, is fully recorded  
p 627 et seq. of "Journals of Provincial Congress &c." published  
1838 -

The Address to Governor Gage by gentlemen of Worcester Co.  
& their enforced apology, in which figure the names  
of Joseph Willard & Abel Willard of Lancaster - are to be found  
p 636 et seq. of same journal.

Peter Oliver born 1713. graduate H.V. 1730. Chief Justice of  
Massachusetts. 1756. proscribed and banished, and his estates  
confiscated. He went to Halifax from Boston & thence to England  
where he died 1791.

Besides the Worcester County people's Convention the Blacksmithe met  
Sept. 8. and adjourning to Nov. 8 then passed resolutions, which were  
printed in the Boston Gazette & Country Journal for Monday Nov.  
28, 1774. They agreed among other things to do no horse showing  
or other work for Tories or those who sympathized with them.  
It was signed by thirty nine men. Of Lancaster were  
Samuel Sawyer jr

*Resolved*  
6. That the <sup>the</sup> Extension of the Power of the Court of vice admiralty to <sup>the</sup> present enormous degree, is a great grievance and deprives the subject in many instances, of the noble privilege of Englishman, <sup>Trials</sup> by juries."

7. ~~These resolutions were ordered to be~~ transmitted to the town of Boston. *Resolved that the Proceedings of this Town*

A meeting was called on the fifth of September, 1774, to consider various matters pertaining to the general welfare. One article respected the granting relief to the "suffering poor of the town of Boston, occasioned by the late act of parliament <sup>for</sup> blocking up the <sup>port</sup> of said town." Another related to forming an agreement with other towns, and choosing a committee to do what was needful to be done in the present exigency. Other articles looked to raising money to buy a stock of ammunition, and to pay the town's proportion of the "charges of the present proposed congress."

The town chose the following committee of correspondence, with the singular provision that "any number even less than a majority \* \* \* shall be sufficient to represent the town." The times required haste, and it would not do to delay, in some exigencies, long enough to collect the committee from remote parts of the town. Dr. William Duns Moor, Dea. David Wilder, Aaron Sawyer, Capt. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Hezekiah Gates, John Prescott, Ephraim Sawyer. Subsequently Dea. Thomas Fairbank, <sup>Dea.</sup> Josiah Wilder, and Jonathan Wilder were added.

Then the town voted to "indemnify the constable for not returning a list of the freeholders for jurors under the late act of Parliament." The Dea. David Wilder, above named, was foreman of the grand jury which in the preceding April, voted, "that should Peter Oliver, Esq. appear and act as judge at this present court, they would not proceed to business, but would utterly refuse."

The opposition to the courts as then constituted was taking practical shape. The next vote was still more significant. It was to "raise fifty pounds for to buy ammunition with to be

*Capt. Saml Ward*  
(op)

a Town Stock." And still more emphatic was the vote passed, at an adjourned meeting, a fortnight later: "that there be One Hundred men Raised as Volunteers, to be Ready at a minute's Warning to Turn out upon any Emergency, and that they shall be Formed into Two Companies, and Choose their own officers." The volunteers were to be reasonably paid by the town for "any service they <sup>may</sup> <sup>as</sup> might do, in defending the liberties and privileges" of the people. Dr. Dunsmoor and Capt. <sup>Asa</sup> Whitcomb were authorized to enlist fifty men in their respective precincts. The committee of correspondence were to buy "one field piece for the use of the town."

At a meeting, September 28, Dr. Dunsmoor was chosen delegate to a "Proposed Provincial Convention" to be held at Concord. <sup>on the second Tuesday of October next</sup> The committee were empowered to "buy two 2 Ponders" instead of one field piece. The meeting was adjourned to December 12, when Dr. Dunsmoor and Capts. <sup>Heghtial</sup> Gates and Whitcomb were appointed a committee to draw up an "Association, League and Covenant for non-consumption of goods, etc., for the Inhabitants to sign."

(92) At another meeting a committee of three was chosen to see what money was in the hands of the constables, and to "direct them not to pay <sup>(out)</sup> any public money ~~out~~ of their hands without the town's order." This action was intended to prevent any taxes going to the loyal treasurer of the province. The committee were Dr. Josiah Wilder, Aaron and Ephraim Sawyer. Instead of 2 pounds, the committee reported that they had bought "4 Ponders." It was voted to buy "five hundred <sup>wt.</sup> weight of Ball suitable for the field pieces, and three hundred <sup>wt.</sup> weight of grape shott."

93 October 31, the town made arrangements that their money should not be paid to the provincial or county treasurer, but to Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, who had been designated by the patriots as Receiver General. A committee was appointed "to Post up all such <sup>Year</sup> Persons as continued to buy, sell or consume any East India goods, in <sup>some</sup> public places in town." This was to prevent the British government from receiving any

(92) The "Committee of Safety & Supplies" for the state made Lancaster one of the places of deposit for stores, and ordered to be kept here.

"One Company of Matrosses  
Two iron three pound Cannon.  
One Hundred & fifty five Tents  
One half barrel of Powder"

Dr William Dunsmore is the name as spelled always in the Records of the Provincial Congress — but it is spelled Dunsmoor on his headstone in Old Burial Ground. See note next page.

Dr W<sup>m</sup> Dunsmoor married Hannah Sumner of Killingly Ct. Jan'y 7. 1755. He is in a deed of Rezael Sawyer, called his grandson & He lived in South Lancaster probably upon the Sawyer lands.

83 The "two 4 Pounders" cost  $\frac{4}{8}$ . One of them was ordered to be kept in each parish. with half of the ball and grape shot

7<sup>2</sup> Capt. Asa Whitcomb & Dr. William Dunsmore  
were delegates present at several sessions of the  
"Provincial Congress". The 1<sup>st</sup> Congress met in  
Salem, Oct. 7, 1774, in Concord Oct. 11-14, 1774, in  
Cambridge, Oct. 17 to 29 - 1774 - <sup>Concord</sup> Nov 23 to Dec. 10 1774.  
The so called 2<sup>d</sup> Provincial Congress held four  
sessions, <sup>in 1775 at Cambridge, Feb. 1, Concord March 22 & April 22 & at Watertown April 22</sup>  
at which the same delegates represented  
Lancaster. The 3<sup>d</sup> Congress met at Watertown,  
May 31 - July 19 - & Lancaster was represented  
in it by Doct. William Dunsmore and Deacon  
Thomas Fairbanks, the latter taking the place  
of Col. Asa Whitcomb, who was "chosen Muster  
Master in place of Col. John Whitcomb (who  
declined the trust.") by the 2<sup>d</sup> Provincial Congress  
May 9<sup>th</sup> 1775.

77. The builders of the gun carriages designated were  
Dea. Oliver Moor, Peter Aaron Sawyer, Elisha White, &  
Joel Phelps. These were probably then the wheelwrights  
& leading carpenters of the town.

Deacon David Wilder died Nov. 17, 1776.

7<sup>3</sup> In the distribution of Boston inhabitants driving from  
their home 103 were assigned to Lancaster. see Journal  
of Congress p 177. Also July, 30 of Charleston exiles assigned to L. - 1743/20  
In donations to People of Boston Feb 24 1775. we find credits  
to "Lancaster Second Parish" 40 bushels Rye 38. Corn 96 lbs Cheese  
" 0<sup>l</sup> 12<sup>s</sup> 0<sup>d</sup>"  
See Genealogical Register Vol 30 p 376.

indirect revenue from customs duties. Men were designated (2<sup>d</sup>) to build gun carriages for the two field pieces.

An adjourned meeting, held January 2, 1775, chose a "committee to receive subscriptions and donations for the suffering poor of <sup>the town of</sup> Boston, <sup>occasioned by the late Boston Port Bill</sup> as follows. Doct. Dunsmoor, Dea. David Wilder, Ephraim Carter, Dea. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Daniel Robins, Ephraim Sawyer." The donations were to be brought in within a fortnight. r<sup>b</sup>

The Continental Congress, which met not long before, formed an Association to unite the whole people in resisting aggression, and promoting the general welfare; and the town voted to "abide by the spirit and sense" of the Association; and chose a large committee "to see that the said Association be kept and observed by the <sup>Inhabitants</sup>" of the town. The committee were John Prescott, Capt. Gates, David Wilder, Ephraim Carter, Dr. Wilder, Dr. Dunsmoor, Samuel Thurston, Ebenezer Allen, Ephraim Sawyer, Capt. <sup>Asa</sup> Whitcomb, Capt. Robbins, Josiah Kendall, jr., Jona. Fairbank, David Osgood, <sup>Asa</sup> Jonathan Wilder.

Capt. <sup>Asa</sup> Whitcomb and Dr. Dunsmoor were chosen delegates to <sup>the 2<sup>d</sup></sup> Provincial Congress which met at <sup>Cambridge</sup> Concord, in the following month. Feb. 17<sup>th</sup> at Concord March 22<sup>d</sup> & April 22<sup>d</sup> 1775 (2<sup>d</sup>)  
Wilmington Apr 22

The town was resolved that every man should be supplied with arms, and therefore voted, in May, that the "selectmen be a committee to receive the donations of the several gentlemen of the town, to furnish the poor of said town with good arms for the use of said town." The selectmen were also <sup>empowered</sup> to "provide suitable persons to use the grates." Dea. David Wilder and Dr. Dunsmoor were chosen delegates to the Provincial Congress. Soon after Dea. Thomas Fairbank was sent in place of Dea. Wilder. "

It was time to arm the whole population, for the Lexington and Concord fight had already occurred, and the battle of Bunker Hill was impending. On the nineteenth of the preceding April, the British troops had come out of Boston, on the memorable raid to Concord, and the world knows the



story of their disastrous rout. Early in the day a messenger brought the news to this town, and roused the soldiers to action. Tradition has not preserved the name of the swift horseman who brought the tidings, but it is known that he came in accordance with plans well laid, by committees of correspondence, and that he found the people ready for the "dread arbitrament of war."

The company of minute men, under Capt. Benjamin Houghton, marched without delay, to <sup>Cambridge</sup> Lexington, and Capt. Thomas Gates' company of cavalry, rode to Cambridge, to aid in repelling the royal forces. The roll of the cavalry men follows, being a part of the regiment of Col. John Whitcomb, of Bol-<sup>(177)</sup>ton.

*Mass. Archives  
Vol. XII No 95  
of "Lexington  
Alarms"*

	Capt. Thomas Gates,	James Goodwin <sup>†</sup>	Shadrach Hapgood,
	Lt. Jona. P. <sup>riest</sup> Whitcom,	Joel Osgood,	Jona. Puffer,
<i>St</i>	Sgt. Richard <sup>But</sup> Townsend,	Phin. Fletcher, *	Eben Allen, <i>Jos. Blood</i>
<i>Sgt</i>	William <del>Watson</del> ,	Reuben Gary, .	Israel Willard,
	" Peter Thurston,	David Willard, jr.,	Gardner Moors,
	" <del>Thos</del> Brooks,	John May, jr.,	Simeon Hemenway,
	Corp. William <sup>White</sup> Whitcom,	Eph. Willard, jr.,	<sup>ere</sup> Jona. Willard,
	" Moses Burpee, †	Tho. McBride,	Gab. Priest,
	" Jonas Wyman,	Benj. Bruce,	Asa Rugg,
<i>priv.</i>	Levi Sawyer,	Uriah <del>Weed</del> <sup>ard</sup> ,	Joel Pinney.
	John Hawks, †		

These men were in service from four to fourteen days. ~~Probably~~ All of them did not march <sup>at once</sup> <sup>2d Apr 19</sup>; and some might have returned before the rest.

The minute men belonged to the same regiment, and these are their names.

	Capt. Benjamin Houghton,	Henry Willard <sup>Farm</sup> ,	David Horseley <sup>Reuben</sup> <sup>Esperwell</sup> ,
<i>2</i>	Lt. Samuel Josslyn,	Jona. Kendall,	John Bennet, <sup>died 1776</sup>
	Sgt. Nath. Sawyer,	John Willard,	Jonas Prescott, <sup>Son of 4<sup>th</sup> John</sup>
<i>(a)</i>	" Samuel Wilder,	Jona. Knowlton,	Nathan Esterbrook,
	Corp. Aaron Johnson,	Stephen Wilder,	Elisha Houghton,
	" William Wilder,	Titus Wilder,	Stanton Carter,
<i>Drum</i>	Dr. John Wheelock,	John Dana,	Joseph Jones,
	" Ephraim Kendall,	Elijah Ball,	Joshua Fairbanks,
	Paul Sawyer,	Daniel Knight,	Abijah Houghton,
	Thomas Bennet,	John Thurston,	Matthew James,
	Abijah Hawks,	Edm. Larkin,	John Chower.
		Joseph Josslyn,	

(21) This John Whitcomb, here called, Col. was the first major general of Massachusetts, Dr Joseph Warren being the second. He was elected as such by the 2<sup>d</sup> Provincial Congress June 13, 1775, and after some delay in acceptance on his part. (perhaps on account of age) he was Commissioned to date from June 21<sup>st</sup>.

Willard (note p. 52) gives the names of six men of this company who were living in 1826. Two of these, - Samuel Sawyer and Joseph Blood - do not appear in the roll here given - the other four I have marked X - Blood's name is in roll but omitted by Marvin. See Sawyer infra. Samuel? or Samuel?.

In a biographical sketch of Gen John Whiting which will be found in a note to page 406 Vol. 11 he is credited with being in a company of minute men, and present at Lexington being 16 yrs. of age. He continued in service during the war, being commissioned in 1777, & acting later as Quartermaster Adjutant Aide Camp &c. His name does not appear in this Chapter.

Elijah Ball & Edmund Larkin were of Roxbury precinct 1780

(a) There should be added here the names (26) on page 293 who were Capt. Houghton's minute men & marched with him but listed in the Continental Army in Cambridge Mass. Archives Vol. X 11. No. 140 "Lexington Marus"

(a) The rest of Capt Samuel Sawyers Co. who, as he notes, "engaged in the provincial service" are given in a separate roll to be found in Vol XIII "Lexington Alarms" No 115. There were 34 of them, The author has missed most of them in the lower list of page 292 -

These are the names

Ephraim Richardson Lieut.

Seth Hawwood Sergeant

Ephraim Borington Ditto

Ebenezer Pike Ditto

Seth Graves Ditto

Jiles Wills Corporal

Timothy Brown do.

John Wheeler Drummer

William Kendall fifer

Ebenezer Belknap private

Thomas Block it

Israel Cook

Thomas Cleland

Elijah Drexler

John Dendmore

Aaron Gery

Ephraim Goss

John Kendall

Israel Manning

Jonathan Phillips

Elisha Poverty

Jacob Piper

Josiah Person

Isaac Tower

Ephraim Winship

Jacob Wilder

Roger Bartlett

Nathaniel Brown

Mathias Larkin

Samuel Rice

Solemon Holman

Annassa Powers

John Sawyer

Jude Sawyer

These 34 men enlisted in the Continental Army, after seven days service as "minute men" - and Lieut. Richardson became Captain -

a' This roll will be found in Vol XIII No. 189 Mass. Archives "Lexington Alarms" - The idea of "more men than were needed" is absurd! The whole male population rushed forth to meet the invaders, at the alarm - old & young, "minute men" & "Militia" - All who could be induced to were enlisted in the "American Army" by the Provincial authority for eight months -

The British had retreated before the company reached the scene of action, and they were stationed at Cambridge, under Gen. Artemas Ward. They were out on this expedition from six to eighteen days.

A third company of ~~the same~~ regiment was commanded by Capt. Samuel Sawyer, and continued in the service from ten to nineteen days.

*Vol. xiii of  
Lexington  
Records  
Mass. Archives  
540 84*

The names of officers and men were as follows.

Capt. Samuel Sawyer,	Timothy Haxwood,	John Parsons, — (Person?)
Lt. Manassa Sawyer,	Ephraim Powers,	Oliver Powers,
Ensign, Joel Houghton,	Jacob Robins,	Ezra Sawyer, (a)
Corp. Ebenezer Ross,	Aaron Kilburn,	Asa Smith,
" Lemuel Fairbank,	John Spafford,	Ephraim Wiman,
<i>Privates</i> Jabez Brooks,	Thomas Sawyer, jr.,	Obadiah Grose,
Jonathan Wilder, Jun.	Silas Rice,	Abel Bigelow.
Samuel Churchel ^		

A fourth company had Joseph White for captain. This belonged to the regiment of Col. Asa Whitcomb, and was engaged, at this time, only four <sup>or five</sup> ~~or five~~ days. <sup>one half</sup> More men hurried to Cambridge than were needed, and some were poorly equipped. These returned home, and prepared for more extended service, as the war was prolonged from year to year till its triumphant close.

? a'

Capt. Joseph White,	Corp. Moses Wilder,	Jona. Whitney,
1 <sup>st</sup> Lt. Cyrus Fairbanks,	Jona. White,	Abel Phelps,
2 <sup>nd</sup> " Moses Sawyer,	Nat. White,	Joseph Fairbanks,
<i>Serj</i> Sgt. Samuel Thurston,	William Richardson,	Josiah Bennet,
" John Fletcher,	Phineas Wilder,	William Phelps,
" John Clarke,	Joseph Lewis, "Inlets"	Joseph Beman.
Corp. Peter Larkin,		

In June, probably before the battle of Bunker Hill, Andrew Haskell became captain <sup>of the Provincial Army</sup> ~~of the minute men~~, and with an enlarged number, served under Col. Asa Whitcomb, three months and fourteen days. This is the muster roll.

<i>Killed 1771</i>	Capt. Andrew Haskell,	Sgt. Abijah Phillips,	Corp. Benj. Houghton,
	Lt. John Kendrick,	" Jeremiah Haskell,	Ebenezer Allen,
<i>Killed 1777</i>	" Jonathan Sawyer,	" Joshua Fairbanks,	Jacob Wilder,
	Sgt. John Hewitt,	Corp. Josiah Bowers,	D'r. Nathaniel White,

*Coat Rolls  
Mass. Archives  
Vol. 1 #147*

Fifer, John Wheelock,	Gershom Flagg,	Peter Manning,
Abel Wyman, <i>did 1776</i>	Israel Willard,	Samuel Barret,
Abijah Houghton, <i>3000</i>	Joseph Beaman, <i>in the works</i>	Stanton Carter,
Benjamin Ballard,	Joseph Phelps, <i>Wounded &amp; did 1778</i>	Thomas Goodwin,
Benjamin James,	Josiah Phelps,	William Shaw, <i>in the works</i>
Daniel Clark,	Jacob Phelps,	William Deputron,
Daniel Wyman,	Jonathan Ross,	William Phelps,
David Hosley, <i>in the works</i>	Joseph Wilder, <i>did 1778</i>	Winslow Phelps,
Eber Sawyer,	Jacob Pike,	Jonas Prescott, <i>Surgeons waiter</i>
Elisha Rugg,	Isaac Kilbourn,	David Robbins, <i>Killed at Bunker Hill</i>
Ebenezer Abbot,	Isaac Eveleth, <i>Serjt</i>	Robert Phelps, <i>wounded &amp; did in Boston</i>
George Richardson,	John Fletcher,	John Baker, <i>Enlisted in train</i>
Mark Heard,	John Ballard, <i>did 1776</i>	John Myers, <i>Seaman do.</i>
Matthew James,	Jonathan White,	William Calley, <i>do.</i>
Nathan Esterbrooks,	Jonathan Wilder,	Samuel Adams, <i>do.</i>
Peter Airs,	John Warner, <i>did Mar. 1776</i>	

David Robbins was killed on Bunker Hill. Robert Phelps was wounded and captured on the day of the battle. & did Aug. 1775. Some of these men were with Capt. Houghton, when he hastened to Concord.

Ephraim Richardson, under Col. Asa Whitcomb, *was lieutenant* ~~led a~~ company to Concord and Cambridge, and was in the service from April 19 to August 1, three months and fourteen days. There were, officers and privates, fifty-four in the company.

Capt. Ephraim Richardson,	Israel Kooke,	David Pike,
Lt. Seth Heywood,	Thomas Cleland,	Ephraim Pike,
" Ephraim Boynton, <i>Corp</i>	Elijah Dole, <i>went to Concord Sept 11</i>	Josiah Person,
Sgt. Ebenezer Pike,	Elijah Dreser,	Asa Rugg,
" Luther Graves,	John Densmore,	Seth <del>Buss</del> , Ross
" Samuel Rice,	Calvin Fairbank,	Luther Rice,
" Falls " Filly Wells,	Asa Farrar,	Benja. Smith,
Corp. Solomon Holman,	Aaron Gary,	Jude Sawyer,
Corp. Nathaniel Brown, <i>corp</i>	Aaron Glasier, <i>Shrewsbury</i>	James Sawyer,
✓ Roger Boutelle, <i>corp</i>	Ephraim Goss,	Thomas Smith,
" Matthias Larkin,	Jacob Kilbourn,	David Gary,
D'r. John Wheeler,	Joshua Kendall,	Isaac Tower,
Fifer, William Kendall,	Israel Manning,	Jacob Wilder,
Ebenezer Belknap,	Reuben Mofe,	Joshua Whitney,
John Burns, <i>unn.</i>	Jonathan Phillips,	Josiah Brunson,
Corp. Timothy Brown,	Elisha Prout,	Joseph Savage,
Thomas Blodget,	Manassah Powers,	John Sawyer,
Noah Kendall,	Jacob Piper,	Thomas Prosser,

*went included Sept 11*

These names of Lancaster men "in ye Continental service" who died are gathered from the Church Records, in Rev. Timothy Harringtons writing -

1775  
David Robbins. "Killed in Battle at Charlottown"  
Sergt. Robert Phelps. wounded & died in Boston.

1776  
John Ballard "of small pox" "in ye Continental service"  
Capt. Abel Wyman. "in ye service" d. d.  
"Mr John Bennett" in 1777  
"July or Augt Lt Jonathan Sawyer killed by Indians."  
"Abel Fairbank } "in ye army"  
Joseph Wheelock }

1778  
Joseph Wilder jun. of small pox at Sea  
Joseph Phelps died of his wounds in a sea fight.

a. Richardson did not lead the Company to Cambridge, but was Lieut under Capt. Samuel Sawyer & enlisted in the "American Army" with 34 others of the Co. as stated in note to preceding page. The list is here mixed with that of some other Company & the following names are omitted.

Amos Dole of Shirley  
Asa Robinson of Lexington  
Benj. Glasier of Arundelham?  
Benjamin Treadway of Princeton  
Ephraim Winchupp of Lexington  
Elihu Goss of Bolton  
John English of Salem  
Benj. Hines of Shrewsbury  
Ephraim Sawyer Corporal  
Jonas Beaman  
Jabez Brooks went Quebec Sept 11 1775  
Stephen Harris went Quebec Sept 11 1775  
James Wall

a }  
Jabez Brooks was wounded.  
Nathaniel Brown was wounded. } of Capt. Saml Woods Co.  
Elijah Dole was a prisoner  
Thos Proser & James Wall deserted -

a' See note a to page 290. for the rest of this Company.  
The corrections in names are to conform to original  
roll in Mass Archives Vol x11 of "Lexington Mercury" No 140.  
These names have already been given in list of Starkell's Company pp 191-2.

Heard on p. 292. also in Harrington's  
Church records.

a" Here is some blundering. Capt Andrew Starkell commanded one of  
the Companies of Col Asa Whitcomb's Regiment - The Artillery were at  
regiment under Col Richard Bradley - A roll of Capt Andrew Starkell's  
men complete has already been given p 291-2. Four of his men  
Adams, Baker, Cally, & Myles enlisted in "the Train" on the days  
named. no more - The author is simply again repeating the names  
of men in Starkell's Company & for the same service, the Regiment  
being stationed on Prospect Hill after the Battle of Bunker Hill.  
See Mass. Archives Cook Rolls Vol 1 No 147

A very unfortunate omission is that of the Company of Captain John Prescott - the Roll of which is in Mass Archives - Volume x<sup>th</sup> No. 68 of Lexington Mass.

"A list of the names of the men and the time they spent, and the distance they travelled, in their march to Cambridge on the 19<sup>th</sup> April 1775 to defend the Country against General Gage and his troops, under the command of Capt. John Prescott of Lancaster."

Capt<sup>n</sup> John Prescott

Ichabod Garey

Lieut John White jr

Asa Stearns

Serj. Elisha Allen

Abiel Abbot

Serj. James Fuller

Luke Carter

Serj. Salmon Godfrey

John Manning

Serj. Joseph Beeman

Jona. White

Corp. Seth Sergeant

John Ballard

Corp. Jona. Wilder

Joseph Phelps

Corp. W<sup>m</sup>. Shaw

Joseph Phelps

Corp. Nath. White

Robert Phelps

Priv. Abner Hasbell

Peter Myers

Will Jewett

David Robins

Adam Fleeman

Jona. Atherton

Jacob Lever

Eben Flagg

Jona Phillips

Moses Brewer

Oliver Houghton

John Baker



John Prescott with most of his company  
 served 12 days - Many of his men enlisted  
 in the Continental army - As the Regiment  
 to which they were attached is not mentioned  
 they were probably Volunteers -

The Lancaster Roles of the Lexington Alarm - include  
 six Companies -

Capt. Samuel Langens	Militia Men	56	rank of file
Capt. Benjamin Houghton	do	61	"
Capt. Thomas Gates	Troopers	32	"
Capt. John Prescotts	Volunteers	32	"
Capt. Daniel Robbins	Militia	51	"
Capt. Joseph Whites	Militia	19	"
Sergeant Jonathan Wilders	Squad	4	"

Total - 255 men

They marched to Cambridge & remained  
 from home from 6 to 14 days -

The adjoining towns swarmed forth in similar  
 fashion.

Leominster	Sent 3 Companies -	99 men
Harvard	4	174
Bolton	3	127

*[Faint, illegible handwriting on a grid-lined page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.]*



The Massachusetts Spy for Wednesday August 2 1775 gives a list of killed + wounded at Bunker Hill:

		killed + missing	wounded
Starks + Reads N.H. Regts	[Washington's Report] 3 <sup>k</sup> - 29 <sup>w</sup> - 1 <sup>m</sup>	15	45
[Read]		[5 by Frothingham 21]	
General Wards Regt.		1	6
Colonel Scammons		0	2
" Bridges	[17 <sup>k</sup> - 25 <sup>w</sup> ]	15	29
" Gerrishes	[3 - 5]	3	2
" Prescotts	[43 <sup>k</sup> + 26 <sup>w</sup> ]	42	28
" Whitcombs	[5 <sup>k</sup> 8 <sup>w</sup> 2 <sup>m</sup> ]	5	8
" Fryes	[10 <sup>k</sup> - 38 <sup>w</sup> - 4 <sup>m</sup> ]	15	31
" Brewers	12 - 22	7	11
" Nixons	3 <sup>k</sup> + <sup>w</sup>	3	10
" Littles	[1 <sup>w</sup> ]	7	23
[Patterson]			
" Woodbridges	[5 <sup>w</sup> ]	1	5
" Gardner's	[7 <sup>w</sup> ]	6	7
" Doolittles	[6 <sup>k</sup> - 9 <sup>w</sup> ]	9	9
" Gridleys		0	4
General Putnam's Connecticut	[not given]	15	30

135  
 About 30 missing since returned  
 By Frothingham 149  
 250  
 271  
 30  
 220  
 135  
 355

It is usual to call the total American loss "about 450"  
 Genl Wards Orderly Book says: Killed 115, wounded 315. Captured 30 - 450  
 Bancroft says: 145 killed, + wounded 304 - 449  
 Washington's Report was: 125 killed, 275 wounded, 7 missing - 407

Of these Jabez Brooks, Nathaniel Brown, Elijah Dole and <sup>Sept 11, 1775</sup> Thomas Smith went to Quebec under Arnold. <sup>Stephen Harris</sup> Savage and <sup>May 16, 1775</sup> Brunson<sup>^</sup> joined the artillery.

The men who made forced marches to Concord, were either volunteer militia, or "minute men." They were not called out by any constituted authority; but a messenger, probably chosen by the committee of correspondence, in each town, took up the message as it came from the town below, and galloped with it to a town to the westward, and thus the summons flew over the hills of Worcester county to the valley of the Connecticut, and on to Berkshire. But there was an immediate necessity for a more permanent military organization, and men were invited to enlist in the service, for a longer or a shorter time, as the case might be. From the Rolls we learn that the following men enlisted in the Continental Army, <sup>having</sup> and served from six to nine days, *under Capt (a') Benj. Houghton as "Minute Men"*

First Lt. Andrew Has-	Eber Sawyer,	Abel Allen,
kell,	Abel Wyman, <i>dead 1776</i>	Sam. Adams,
Sgt. John Sawyer,	Benjamin Ballard,	Thomas Goodwin,
" John Kendrick,	Daniel Wyman,	Elisha Rugg,
Corp. John Farwell,	<sup>as</sup> James Beaman,	Jonathan Ross,
" John Haskell,	John Baker,	Jacob Phelps,
Fifer, John Wheelock,	Josiah Bowers,	Isaac Eveleth,
Mark Heard, <del>or Ward,</del>	Joseph Phelps, <i>dead 1778 of</i>	Abijah Phillips,
Jacob Wilder,	Josiah Phelps,	Benjamin Houghton.

~~Probably these men entered the general service when the volunteers returned home, and remained a few days till a more permanent arrangement could be made. It appears from the Rolls that officers and men were immediately enlisted for a period of eight months. Under Col. Asa Whitecomb, Capt. Andrew Haskell, and others, enlisted into the train, or artillery, May 24 and 28, 1775.~~

Capt. Andrew Haskell,	Samuel Barret,	Ebenezer Abbot,
Corp. Ebenezer Allen,	John Baker,	Joseph Beaman,
Abel Allen,	Peter Airs,	John Ballard, <i>dead 1776.</i>
Corp. Josiah Bowers,	Samuel Adams,	Benjamin Ballard.

a And on the thirtieth of May the following are supposed to have joined the same company of artillery.

Daniel Clark,	Sgt. Joshua Fairbank,	Gershom Flagg.
Stanton Carter,	John Fletcher,	Thomas Goodwin.
William Calley,		

Other men joined the company of Capt. Haskell at dates not recorded. It will be seen that many names are repeated, proving that a large number of the soldiers were in the service, at different times, and under different officers.

Fifer William Kendall,	Jacob Pike,	Fifer, John Wheeler,
Joshua Kendall,	Elisha Rugg,	Joseph Wilder, <i>did 1779</i>
Jacob Kilbourn,	George Richardson,	Jotham Wilder,
Sgt. Abijah Phillips,	Jonathan Ross,	John Warner,
" Robert Phelps, <i>did of wounds 1775</i>	David Robbins, <i>did at Bunker Hill</i>	Jonathan White,
Jonas Prescott,	Eber Sawyer,	Israel Willard,
Joseph Phelps, <i>did of wounds 1778</i>	William Shaw,	Daniel Wyman,
Josiah Phelps,	Corp. Jacob Wilder,	Abel Wyman, <i>did 1776</i>
Jacob Phelps,	D'r. Nathaniel White,	

Opposite the name of Robert Phelps is written "wounded and in captivity, June 17." It is safe to infer that he was in the battle of Bunker Hill, was wounded, and taken prisoner. In Frothingham's Siege of Boston, it is stated that only a few of Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment were in the battle. Probably the bulk of the regiment were in Cambridge, as Gen. Ward feared a movement of the enemy in that direction.

a Capt. Ephraim Richardson was in the service in the spring or summer of 1775 at the head of the following men; but the duration of his or their service has not been found. The men evidently entered and left the service at different times.

Lt. Seth Heywood,	Corp. Jonas Beaman,	Thomas Blodgett,
" Ephraim Boynton,	" Benjamin Hough,	Josiah Brunson, <i>train June 10</i>
" John Kendrick,	Ion,	Israel Cook,
Sgt. Luther Graves,	Corp. Ephraim Sawyer,	Aaron Gary,
" John Hewitt,	D'r. John Wheeler,	Ephraim Goss,
" Ebenezer Pike, <i>did of wounds 1775</i>	Corp. Nathaniel Brown, <i>went 2nd Oct. Sept 11</i>	Calvin Fairbank,
" Samuel Rice,	" Jabez Brooks, <i>went 2nd Oct. Sept 11</i>	David Hosley,
" Falls Wills,	John Bunn,	Mark Heard,
		Elijah Dole <i>went 2nd Oct. Sept 11</i>

\* of 2 present.

a. Col Richard Gridley commanded the Artillery - Lancaster men under him were Joseph Jones Corporal in Capt. Wm Perkins Co Sept. 1775

Saml Adams  
John Bacon  
Harvard - John Blanchard } Capt John Popkin's Co. "  
Cholet - John Savage  
Wm Callen  
Harvard - Ebenezer Flagg

x "In many instances the soldiers were indulged the privilege of choosing their own officers" Thacker's Journal p 71-

John Will Kendall was not in Haskells Co. but Richardson's  
Jacob Kithorn " " "  
John Wheeler " " " Drummer

The whole half page is merely a repetition, useless & confused.

\* There is no call to infer. His name is on record in the papers of the time as one of the list of thirty wounded, captured by the British on Bunker's Hill. In Genealogical Register Vol 19 p. 263. a list of 30 prisoners in Boston jail "taken at Bunker's Hill" has the name of "Sergt Robert Phelps, Lancaster" - See also Frothingham's History of the Siege of Boston page 192. & New England Chronicle for Sept 7 & Sept 14 1775. Col. Aca Whitcomb's Regt. lost in the battle 5 killed and missing and 8 wounded. See Mass. Spy for Worcester August 2. 1775.

a. - Capt Ephraim Richardson commanded a Company in Col. Aca Whitcomb's Regiment, & was stationed on Prospect Hill during the siege of Boston - Mr Darwin's carelessness is shown by his putting John Kendrick as Lieut in both Haskells & Richardson's Cos. & John Hewitt as Sgt. in both - & Benjamin Houghton as Corporal in both - etc &c - He has entirely omitted these.

Corporal Matthias Larkin &c &c - I suspect this is all a repetition of the  
" Elijah Dreser &c &c

list which is given badly mixed on page 292 -

(5<sup>2</sup>) Col. Asa Whitcomb's Regiment was the "3<sup>d</sup>" embracing Companies from Lancaster, Bolton, Harvard, Lunenburg, Leominster, Fitchburg, Ashburnham, & Westminster. Jas. Thacker, surgeon, author of "Military Journal," was of this regiment. see note opposite pages 516 & 277. Willard in a note to page 53 says, "Jonathan Wilder Silas Thurston & Jacob. Zucare were at the taking of Burgoyne." The last two names are not to be found in any of the rolls here given.

5<sup>4</sup> In Capt Paul Ward's Company at Quebec were "wounded" Corporal Nathaniel Brown & James Brooks - On p 293 the author states that Thomas Smith & John - were in the Quebec expedition - These with Savage & Bunn make six instead of two of this list. Quebec soldiers - In Eph. Richardson's coat roll however Brunson & Savage are "entitled into the train" - & nothing is said about Bunn -

5<sup>3</sup> Only those marked & are claimed in Wolcomb's Address of 1891 as of 2<sup>d</sup> Precinct - Hugh Moore probably belonged to the Weymouth precinct as he is one of the petitioners there 1780.

add { Jonathan Atterton & Moses Brewer  
Lt. Israel Willard Died Sept 13 & Ebenezer Flag } in Capt James Burt's Co of same Regt.

add Daniel Fleeman in Capt. Longley's Co. same Regt  
" Elisha Houghton in Capt. Hastings Co. do

Col Asa Whitcomb's Officers - were Lt Col Josiah Whitney  
Captain John Fuller Lunenburg Maj Ephraim Sawyer  
Eph. Richardson Lancaster Adj. Jeremiah Gayer  
David Wilder Leominster Surgeon Wm Dunsmore  
Abner Cranston Harvard  
James Burt Harvard  
Robert Longley - Bolton  
Jonathan Davis Harvard  
Edmund Beane's Westminster  
Andrew Hestell Lancaster  
Agripa Wells Shelburne Greenfield &  
Benjamin Hastings Boston

Jacob Piper,	Abijah Houghton,	Ephraim Pike,
* Thomas Smith, <i>West Ansel Sept 11</i>	Jeremiah Haskell,	Winslow Phelps, <i>Capt. Ward's Regiment in Continental Army</i>
Benjamin Smith,	Isaac Kilbourn,	Asa Rugg.
Seth Ross,	David Pike,	Luther Rice,
Joseph Savage <i>from May 16</i>	Josiah Pearson,	James Sawyer,
Jude Sawyer,	Elisha Proute,	Ephraim Whitcomb,
Jacob Wilder,	Manassah Powers,	Joshua Whitney,
James Wall, <i>Sept. May 13</i>	Jona. Phillips,	Thomas Proser. <i>Sept. May 29</i>

54 ~~Two~~ <sup>4</sup> of these men joined the expedition to Quebec, through the wilderness of Maine and Canada, under Col. Benedict Arnold, September 11, 1775; viz., John Bunn and Joseph Savage — James Sawyer joined the artillery, May 16.

Joseph Beaman served in Col. Doolittle's regiment; Israel Davenport in Col. Nixon's; Moses Osgood in Col. William Prescott's; and Nathan Osgood <sup>+ Ephraim Whitcomb</sup> in the company of Capt. Davis, under Col. Asa Whitcomb. *Israel Davenport + Jonathan Whitcomb*

In the muster rolls is found the following list of names. Perhaps the majority of the company belonged to the second precinct, but their service is a part of the history of Lancaster.

53 " Provincial Regiment of foot of Militia Men, Commanded by Col. Asa Whitcomb. Part of the Second and Thirteenth Companies, whereof Capt. Daniel Robbins Commanded, who marched to Cambridge in consequence of an alarm, by order of the Col., and returned again, not listed in the above service, (19th April, 14 days) *In Mass. Archives - Lexington Alarm Vol. XLI, No 77 American*

Capt. Daniel Robbins,	Benjamin Whitmore,	Calvin Moor,
First Lt. Josiah Kendall,	Seth Fairbanks,	James Houghton,
1st Lt. Asa Wilder,	Ephraim Wright,	George Hibris,
2nd " Fortunatus Eager,	Thomas Wright,	Joshua Sawyer,
x En. Edward Newton,	Josiah Wilder, jr.,	Joseph Densmore,
" Jonathan Baley,	Abraham Howe,	Jonathan Prescott, <i>son of Jonathan</i>
x Sgt. Samuel Baley,	<sup>Joseph</sup> Seth How,	Ephraim Bowker,
" Nathaniel Wright,	John Robbins,	* Elijah Wilder,
jr.,	Seth Brooks,	David Whitteor,
" John D <sup>re</sup> asser,	Gamaliel Beaman,	Samuel Parritt, <i>Jewett</i>
" Thomas Wears,	Benjamin Beaman,	Samuel Holman, <sup>12</sup>
Cor. Samuel Thompson,	Jonas Bailey,	* Thomas Sawyer, <i>Quartermaster has a private</i>
x " Thomas Ross,	Jonathan Thompson,	* Asa Smith,
" Samuel Heyring,	John Kilburn,	* Hugh Moor,
" Simon Lyon,	* William Palmer,	Timothy Wilder.



"Privates ~~men's~~ names that enlisted April 26, 7 days in service."

Joshua Whitney,  
Elijah Dole,  
David Gray,

Daniel Farrer,  
Noah Kendall,

Seth Ross,  
Jonas Beaman.

The traditions of the service of the Lancaster soldiers in this brief campaign, from April 19 to June 17, which once filled the town, have sunk in everlasting silence. When Mr. Willard wrote his History, there were many veterans alive, whose narrations would have filled a volume, but his plan did not take so wide a sweep; and we have literally nothing to collate at this late day. It is fair to believe that our hasty recruits did their duty; only two of the whole number registered above, deserted.

A few anecdotes and incidents pertaining to the time, here fall into place.

x One of the soldiers who made a good record was a colored  
y man, named Lewis. He played the part of a soldier faith-  
z fully, and was worthy of the rights of a freeman. A son of  
his still lives in Boston, and is much respected.

(a) There is a curious anecdote of Capt. Andrew Haskell. He had the true fighting grit, and could not stay at home when he heard the sound to arms. It is related of him, that though brave and competent, he was not promoted. Others were advanced, while he remained stationary. Stung with a sense of wrong, he resigned and came home. But as the war went forward, moved by patriotism, and the military spirit, he enlisted and fought in the ranks. The supposed impediment to his promotion, was incurable uncouthness of manners.

After Washington reached Cambridge and assumed the command of the army, in the summer of 1775, the first thing to be done was organization. Many of the old militia officers were superseded. Among others, the veteran Asa Whitcomb was dropped, and Col. <sup>Jonathan</sup> Brewer put at the head of his regi-  
*New England Chronicle (Copied from the New London Gazette)*  
ment. The story is told in the <sup>^</sup>New London Gazette, Jan-  
uary 11, 1776. "Deacon Whitcomb of Lancaster, (who was

\* There were two colored soldiers of this name. "Jot" & "Cain" - There were twelve colored men credited to Lancaster among the soldiers. or 13

Peter Aries  
Becky's Boston  
Julius Caesar  
John Carter

Cain Lewis  
Jot Lewis  
Sidon Georges  
George Sidon?

Topsal Woodard  
Charles Henry  
Charles Stuart

Perry Rogers  
Polubon [Kendall]

Edon Landon

An incident of the time which doubtless made some stir for the day in Lancaster, was the passing through the town of a Company of British prisoners. This we learn from a journal kept by James Stearns of Andover, Mass. from which this is extracted

"Tuesday Aug. 1. This morning there was thirty four prisoners a going to Woster, twenty two regulars and twelve Tories, we started for Woster a bout noon. We went to Concord and staid all night. we put the prisoners into jail we got our supper and got sentry.

Wednesday 2<sup>d</sup>. This morning we got a dawn & set of. we marcht about ten mile and then went to breakfast to wron Gilbards in little town. we marcht to Lancaster and staid all night. the town's people stood sentry over them.

Thursday 3<sup>d</sup> This morning we got a dawn & set of. we marcht to Shusbury and there went to breakfast. & we started and went to Woster, we marcht through the town, the Tories with there hats under there arms, and we returned them to the prison. the Tories went in to the Dungeon, we got some withs and then set of for home. we went to Shusbury we staid all night.

Friday. This morning we got our breakfast and started and through Lancaster and then went to little town & staid all night. We left wron man at Shusbury -"

- (a) Andrew Hackett's record. indicates one promotion, & no resignations.
- 1775 "Lexington Alarm" Lieutenant in Capt. Ben<sup>o</sup> Houghton's Co.
  - 1775 "8 months Service" in Siege of Boston Captain
  - 1776 "at Hull in defence of Boston" " Captain
  - 1777 "Bellingham Alarm" Lieutenant Substitute with Capt. Geo. White's Co.
  - 1778 9 mos. Service. Commanded recruits sent to Field #1 as Sergeant probably.
  - 1780 6 mos. Sergeant in Col. Bradford's 14th Mass. Regiment
  - 1781 July 5 enlisted for 3 yrs, at which date he was 33 yrs old.

In New England Chronicle for August 8 1776. Thursday.

Yesterday the Colonel's Sergeants and Whitcomb's Regiment set off on their March for Crown Point, and this Morning Colonel Plannings will follow, for the same Place. Previous to their (the two former) Departure, they appeared on the Green, and went the various Facings, Manoeuvres, &c. to universal Acceptance. &c.

For further acc<sup>t</sup> of Col. Isaac Whitcomb's Character & was experienced see note to page 316. The Deacon was universally esteemed "a good old man", but was better adapted for frontier life, than the steps & routine of a military camp.

According to Thacker, his regiment was "in barracks on Prospect Hill" Jan'y 1776, where he joined it, "marched to Roxbury" Feb'y. 22<sup>nd</sup> 1776 - quartered in Gov. <sup>Oliver</sup> Mansfield's "to the heights of Dorchester" March 5. 1776

The regiment entered Boston March 20. and was quartered "in comfortable houses". Here it remained until August 7<sup>th</sup> when it began the march to Ticonderoga

April 1<sup>st</sup> 1777 - at Ticonderoga - "The term of service of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment having expired, they have now left the service and returned to New England."

The regiment numbered about 500 men.

(was married to Mrs Rebecca Locke Dec. 27, 1775. and)

The second Judge Wilder did not die until Sept 12, 1776 according to "History of Wilder" or Feb 28<sup>th</sup> 1777 in Harrington's Records & there is no reason to discredit Harrington's date. It is not at all certain that he would have assisted the patriot cause, had he survived - In Sept 1774 he seems to have apologized "for aspersing the people in the Address to Gage" & the Worcester Convention voted to accept his acknowledgement" - See Sabine: 576

C

Col. Levi lived opposite the Ward house in

South Lancaster

In New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette - From Thursday January 4<sup>th</sup> to January 11, 1776. &c &c -

"NOTICE is hereby given, that by the death of LEVI WILLARD, late of Lancaster, in the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, Esq; the company of Willard & Ward is said Lancaster, was dissolved, that a speedy settlement of the Company affairs and the estate of the said Levi Willard is necessary; wherefore all persons indebted to either are desired forthwith to make payment to one the subscribers, surviving partners and attorney to Mrs Katherine Willard, executrix of the last will and testament of the said Levi, that those of all claims on said Company and estate may be immediately discharged. Lancaster, December 29, 1775. Samuel Ward

a member of the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay till the present war commenced, had served in former wars, and been in different engagements) served as a Colonel in the Continental Army; but on account of his age was left out in the new regulation: His men highly resented it, and declared they would not list again after their time was out. The Colonel told them he did not doubt there were sufficient reasons for the regulation, and he was satisfied with it; he ~~then~~<sup>never</sup> blamed them for their conduct, and said he would enlist as a private.

A Colonel Brewer heard of it, and offered to resign in favor of Colonel Whitcomb. The whole coming to General Washington's ears, he allowed of Colonel Brewer's resignation in Colonel Whitcomb's favor, appointed the former Barrack-master till he could further promote him, and acquainted the army with the whole affair in general orders. Let antiquity produce a more striking instance of true greatness of soul." *mind*

In the spring of 1775, the three men in the town most capable of rendering efficient aid to the patriotic cause, were perhaps the three sons of Col. Samuel Willard. The second judge Wilder, and Col. Oliver Wilder were dead. Col. Asa Whitcomb was advanced in life. No young man came forward who developed striking military genius, though several became capable officers. But the Willards were able, respectable, and for the times wealthy. They were held in high esteem. One of them had evinced superior ability in the Louisburg expedition, and in the last French and Indian war. But no help came from them in the day of their country's trial.

*April 17*  
Col. Levi, born ~~in~~<sup>in</sup> 1727, was now in the maturity of manhood, but was an invalid, and died July 11, 1775, soon after the battle of Bunker Hill. He was a man of large property in town, and in other places, having been one of the grantees of Walpole, N. H. He was collector of the excise for the county of Worcester in 1766; Lieut. Col. of Col. Caleb Wilder's regiment,<sup>1771</sup> and held the office of justice of the peace, 1772 — which in those days, was an office of honor. His wife was

a  
"never" in  
Chronicle  
probably should  
be "then"?

(See Sparks, "The  
Writings of George  
Washington" III  
p. 161. note.)

b

c

*Katherine*

a daughter, of Judge John Chandler, of Worcester. Which way his political sympathies would have led him, is unknown; but his connections were with the friends of the king. However, ~~death solved the question, for he was taken away, just as hostilities commenced.~~ *refutation*

Abel Willard, Esq., seems to have been a universal favorite. He was born in 1732, January <sup>12</sup> 16, and was graduated at Harvard in 1752. His wife was <sup>Elizabeth</sup> the daughter of Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Littleton. Having studied law in Boston with Benjamin Pratt, who afterwards became distinguished as the chief justice of New York, he settled in his native town, and soon acquired a handsome practice. But he exerted himself more in settling than fomenting forensic disputes and litigation. Although he has slept in a foreign grave nearly a hundred years, tradition still keeps alive the memory of his peace-making labors. Aged persons who learned from the aged of a former generation, report that he was known and honored as the friend of the poor, and as ever ready to defend the widow, the fatherless and the helpless. He was modest, ingenuous and constitutionally timid; but possessed moral courage, firmness and integrity.

Though loving his country, he was not prepared to break from his allegiance to the king. He was behind the times, rather than an enemy of independence. Probably, if he had been permitted to remain unmolested at home, the progress of events would not only have reconciled him to the Revolution, but have converted him to an ardent patriot. But he was slow to see the inevitable result. The inspecting committee visited him "to know whether he was sound in politics, according to their standard." He might have remained at home in peace, so far as it appears, says his kinsman, the historian, "but with indifferent health and spirits, he was not able to bear up under the apprehension of further, perhaps more searching proceedings from the Lancaster inquisition, and therefore retired with his family to Boston." He was childless; his estate was confiscated <sup>1778</sup>; he passed *via* Halifax

a. His son Levi, graduate of Harvard College 1775 - was a  
Loyalist & went to England. Returned 1785 and died 1790 -  
His brother in law Clark Chandler was here under bonds during  
the Revolution. See note top page 304

b. Abel lived in a house that was burned, near where  
Chas. S. Wilder lives. Known in later years as the Whitman  
place - He was baptized Jan. 16 - born Jan. 15  
See Willard Memoir pp. 419-420-1

Vol. 13 p. 231 of Genealogical Register contains a letter  
from Edmund Quincy to his daughter Mrs Hancock. dated  
in Lancaster March 26. 1776 - from which is the following  
extract - x x I'm sorry for poor Mr. Abel Willard, your  
Sister's near neighbour & Friend - She's gone we hear  
with her husband and Br<sup>o</sup> & Sons to Nova Scotia  
I'haps in such <sup>a situation and under such</sup> circumstances of Offense respecting  
their Wors<sup>t</sup> Neighbours, as never to be in a political  
Capacity of returning to their Houses unless w<sup>th</sup> power  
& criminal views w<sup>ch</sup> God forbid should ever be the  
Case" x x x

Edmund Q. was a Boston merchant & had a store in Summer Street. One  
of his daughters married Sheriff William Greenleaf & with him he lived  
during Revolution probably - His Letter Book is in Belknap Papers of  
Massachusetts Historical Society - and contains correspondence  
dated at Lancaster - He died 1788 abt 50.

Abel Willard's widow Eliza daughter of Rev. Daniel Fogus  
of Guilford died in Boston 1805.

In the sketch of Col Abijah Willard's life in appendix to the  
Journals & letters of Samuel Curwens pp 520-21 are sundry errors;  
such for instance as the statement that he was at the capture of  
Quebec; that he raised a regiment in thirty days; [his father Samuel died  
in 1745], that he was wounded &c

a Col. Abijah Willard lived in the house by the  
R.R. crossing in the center of the town.

He resigned this office of "Counselor" under pressure of  
public opinion, in the following terms.

"Sturbridge, August 25, 1774"

"Whereas J. Abijah Willard of Lancaster, have been appointed by  
the Honorable a Counselor for this Province, and have without due  
consideration taken the Oath, do now freely and solemnly  
declare that I am heartily sorry that I have taken the said  
Oath, and do hereby solemnly and in good faith promise and  
engage that I will not sit or act in said Council, nor in  
any other that shall be appointed in such manner and  
form; but that I will, as much as in me lies, maintain  
the Charter Rights and Liberties of this Province and  
do hereby ask forgiveness of all honest worthy Gentle-  
men that I have offended by taking the abovesaid  
Oath, and desire this may be inserted in the public  
Prints

Witness my Hand

Abijah Willard "

See statement regarding this.  
p. 194 of "Specimens of Newspaper Literature" by Joseph F. Buntingham  
also p. 429 Vol. 2 of Sabine's American Loyalists

Abijah Willard's 1st wife was Elizabeth Prescott sister of Col. Wm Prescott - 1747  
his second Anna Prentice grand-daughter of Rev. John Prentice - 1752  
his third Mrs Mary McKinnon of Boston (died Dec. 10, 1807, buried in Lancaster (middle dead) 772  
Of Willard's personal appearance, we have record that he was  
"large portly" & "a gentleman"

~~or New York~~ to England, in 1776, and died in London in 1781. He died an exile from the land he loved; afar from the beautiful valley which held the idols of his heart. His absence was a loss to the patriotic cause; but the greater his ability to serve his country, the greater was his mistake and his fault that he did not comprehend the times in which he lived, and respond to the demands of his countrymen.

The most distinguished of the three brothers, and the one most capable of service in the military line was Col. Abijah Willard. Born in 1724, <sup>July 27,</sup> he commanded a company under his father in 1745, at the capture of Louisburg. He led a company under Col. Monckton, in 1755, "at the reduction of the French forts in Nova Scotia." He soon after received the commission of a colonel, and was in the expedition to Crown Point. In 1759 he led his regiment, in the expedition of lord Amherst, for the conquest of Canada. He was a man of courage, activity and force, and had, what is rare, a "military genius." In the revolutionary army, he would, doubtless, have attained distinction.

His property was large for those times, and he improved his estate by strict attention and energy. Besides his possessions in Lancaster, and other towns in the vicinity, he had a large landed estate in Stafford, Conn., and he had purchased a farm in Beverly, at the expense of £2,756 sterling, equal, perhaps, to \$27,000 in our currency, in purchasing value.

He was a man of character and influence; was greatly respected by his fellow citizens, and by his public spirit, merited their regards. But his heart was divided between his sovereign, whose commission as a "mandamus counsellor" he <sup>had borne</sup> bore, and his country, with which all his interests and his ancestral associations were connected. The conflict resulted in his choosing the loyal side, and entering the enemy's lines. The manner of his leaving home indicates that he had no fixed purpose to be permanently absent. On the morning of the nineteenth of April, before the arrival of the messenger bringing the news of the British raid on Lexington and Concord,

See  
Willard  
Memoir  
p: 414-5

7

a



the colonel "mounted his horse, with saddle-bags stored with seeds for his farm in Beverly, prepared to spend several days there, and superintend the planting and sowing." That he had no intention, on leaving home, of proceeding to Boston, is thought to be proved by the fact that he made no arrangement for his wife and children to follow. Before reaching Concord, it is supposed, he learned that the British troops were drawing near. It was too late for him to proceed to his destination, through Concord, or the towns north of that place, which would be swarming with soldiers, hastening to the scene of action. Therefore, it is conjectured, he turned to the right, and passed through a southern tier of towns, whose volunteers had already marched, leaving the road comparatively clear, and thus reached Boston. Once there, he could not safely return, whatever his wishes or misgivings, and he cast in his lot with the British party. But he never did any service except as a commissary with the army at New York. At the close of the war, he received a crown-grant of land in New Brunswick, settled there with his family, and died in 1789. This was a sad and inglorious end to a life whose early manhood and vigorous maturity were so distinguished. Col. Willard's second wife, and the mother of his children who lived beyond childhood, was the daughter of John, and granddaughter of Rev. John Prentice. His first wife was Elizabeth, sister of Col. William Prescott. In 1749 Col. Willard and his first wife united with the church in Lancaster. It is related that the colonel was on Copp's hill, in Boston, standing with British officers, and watching the opening of the battle on Bunker Hill, when one of the officers said to him: "Who commands in the American redoubt?" Willard, who knew his brother-in-law well, replied, "Col. Prescott." Said the officer: "Will he fight?" He answered: "Yes, to the last drop of his blood." Col. Prescott belonged to the Lancaster stock, and was descended from the first John Prescott.

a

b

b. Sabine in his *American Loyalties* gives Willard's speech  
in somewhat more phrases,  
namely: "Prescott will fight you to the gates of Hell."  
Alexander H. Everett's rendering in *American Biography* of same  
speech is "to the last drop of his blood".

To the "Journal and letters of Samuel Carver" the "American  
refugee" are appended notices of loyalty by George Atkinson Ward, and  
Sketches of Col Abijah, and Abel Willard are upon pp. 520 & 521. They  
were proscribed and banished (p. 442) by act passed September 1778.

a. For names of 3<sup>d</sup> wife & dates of marriages see note foot of preceding  
page.

He went to Halifax with the British Army in 1776.  
& in 1778 was proscribed, & his estates confiscated. He  
was one of the Loyalist petitioners for land in Nova  
Scotia known in history as the "Fifty Five", and the  
language of this petition, published at the time in  
New York, raised a great deal of acrimonious  
comment there, and even in London. While  
his friends boasted of his integrity & claimed that his  
skillful economy when Commissary, saved to Government  
thousands of pounds. Others stoutly asserted that his  
family were the ones chiefly enriched. He named  
his residence on the coast, between the St Croix and  
St. John, Lancaster, & it still retains that name. He  
was offered a Colonel's Commission in the Royal Army  
but refused to fight against his Country —

Dec. 4. 1776 of Daniel Buxton who some years ago lived at Lancaster will apply to Mrs Katherine Willard of Lancaster widow he may hear something to his advantage -" (Mass. Spy)

Elizabeth Winn & Samuel Prentiss - administrators on estate of Josiah Winn. Lancaster December 27 1776. - (Mass. Spy)

Emice Dole administratrix upon estate of "Dr Enoch Dole late of Lancaster" December 26. 1776 - (Mass. Spy)

"Warren's Almanack" advertised "at printing office in Worcester" & "also by the author in Lancaster" - (Mass. Spy)

"Yesterday Joseph Moore free of Lancaster was bound over to Court by Hon Judge Baker and Joshua Bigelow Esq; for counterfeiting the Currency of this state." Feb. 6. 1777. (Mass. Spy)

Silas Rice advertises "Shop near 2<sup>d</sup> Parish meeting house" "makes and sells silver shoe and knee buckles" &c. (Mass. Spy)

(a)

There were 2 Ebenezer Allens - one died 1790 aet. 94 } of course this was  
one " 1812 aet. 88 } the younger one  
+ in his 83<sup>d</sup> year

Capt. Horatioh Gates was grandson of Sturges one of the earliest proprietors of Lancaster - & owner of large property in land, & considerable influence.

Capt. Horatioh Gates was landlord of the "States Tavern" which stood where the road to Sterling forked from the old Worcester road. He was a large land holder, & one of the proprietors of Westminster, & a petitioner to be sworn at Court as such Jan'y 20 1763 - In 1772 he published a pamphlet to prove "King Georges Right to the Crown of Great Britain."

(a) This Committee was for the year. In 1777 the Committee consisted of five persons. Col. Asa Whitcomb. Elisha (?) Allen, Capt. Thomas Gates; Jacob Fairbank & Joshua Fletcher.

The town meeting warned to meet, March 6, 1775, was "In his Majesties Name." The call of the next meeting, July 3, left out all reference to his majesty, and proceeded on the sole authority of the selectmen; but it was "according to the advice of the Continental Congress," the authority of which was beginning to be recognized. This meeting was called to "depute one or more persons to represent said town in a great and general court or assembly, appointed to be convened, held and kept for the service of the said colony until the end of the day next preceding the last Wednesday of May next, and no longer." The assembly was called to meet on the sixteenth of July, and Lancaster sent Capt. Hezekiah Gates and Mr. Ebenezer Allen. "Old men for counsel" was an ancient maxim, which the fathers of the town followed on this occasion. Capt. Gates was in his seventy-second year, and died in 1777. Mr. Allen, who was in his eightieth year, lived till 1790, and died at the age of ninety-four.

The March meeting in 1776, was called "in his Majesty's Name," for some unexplained reason; probably because the United Colonies had not yet declared their independence. But this was the last occasion on which the selectmen based their action on the authority of his majesty. The town, at this meeting, after electing town officers, chose the following committee of "correspondence, inspection and safety." Cyrus Fairbank, Josiah Kendall, jr., Ebenezer Allen, Jabez Fairbank, Ephraim Sawyer, William Dunsmoor, Esq., David Wilder, Jonathan Wilder and Joshua Fletcher. But another meeting was called to meet May 20, and this was summoned in "observance of the Colony's writ," and in the "Name of the Government and People of the Massachusetts Bay." The purpose of the meeting was to elect a delegate to the general court. The town, when met, voted to send one, and negatived the proposition to send two. But the meeting was adjourned without voting for a delegate. At an adjourned meeting, the vote was reconsidered, and a committee was chosen to "draw up something as a reason why we do not send a representative."

The next meeting was on the last Monday of September. The Declaration of Independence had been made, and the selectmen summoned the freeholders "In the name of the people and authority of the American States." They were feeling around after the source of supreme power. The king and parliament were discarded, and there was a notion that sovereignty resided somewhere outside of the colony or state. This meeting was called to consider whether "the town" would raise money to hire men to go into the service against our enemy whenever we have orders from the Congress and General Court to turn out men for that end." Nothing was done in relation to that article, or others bearing on the same subject. The general court had passed an act relating to a "speedy and cheap course for receiving of Debts," and William Dunsmoor, Esq., was chosen to take "cognizance of debts."

A movement was now started for the formation of a state constitution, and the proposition was submitted to the towns whether they would consent that the existing "house of representatives of the State of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England," together with the council, in one body, by equal voice, should consult, agree on and enact such a "Constitution and form of Government for this state," as said body, on the "fullest and most matured deliberation, shall judge will most conduce to the safety, peace and happiness of this state in all after Successions and generations, and if you would direct the same to be made public for the inspection and perusal of the inhabitants, before ratification thereof by the assembly." This warrant was directed to "all the Male inhabitants of the town of Lancaster, being free and twenty-one years of age and upwards." The meeting was held, October 7, and the town voted, "that this town empower the present house of representatives to draw up a Form of Government, and transmit back for the town's ratification." On the same day William Dunsmoor, Esq., was chosen representative. The Constitution proposed by this convention was

List of Privates Capt Saml Sangers Company.  
See note bottom of next page.

Peter Aris	Emanuel Larkin	Jonas Wyman
Josathan Wilder	Asa Priest	Ephraim Powers
Saml Carter	Joseph Hoar	Joseph Parsons
John Brooks	Thos Hale	Abel Right
Reuben Lisingwell	Josiah Wyman	Jacob Robbins
Timothy Stearns	Samll Flood	Joseph Bennett
David Whitcomb	Shubal Bayley	
Jacob Swear	Elisha Whitely	
Benj Priest	Benj <sup>o</sup> Smith	
James Clark	Nath <sup>l</sup> Jones	
Jonas Brooks	Elijah Wilder	
John Thurston	John Joslin	
Samll Johnson	Nathan Parmite	
Joseph Houghton	Josiah Wain	
Ephraim Cheney	Jacob Piper	
Simon Durt	William Fairbanks	
Joseph Beamon	Abel Bigelo	
Samll. Hobman	Daniel Page	
Levi Wilder	Jonas Rice	
Calvin Moor	Luther Rice	
Iserekiiah Whitcomb	Roger Bartlett	
David Houghton	Thomas Budget	
Jon <sup>a</sup> Ross	Stanton Brown	
Joseph Wilder	Nath <sup>l</sup> Beaman	
Jacob Phelps	Joseph Wood	
Samll Bowers	Jon <sup>a</sup> Emerson	
Joshua Rugg	Aaron Glazier	
John Bowers	Abner Moor	
Thomas Mears.	Ephraim Rugg	
	Nath <sup>l</sup> White	

(a) The Town Clerk at this time was Daniel Robbins. Hancock's name is printed by hand in large black letters.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 6 1777. "Voted to consider what each man has done in the war since ye 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1775 and make Paper allowances to each man for what he has done to this time - Voted to chuse a Committee to estimate what each man has done towards ye war since ye 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1775 to this time & also what they will give a month for the Future to each man." The Committee chosen were Capt. W. Greenleaf. Capt. W. Putnam. Samuel Thurston. Capt. Jonathan Wilder & Caleb Whitney. "to make ye above estimations".  
"Voted that the Commissioned officers be excluded from having any bounty from ye town."

It ends with a roll of his men<sup>w<sup>h</sup>o</sup> would have filled in here very appropriately. Sawyer was in Col. Jonathan Smith's Regiment. Genl Fellows Brigade. Maj Genl Putnam's Division - His orderly book begins August 3 1776 & ends Nov 27 1776 -

His Sergeants were "Ben<sup>n</sup> Parkings. Elisha Allen,  
Joseph Fairbanks, Artamus Mearns."

His Corporals "John Bennett, Amos Knight  
Saml Churchel Elijah Dowl"

Drummer & Fifer Seth Ross & Calvin Kilburns.

For a list of privates see preceding page.

rejected by the people of the state, though the vote in Lancaster was 111 in favor to 41 against it. *May 18 1778.*

The next entry in the town Records is a copy of the Declaration of Independence, in clear and beautiful penmanship, with the name of John Hancock written with a bolder hand than in the original. This was done in accordance with an order of the Council, sitting in Boston, on the seventeenth of July, as follows :

"Ordered, that the Declaration of Independence be printed, and a copy sent to the minister<sup>s</sup> of each parish, of every denomination, within this state, and that [they] severally be required to read the same to their respective congregations, as soon as divine service is ended, in the afternoon, on the first Lord's Day after they shall have received it. And after such publication thereof, to deliver the said Declaration to the clerks of their several towns or districts, who are hereby required to record the same in their respective town or district books, there to remain as a perpetual memorial thereof."

Before this time the seat of war had changed from Boston to New York. Capt. Samuel Sawyer was in the army on Long Island, and in the retreat across the East river, and up Manhattan island. The orderly book of his company, in his own writing, is in the Archives, and is well worth reading, but contains scant matter for extracts.

The committee of "correspondence, inspection and safety," had arduous and disagreeable duties, in the opening of the war. So far as "inspection" was concerned, the office was not a sinecure. One of their duties was to ascertain whether any of their neighbors were disloyal to the cause of independence, and to bring a pressure to bear upon them till their loyalty was revived, or they were driven from home into the British lines. After inquiry and personal visitation, they formed a "black list" and reported it to the town, when the suspected were summoned to answer for themselves, and publicly recant. In June, 1777, Asa Whitcomb, by direction of the town, and in accordance with a resolve of the general



court, collected evidence against such as were deemed "internal enemies to the state." He reported the names of Moses Gerrish, Daniel Allen, Ezra Houghton, Joseph Moore, Solomon Houghton, James Carter and Rev. Timothy Harrington. <sup>Thomas Bryant</sup> Most of these men, <sup>perhaps all of them,</sup> were, upon examination, exonerated by the town, and lived as peaceable citizens. Possibly they had a lingering love for the ancient regime, and grave doubts about the success of the patriots; but doubtless they cheerfully acquiesced in the results by which their country became free. ?

The process was curious, and though disagreeable to the parties, seems amusing to those living a century later. September 12, 1777, it was "voted that the Rev. Timothy Harrington be added to said list." This was the "black list." And then it was voted "that the selectmen return a list of these dangerous persons to the Clerk, and he to the Justice of the quorum as soon as may be." Eleven days later another meeting was held, which voted that the "town Clerk do not return the Rev. Timothy Harrington on the black list till after the next town meeting, which will be the first Monday in November next." The scene at that meeting was quite dramatic. It was first <sup>well</sup> voted that "messengers be sent to inform the Rev. Timothy Harrington that he has something in agitation now to be heard in the meeting at which he has liberty to attend." The reader will note the ingenuity of the phrase, "he has something in agitation," when all the agitation had been fomented by others. a

It was next <sup>well</sup> voted that Dea. Benjamin Houghton be sent to inform Mr. Harrington to appear at the meeting. Then Dea. Cyrus Fairbank was also sent on the same mission. The deacons were all sound and resolute patriots. The next entry immediately follows: "Voted, that the Rev. Timothy Harrington's name be struck from the black list." The result was brought about in this way. Mr. Harrington came into the meeting, and when called to answer for himself, stood up, venerable with age, and respected for his virtues, and lay- a

(a) This entry is - "Voted to allow the Selectmen seven pound fifteen shillings for Clothing they Found for the Soldiers that Fled out of York in the year, 1776." This was Samuel Sawyers Co. See p 303.

From Pierce's Diary quoted in the History of Doverchester p 369 - it appears that imported sweets were so costly, that attempts were made to find substitutes in domestic products - "Sept 16 1777. First began to grind stalks to make molasses". In the same diary is mentioned the tarring of apple trees (1771) showing that the ~~warfare~~ warfare with worm and moth is no new thing under the sun.

August 9 1777. "Voted that Mr Greenleaf, Nathaniel Bald, John Sprague, Capt. Ephraim Wilder & Mr Dandmoss be joined with the six Captains to be the above Committee" ("to examine the returns of the several Captains with regard to services done in the army").

The price list, of which a short extract only is given on the opposite page, is beautifully engrossed in the Town Records. & was worthy of insertion entire.

a<sup>c</sup> Col. Joseph Reed of Lancaster, was Chairman of Convention at Worcester 3<sup>d</sup> August 1779, "for the purpose of carrying into effect the several interesting and important measures first recommended by Congress to the inhabitants of the United States, and since to the inhabitants of this State by a Convention of their Delegates at Concord on the 14<sup>th</sup> ult." The Convention adjourned to the 11<sup>th</sup> August - Delegates from 38 towns of the County were present - It passed resolves - the 1<sup>st</sup> of which was to fix the prices of merchandise and Country produce.

The price list here given (of 1777) was one required by an "order of the General Court to settle the price of the Necessary & Commonest Articles of Life".

a For the Schools \$8000 were voted at the May meeting.

ing bare his breast, exclaimed, "Strike, strike here, with your daggers. I am a true friend to my country." (Holland p. 54)

One of the severest trials incident to the war of the Revolution was the depreciation of paper money. As early as the year 1777, the value of these paper promises had fallen to an alarming degree. A meeting held November 24, chose a committee to consider an Act of the general court. The report of the committee will show the sentiment of Lancaster in regard to the subject. "This town, taking into consideration the late Act made for putting large sums of the bills of credit emitted by this state, on interest, on or before the first day of December next, and for sinking in the hands of the possessors, all sums less than ten pounds excepting those bills less than one dollar; therefore this town are clearly of opinion that said Act, in connection with a tax we understand is soon to come out, is a grievance we look upon greater than to sink said money by a tax or taxes as the people are able to <sup>are</sup> bear. And further, we look upon it very extraordinary that said court should lay a fine on the tendering said money, when at the same time the face of said bill saith it shall be of such value, and received in all payments." The town resolved to petition the general court, in accordance with the above, *for redress.*

Another meeting was held on the seventh of February, 1778, when, besides a vote to accept the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the United States of America," the town agreed to make the cost of clothing the soldiers from this town in the continental army, and the pay of a man to transport said clothing, a "town charge." b These men had enlisted for "three years;" some of them "during the war." Their names will be given on a subsequent page.

At the March meeting, the town raised the sum of "four thousand and forty-nine pounds and seven shillings to <sup>for</sup> pay soldiers <sup>that was</sup> hired for eight months and nine months, <sup>that bids to join</sup> to form the continental army for the present year." This apparently

enormous appropriation was, of course, in depreciated currency.

An incidental entry in the Records reveals the fact that soldiers from the town were in the army when it evacuated New York, and also in "the Jerseys," in 1776-7.

On the eleventh of May, it was voted to raise <sup>18</sup> "eighteen continental men for nine months," and to pay them out of the treasury. It was then voted to raise "fourteen men more." The committee to raise the men consisted of the commissioned officers of the companies, the selectmen and the committee of safety.

In October a committee was chosen to "supply the families" of those that had joined the army. In the first month of the next year, 1779, three hundred pounds were raised for the benefit of the families of soldiers in the army.

The fluctuation of the currency, by the year 1779, deranged all the business of society, and prompted legislatures and towns to undertake the vain effort to control prices by votes and resolves. In May the town chose "four persons as inspectors of the market," viz., David Osgood, William Duns-moor, Nathaniel Beaman and William Putnam. And in June, there was a vote passed to this effect, "that the price of the commodities of the farmer and any other articles, do not rise any higher than at this time." Then a committee was raised to "ascertain the prices of every article of life." This was done with the hope of keeping prices fixed; an effort utterly vain.

The call for soldiers, by the general court, to enter the continental army, was met by a vote to enlist men, and pay them forty shillings per month. In October<sup>27<sup>th</sup></sup> the officers were directed to "proceed to a draft upon their respective companies in case the committee can't hier the men," and in case the soldiers would not enlist. To pay the soldiers going into the service, £6381 were raised.

Every year a committee was chosen to fix the prices of articles, wages, etc., and it may gratify the reader to see



Aug. 27.	Assessed a continental tax,	. . . . .	22,219-11- 3
" "	" town tax,	. . . . .	11,176- 3- 0
" "	" county tax,	. . . . .	178-12-10
Feb. 3.	" state tax,	. . . . .	19,991-13- 4
" "	" town tax,	. . . . .	6,381- 0- 0
" "	" county tax,	. . . . .	296- 2-11
Total,			£74,847-14- 8

By June, 1780, the nominal wages of a soldier had risen to a high figure. For example, it was voted to pay each man that would enlist, as a bounty in addition to the wages allowed by the state, "£1400 lawful money, such part as each man may want to be paid down; the remainder when paid to be made as good as <sup>if now is</sup> at the date of the meeting. Or £13, 6, 8, lawful money, to be paid in the old way, in corn, beef, live stock, or any produce as it <sup>formerly</sup> used to be sold, or the value thereof in <sup>the</sup> continental money." There was need to stipulate that the pay should be as good as when the offer was made, since the town had borrowed money of Col. Greenleaf in a former year, and felt reluctant to pay him except in depreciated currency. The sum of £150,000 was raised for the purpose of hiring soldiers. *ten Continental*

In July the general court sent for forty-eight militia men, and the town chose <sup>of</sup> committees to hire them, promising to indemnify said committee<sup>s</sup> for any expense incurred.

At a meeting held October 24, Capt. David Osgood, Capt. Ephraim Carter and Nathaniel Houghton, were chosen a committee to "purchase the beef sent for by the general court," and the sum of £750 in new emission money was raised for that purpose. The amount of beef was nineteen thousand pounds at one time, and over thirty-six thousand pounds at another time.

With the opening of the year 1781, came a requisition from the general court for beef and for soldiers. The town promptly met the demand by choosing a committee to purchase beef of the value of £1500, new emission, and by a vote to "raise our quota of men to serve in the continental army for three years, or during the war." The committee on beef

Among the characters of Revolutionary days resident in Lancaster not the least noteworthy was Black Chaired the bachelor loyalist, son of Judge John of Worcester & brother to Levi Willard's wife. He is represented as a queer little man, who wore bright red breeches & had a bright wit of his own. He lived here, as it were in exile, having been for a time imprisoned which he kept in polite by daily encounters with the patriot jokers who delighted in hearing him.

a. The real "loyalists" of course mostly fled at once. for example the Willards Abijah, Abel & Lewis. See pp. 297-300. Joseph Moore went to Halifax 1776. proscribed & banished 1778. He lived in Sterling. Solomon Houghton fled from Lancaster.

Nathan Houghton - was published July 17, 1775 by the Lancaster Committee "an unvarnished pedlar of that baneful herb, Tea" & they warned "all friends to the community to entirely shun his company, and have no manner of dealings or connection with him, except acts of common humanity."

Moses Gerrish, was a graduate of Harvard College (1762) - Like Abijah Willard he served in the Commissary Department of the royal army. After the war he lived at Grand Menem and there died in 1830 aged 80<sup>38?</sup> years. Enoch Gerrish his brother was also arrested & in Worcester gaol 1777-8. accused of aiding the enemy & also of passing counterfeit money. - Ezra Houghton & Joseph Moore were in Worcester gaol 1777.

a James Carters name was also kept from the returns, and a Daniel Allens. - They were exonerated & their names struck off the list at a meeting in November 1777. Grant however was arrested or driven away probably, as Saml Thurston {Debited as patriot soldier} was subsequently paid "for providing for Tom Grant's Family" - From a note made by Harrington in his record of Thomas Grant's marriage in 1760, he appears to have been a soldier in the French war.

The charges against Harrington & the tone of his defence can be best told in his own words, see notes to pages 390-1 - He was a patriot, but conservative & fearful of the issue of Revolution probably. Like all clergymen of the times he unfailingly in his long prayers called upon Jehovah to bless King George. It is said to have occasionally, through force of habit, brought in this stereotyped petition, after the days of Revolution. The tradition is that his quick wittemness amended the fault with this explanatory clause. "Thou knowest O Lord, that we mean George Washington."



(a) Not only was the depreciation great, but Counterfeits were common, as we often read in the Records, of Town officers asking to be allowed for counterfeit money taken for fines, or in collecting rates.

(b) Joshua Houghton carried the clothing to New York & was paid 13<sup>¢</sup>, 13<sup>¢</sup>, 10<sup>¢</sup>.

To aggravate the unhappy financial condition <sup>by</sup> quantities  
of counterfeit money were put into circulation, and the most  
innocent persons were at times accused of having had  
money. Capt. Saul Ward was so accused in 1780 and  
brought before the Superior Court at Worcester, but was  
triumphantly acquitted See Worcester Spy May 4 1780.

See Note a p 305

(a) It was, as stated, "a military Committee" in every sense, and there were officers besides the Captains among them. These only were recorded as Captains  
 "Captain Samuel Sawyer      Capt. Nathaniel Balch  
 "Captain Ephraim Weldes      Capt. Samuel Ward  
 "Captain Timothy Whiting      Capt. Fortunatus Eager  
 Samuel Ward was known as Capt. having been Adjutant to Col. Abijah Willard

By reference to the lists of soldiers, pp. 290-1-2 &c - the following are found to be Lieutenants -

Eager Fairbank  
 Josiah Kendall  
 Fortunatus Eager (called Capt. above)  
 "Deacon" Joel Houghton was Ensign  
 Samuel Thurlton      Sergeant  
 Eben Allen      Corporal

But the same day "Lieut" Josiah Ballard was excused & Major Gardner Wither elected in his place. Tho' Brown was also excused and Jabez Fairbank chosen in his place.

Nathaniel Balch of this Committee was a Boston gentleman of social celebrity. Resident in Lancaster Antea during the war. See Willard note to p. 53.

a Six more Captains were added in the seventeenth, as follows

Capt. David Bequod	Nathaniel Houghton	Joseph Reed
" Edward Newton	Dea. Levi Illoor	Levi Wilder
" Ephraim Carter	Dea. Benj Houghton	Horner Kendall
" Thomas Bates	John Brown	Joseph Sever
" Nathaniel Sawyer jr	Silas Raper	Benjamin Flegg.
" John White jr	Jas. Kendall jr	

Not to be Captain Deacon or Esquire in those days, must have betokened plebeian blood indeed, or callow youth.

were <sup>capt</sup> David Osgood, <sup>capt</sup> Joseph Carter, Nathaniel Houghton, <sup>capt</sup> Solomon Jewett and <sup>capt</sup> Ephraim Carter. The committee for hiring soldiers, were Israel Moor, Samuel Thurston, Nathaniel Beaman, Cyrus Fairbank, Jonas Wyman, Josiah Kendall, <sup>capt</sup> Samuel Sawyer, <sup>capt</sup> Ephraim Wilder, Eben. Allen, <sup>capt</sup> Joseph Ballard, <sup>capt</sup> Joel Houghton, Thomas Brown. The above business was transacted on the second of January. Adjourned meetings were held on the eighth, eleventh and twenty-fifth days of the same month, at which the committee were encouraged to act with vigor; their number was enlarged by adding the following members, viz., <sup>capt</sup> Nathaniel Balch, <sup>capt</sup> Samuel Ward, <sup>capt</sup> Timothy Whiting, <sup>capt</sup> William Dunsmore, <sup>capt</sup> James Richardson and Fortunatus Eager. It was truly a military committee, containing no less than six captains. The sum of £6562 was raised to hire the soldiers. (a)

It was found to be an extremely difficult task to hire the required number of men, as is evident from the frequent meetings held in February and March. Three times the question was put to see if the town "would class in order to get men for the army," and three times it was voted down. Finally, the town added seventeen men to the committee, making the whole number thirty-four. The town was divided into thirty-five squadrons, probably that the members of the committee might have a definite field in which to labor. Meetings were held on the fifth, nineteenth and twentieth of March; the last of which was adjourned to the second day of April. (a)

Probably the men were raised without a draft, as we hear no more about "classing the town." By an Act of the general court, the town of Sterling was set up in April, and on the nineteenth of May, the first meeting of the town of Lancaster, after the separation, was held in the meeting-house of the first precinct.

Calls for beef, clothing and soldiers came from the general court in the course of the summer, and the town responded liberally by raising the money needed. September 10, the town requested the several "captains to call their companies

\* There were "classes" however - 36 in no. The author doctet knows that "class" & "squadron" were synonymous terms!

together" on the next Friday, at the meeting-house, and the constables were "directed to <sup>a</sup>exert themselves to collect as much money in silver as possible for paying the soldiers their advance pay."

This closes the record of town action in raising men, money, food and clothing for carrying on the revolutionary war. On the nineteenth of October the British army surrendered to Gen. Washington, at Yorktown, and the war was really closed, though peace was not formally ratified till the year 1783. To some readers the details may seem a dry record of the dead past; but to one who reads aright, they are throbbing with life and interest. Every family sent its representative to the frequent town meetings, and at night fathers and sons brought home the story of the united action of the town. Every enlisted man was known, and the blessings of a whole neighborhood went with him to the field of war.

*Feb. 1781.*

When the town was divided into thirty-<sup>five</sup> squadrons, and a committee of thirty-five of the most active and respectable men were set to the work of raising soldiers, it is plain that the pressure was brought to bear with great force on all who were in any way eligible for the service. Men who had not been in the army; men without families; men who were not bound at home by business; in a word, all who could go, were appealed to with urgency to bear arms in defence of their country. The men raised bounties, the women made clothing, the old men encouraged, the church and minister prayed for those who put on the harness of war. Dea. Moor, chairman of the enlisting committee asked a man who was urged to enter the service, what would satisfy him in the way of bounty. He replied that a field of the deacon's adjoining his own lot was what he had long wanted. "Take it," said (a) Dea. Moor, "for if we lose our liberties it will be of no value to me." All felt the need of sacrifice, and there was a general spirit of devotion to the cause of the country. In this connection, an anecdote in reference to Capt. Samuel Ward may find a place. He was not regarded as much of a patriot,

"With the troops that surrendered with General Burgoyne in October last was a certain — Arthur (now provost master in the British Service on Prospect Hill) born in Leicester in the County of Worcester; has been in the Service of the United States and having deserted that Service, joined the British forces at or near Skeneborough and continued to act against his country, until made prisoner as aforesaid; he still continues his traitorous inveteracy against the United States, threatening the lives of the good people, and branding them with the epithet "damned rebels" and damning their rebel army; notwithstanding this is notoriously known, he had been permitted for three months past daily to pass and repass from Prospect Hill to Weston about twelve miles distance, where he quarters with a profest enemy to the liberties of America, surrounded by an infamous junta of Tories, one of which has lately made a very private journey to Albany, North River or as likely New York!"

[Boston Gazette for March 9. 1778]

t. / "February 19. 1781. x x x

4. Voted, that the town be divided into 35 Squadrons."

5. Voted, that the Assessors Divide Town as equal as they can into the above Squadrons.

(a) Whether the author has better means of knowing the exact language Dea Levi Moore used, than did Willard I cannot say. Willard — and C. F. Trayer in his address 1968 copies him — puts these words in the Deacon's mouth. "Take it, take it. I'd rather part with that land, which is the best I have, than loose the whole by my neglect in aiding the cause of my Country!" See Willard p. 57. Trayer's address p. 30. Moreover Willard says that Ward was Chairman of the enlisting Committee.



in the beginning of the contest, but being a man of great sense and shrewdness, his conduct passed unchallenged by the "inspecting committee." On some occasion, after repeated demands had been made upon the people for contributions, a leading patriot named <sup>Josiah</sup> Kendall, expressed doubts about the ability of the citizens to do so much as was required. Capt. Ward seized his opportunity, showed that where there was a willingness to give, a way could be readily found, and advocated a liberal response to the call of the general court. He carried the meeting with him, and doubtless, greatly enjoyed the laurels snatched from the head of a prominent son of liberty.

No pen of historian or poet can adequately tell the story of the revolutionary war, as it actually pressed upon the hands and the hearts of our fathers and mothers. The exertions and sacrifices made by them are beyond computation, but by the blessing of heaven they achieved a success beyond their hopes. During more than a hundred years, their posterity has been reaping the fruit of their toils, and a vast and growing empire is their monument.

It is impossible to find in the Archives of the commonwealth a complete list of the names of the soldiers who went from Lancaster into the war of the revolution. Those who rushed to Concord, Lexington and Cambridge, on the nineteenth and twentieth of April, 1775, were duly enrolled, and the time of their service, with the officers under whom they served, is now on record. <sup>Some of</sup> The names have been given in preceding pages. As soon as the business of forming a regular army was begun, the quota of the several states was fixed, and recruiting was carried on by direction of the general court, under requisitions from congress. The quota of this town was always filled, it would seem by the town records, though in the later years of the struggle, much urgency was needed to induce the requisite number to enlist. Nor is this an impeachment of the patriotism of the people. It was right that those who left their homes, and all that was dear to them,



putting their lives also in jeopardy, should be sustained by those who staid at home; and whenever there was a readiness to share with them in sacrifices, the men were found who were willing to meet the dangers of the camp, and the hazards of the battle-field.

Capt. Burt, of Harvard, commanded one of the companies in Col. Asa Whitcomb's <sup>the Massachusetts</sup> regiment. In this company were <sup>three</sup> two men from Lancaster; viz., <sup>Ebenezer Pegg</sup> Jonathan Atherton and Moses Brewer. Capt. Longley, of Bolton, was in the same regiment, and Daniel Flee<sup>man</sup>car, of Lancaster, belonged to his company.

Elijah Dole who went to Quebec, under Gen. Arnold, in the fall and winter of 1775, lived through the campaign, as appears by the following letter to the Committee for Clothing the Continental Troops. The Bearer hereof, Elijah Dole, belonging to my Company in Col: Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, engaged in the American Service immediately after the nineteenth of April, 1775, marched from Cambridge on September 13 following to Quebec; has never drawn a Coat according to the resolve of the <sup>Provincial</sup> Congress; would be glad to have the amount of it in money; has applied to me to inform your Honors in his behalf.

SETH HEYWOOD, Lieut.

Lancaster, Dec. 2, 1776."

The following is a list of soldiers who were in the continental service in the years 1777-80, and who "enlisted for three years, or during the war." The number of the regiment and the duration of each man's service, are stated opposite each name.

<i>idem</i>	George Giddion, <i>Colonel</i>	70th regt.,	28 mos.	21 days.	
	Ebenezer Glazier,	15 "	36 "		
	James Armstrong,	" "	" "		
<i>Corporal</i>	Cornelius Baker,	5 "	" "		
<i>Drummer</i>	Abel Bigelow,	5 "	" "		
<i>Sergt.</i>	Benjamin Ballard,	13 "	34 "	12 "	3 yrs.
<i>Corp.</i>	Samuel Bennett,	14 "	23 "		" discharged Dec. 1778
	John Carter,	10 "	12 "		w.
<i>Corp.</i>	Thomas Cleland,	15 "	44 "	28 "	w.
<i>Corp.</i>	*Elijah Dole,	10 "	18 "	30 "	3 yrs. died July 30 1778

\*Died in service.

*John Chowne*  
*Charles Amos*  
*Samuel ...*  
*James ...*  
*Michael Ross*  
*John ...*  
*...*

(a) Mr. Morrin succeeded in finding only 60 names of Leicester men in the Continental service for 3 yrs or during the war - a brief research in

Over 3 years men, chiefly under 1781

James Allen	Jonathan Davis	Abner Stone	Jonathan Saff
John Ayres	James Stanton	<del>Richard</del>	Mr. Whitcomb
Shubert Bailey	Joshua Flagg Jr	Patrick Neff	Erre Whitcomb
Jonathan Bennett	Stephen Foster	John Newman	John White
Saml Bennett	Spencer	Wald Parkins	John Wilder
Roger Boutwell	Thos. Grant	George Payne	Thomas Wilder
John Bummer	Andrew Strickell	William Phelps Jr	Peter Willard
Buckley Boston	Esq. Prudden	Calvin Pike	Joseph Woodcock
Philip Brewster	Paul Kilburn	James Root	Peter Zeevaert
Wm Campbell	Mr. Burnham	John Rice	de
John Carter	Eli Lewis	Robert Richardson	
John Chown	<del>James</del>	Muel Ross	
Christopher Collins	Jacob Lyden	Belkempson	
Eschel De Langen	Belkempson	Amos Sawyer	

Orniths 3 years Soldiers Continued -			
Edwin London	10 Regt		also credited to Manchester
Edmund Milligen	13	33m	credited
Burton Stone	15	36	
Cop. Isaac Manning	15	36	
Serg Artemas Maynard	3 <sup>d</sup> art	48	Reimb'd 1784 &c
John McCoy	Shelbys Dragoons	12	
John Priest	with Brackets Band		Waggoner &c
Blairan Priest			
Abijah Phillips	6	12m	
Burpee Prouty	10	35.23	
Levi Priest	15	3-10	Insolvent
Jedak Piper	13	15-21	Died June 1778
* Pely Rodman			
Asa Rugg	12	12	
Cop. Abijah Rice			
William Shaw	in New-Hampshire Regt -		
James Sawyer	5 hind by Princeton		
William Staples	16	22 " 26	Deserted - Credits also to Seelye &c
Cornelius Tigh	10	47	Deserted - returned
William Taylor	16	27	Deserted - returned
Stephen Thompson			
Isaac Warren	16	35-11	
John Wheeler	5	36	
Samthly Wilder	8	33	
Levi Wilder	15	36	
Thomas Wright	13	7..5	Deserted
John Wheelock			
Jonathan Woods			

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(2) Mr Marvin succeeded in finding only 60 names of Lancaster men in the Continental service for 3 yrs or during the war - A brief research in the Mass. archives warrants these additions to his list -

John Battles	4 <sup>th</sup>		
James Ballard	13 <sup>th</sup> Regt	34 <sup>m</sup> 12 <sup>d</sup>	
James Bally	4 <sup>th</sup>		
Lezarus Barthelemy	11 <sup>th</sup> Regt	10 <sup>m</sup> 2 <sup>d</sup>	
Joseph Bailey		36	
Nicholas Bruns	16 Regt	22-3	December
Aligus Bear	16 "	3-4	do.
William Boardman	15 <sup>th</sup> Co		Credited also to Hopkinton
Serjt. B. Lodge			
Jonas Carter	5	36	
Serjt Cory - Philip	10	48	Serjt. Serjt Major. Ensign, Lieut. Capt.
Serjt Cory - Samuel	10	36	
Julius Casbar (Negro)	10	13-5	
John Dresser	15	15-20	died June 29 - 1778
* Jonathan Dresser	15		
Isaac Eveleth	14	36	
William Eveleth	14	34-4	died Nov 1777
* John Faybank	14		
John Fuller	14		
John Faybank Serjt	14		
Aaron Starvo	6	46-19	credited also to Shrewsbury. 1781
Samuel Gates	Cranes Art	38-11	
Lemuel Gates	Cranes Art	45-27	
* Elisha Goss	15	13-16	died July 1778
Thomas Goodwin	Massons Art	33-6	
Shubod Gorey	Massons Art	35-9	
Josima House	15		
Joseph Jones	15	37-21	
John Kilburn	16	36	
Corp Jacob Kilbourn	5	37.. 24	
Ruben Hindall	15	39.. 21	re-enlisted 1781
Cain (or Jean) Lewis	Col Cranen		Died June 1778
* Serjt Matthias Larkin	(continued on leaf inserted)	30.. 24	died Apr 1778

33- a Willard gives (p. 55) the following as the names of Officers from Lancaster "in the Continental Service": Mr Marvin ignores them here.

Col. Henry Haskell. (See p. 269. + 316) Lt. Col. 15<sup>th</sup> Mass. Co's Bites + Biggles

Capt. Andrew Haskell. Commissioned by State not Congress

Lieut. John Hewitt. 10<sup>th</sup> Mass. Cobattlemasters.

Lieut. Winslow Phelps. 13<sup>th</sup> Mass. Col. Smith -

Serjt. Sgt Major - Ensign Lieut. Philip Corey. 10<sup>th</sup> Mass. Col. Haskell's.

Lieut. Jeremy Haskell. State not continental -

\* Surgeon Enoch Dole - Col. Doolittle's Regt.

Sgt. Lt. Capt. Ephraim Sawyer - 16 Mass. Col. Haskell's

+ there were several more

Surgeon Dole was killed by a Cannonball March 9 1776. at Dorchester. with three others.

SOLDIERS IN STERLING.

Col. Asa Whitecomb, Crown Point and Ticonderoga,

REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

- † Capt. Fortunatus Eager in the "Gerzies."
- × Lieutenant Newton at New York and Still Water.
- × Lieutenant Fairbanks, New York.
- † Heman Kendall, " "
- × Samuel Bagley, "Tye." Bayley?
- × Ebenezer Pike, Fort Edward.
- † Aaron Sawyer, " " <sup>Δ</sup>
- † Cornelius Eager, ? New York.
- † Oliver Sawyer, ? " " <sup>Δ</sup>
- † Joshua Brooks, " " and "Gerzies."
- † Jona. Fairbank, " " "
- × John May, " " "
- † Thomas May, "Gerzies."
- † Zachariah Eager, ? " "
- † Abner Miller, ? " "
- † Micah Hartman, New York. <sup>Δ</sup>
- † John Pierson, "Gerzies."
- † Joseph Pierson, " "
- † Ebenezer Buss, ("for  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a man during war.") - Thos. Willard, ? New York.
- × John Willard, " " "
- × Josiah Cutting in the "Gerzies."
- † Jonas Mason, ? New York. ?
- † Joseph Sawyer, " " "
- † Joseph Goss, ? " " "
- † Lemuel Fairbank, "Gerzies."
- † Asa Smith, - New York.
- † Samuel Mason, " " "
- × H. Moore, " " Hugh? <sup>Δ</sup>
- † William Palmer, " " "
- † Joseph Palmer, " ? " "
- † Thomas Sawyer, Jr., " " "
- † David Winch (ester), " - Winch
- × Elijah Wilder, " " "
- † Joseph Reed, Tye. ?
- † Samuel Snow, New York. -
- † Andrew Putnam, Saratoga. ?
- † Thomas Houghton, New York. -
- † Wm. Putnam, Jr., " " "
- † Simon Ross, New York. ?
- × Thomas Ross, Jr., " - <sup>Jonas</sup>
- × Jonas Beaman, " " "
- † Abner Wilder, Roxbury and New York. ?
- † Jeremiah Burpee, Roxbury.
- † Peter Prescott, " Son of Jonathan ?
- † Silas Roper, " "

Almost every family was represented in the Revolutionary war.

From Address of Dr Wm. P. Whitecomb. 1881. - (Concord)  
 The names marked × are mentioned in some of preceding lists.

Names not in Mass. Archives rolls as of Lancaster in Revolution (as found by me.)

- Heman Kendall
- Cornelius Eager
- Oliver Sawyer
- Zachariah Eager
- Abner Miller
- Thos Willard
- Jonas Mason
- Joseph Goss
- Joseph Palmer
- Joseph Reed
- Andrew Putnam
- Simon Ross
- Abner Wilder
- Silas Roper.

The names with this <sup>Δ</sup> mark after them are found in the 1780 petitioners for Bayston precinct & probably dwelt there -  
 Micah Hartman. is called a shop keeper in Lancaster May 24 1779 - See Mass Spy June 3<sup>d</sup> 1779.

<sup>A</sup> Micah Hartman was a clothier, his shop broken into. See Massachusetts Spy May 24. 1779 advertisement.

## THREE YEARS MEN.

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	John Dollerson,	13th regt.,	45 mos.	16 days	w.
Corp.	Nathaniel Easterbrook,	14 "	36 "		3 yrs.
2*	Hiram Eager, ?	Crane's "	21 "	14 "	
	Gershom Flagg,	" "	36 "		3 yrs.
	Asa Farrar,	15 "	36 "		"
	Samuel Hårring,	10 "	36 "		"
	Joshua Johnson,	5 "	34 "		"
	Job Lewis, (Colored)	10 "	36 "		"
	Levi Larkin,	15 "	36 "		"
*	Abel Moor,	10 "	3 "	1 "	" died April 1777
	Nathan Osgood,	15 "	19 "	2 "	" Discharged Apr 1779
	William Prentice,	5 "	36 "		"
Serjt.	Jacob Phelps,	10 "	36 "	20 "	"
Corp.	Perley Rogers, Colored	2 "	9 "	28 "	w. deserted - but returned to duty - 1780.
Serjt.	James Russell,	10 "	36 "	3 "	3 yrs.
Corp.	George Richardson,	14 "	36 "		"
Drumman	Seth Ross,	15 "	36 "		"
	Luther Rice,	15 "	36 "		"
	Reuben Ramsdell,	15 "	36 "		" (mistake for)
	Wharf Rand,	25 "	36 "		Kendall
	Simon Kemp,	36 "	36 "		3 yrs.
	Lemuel Shed,	10 "	14 "	8 "	w.
	*Robert Skinner,	10 "	24 "	14 "	3 yrs. died Apr 14 1779
	James Snow, not of Lancaster	" "	32 "	22 "	w.
or Onis*	Oner Simes,	15 "	3 "		3 yrs. died Dec. 1777
	Peter Tew,	16 "	15 "	22 "	w. Deserted
	John Wyman,	10 "	17 "	21 "	"
*	David Whitcomb,	10 "	15 "	28 "	3 yrs. died
	Francis Whitcomb,	10 "	36 "		" Invalidated
Corp.	John Warner, Serjt	10 "	35 "	26 "	"
	Asa Wyman,	10 "	12 "		w.
Drum Major	Jonathan Wheelock,	14 "	36 "	12 "	3 yrs.
	*Joseph Wheelock,	14 "	13 "	6 "	" Died May 1779
	James Willard,	14 "	36 "		"
	*Daniel Wyman,	14 "	18 "	16 "	" died Aug 1778
	Benjamin Wheelock,	14 "	35 "	29 "	"
	Samuel Wood,	14 "	36 "		" prisoner & discharged 1781
Serjt.	*Abel Wright,	15 "	15 "	9 "	" died July 1778
Serjt.	Joshua Whitney,	15 "	36 "		"
	Aaron Willard,	15 "	36 "	22 "	"
	*Caleb Whitney,	15 "	3 "	10 "	" died 1777

\*Died in service.

2\* This Hiram Eager must have been Hiram Eager. He was not a Lancaster man but belonged to Bolton. He was not of Crane's regt. but enlisted for 3 yrs for Bolton in 1781.

(a) The above names were found in two volumes, in the office of the Secretary of State, relating to the war of the Revolution. The names are entered in the volumes by regiments. The letter w, indicates that the soldier enlisted during the war. Two or three, who shall be nameless, deserted, after being long in the service.

In the same volumes is another list containing the names of a few men who joined the artillery.

	John Baker,	Mason's Art.	34 mos.		3 yrs.
	Joseph Bennett,	"	33 "	11 days,	"
	Josiah Bowers,	"	27 "	11 "	"
Serjnt.	Ebenezer Flagg,	"	36 "		"
	Gershom Flagg,	"	33 "	23 "	"
	Thomas Goodwin,	"	33 "	6 "	"
	Jacob Wilder,	"	27 "	11 "	"
	Joseph Beaman,	Warner's Art.	18 "		w.
Serjnt.	John Keene,	Hawes' reg't. Flowers	1 "	18 "	w.

There is still another list of men, whose time of service was in 1780, as appears by the following record. "Six months' men belonging to Lancaster, who marched to West Point in the continental service, including ten days travel."

Y	Sgt. Ebenezer Flagg,	Samuel Phelps,	William Flud,
	" Andrew Haskell,	Ezra Moor,	Samuel Corey,
	Jacob Allen,	Joshua Phelps,	Stephen Corey,
	Isaac Eveleth,	Jona. Barnard,	Oliver Wheelock,
	Paul Sawyer,	Samuel Johnson,	Jona. Tenney,
	Jeduthun Sawyer,	Ebenezer Burditt,	Jotham Woods,
	Daniel Willard,	Reuben Wilder,	Abel Sawyer.

These men "marched in July, 1780, and were discharged in December" of the same year. The pay they received amounted to £253-0-8. The Andrew Haskell, who figures here as a sergeant, is supposed to be our veteran friend, Captain Andrew Haskell, who resigned because others were promoted over his head, but whose inborn love of military service and patriotic ardor, impelled him into the field, rank or no rank. The spirit of the man was above his position, and it was inextinguishable. He lived here till the year 1791, when he enlisted under

b  
 ?  
 No favor of  
 this.  
 His term of  
 service expires

See a note to p. 53. Willard gives the names of three  
Lancaster men who "were at the taking of Burgoyne"

Jonathan Phillips  
Giles Thurston  
Jacob Swears

They must have been in the militia  
(in temporary service, as their names are  
not found in rolls for that service or  
service for Lancaster.

Willard says p. 103 of Centennial shows that a  
Regt "Julius Caesar" served 3 yrs of that other  
Regt's deeds faithfully & honorably in the case of  
the Revolution. See Thurston's Military Journal (p. 22)  
we learn that one regt of Col Gen Waterbury's  
Regiment did in Boston of Dec 1776.

(a) The two volumes here referred to are the "Index to 16 Conti-  
nental Infantry Regiments & Genl's Drilling Regiment for the  
four years 1777, 1778, 1779, & 1780 &c" Cham names of names -  
too given in these volumes. copied the author's eyes. & of many  
others the residence is not given in the frag account books of  
which these two volumes are the guide - But the author probably  
never looked beyond this. Some of names - since he does not  
give us the titles of Sergt. & Corporal. nor the dates of death's  
This index regard for detentions" is evidently an honest  
accountant, & is uncalled for - There were more than two  
or three detentions - but the record gives no reason to believe  
that in the days of the Revolution as in those of the Rebellion.  
those of Lancaster Quota. who displaced themselves, were not  
killed others by birth - but foreigners, mercenaries, hired to  
stand with men when the draft pressed heavily - By  
reference to the so large volumes to which the Index is  
a key, & to numerous Shubert Rolls in other volumes of  
the Shubert Archives, I have been able to add many names  
& a few facts respecting individuals.

B. This Andrew Wheatall is recorded in Service Regt May 19 1779.  
(See them, chickin, Vol XII Shubert Rolls p 168) as "5ft 10 inches  
high, well sett, dark hair, black eyes, 30 years of age"



a. I am grieved to say that "from these lists," printed in this volume, we learn nothing adequate about the patriotic sacrifices of Lancaster. The half has not been told. Not only Regimental Rolls, but many Enlistment Rolls give the names of soldiers from Lancaster, who received no mention in these pages. This is true of those who enlisted for 3 yrs. or during the war, but moreover, there are many lists of men enlisted or impressed for 9 months, 8 months, six months, & for special expeditions. Were there all undiscussed by the author? or did he think this Chapter upon "Lancaster in the Revolution" less worthy of accurate detail, than the Chapter on Fort Mifflin & its Sumner Garrison? (Chapter X).

On page 107 of "Address" 1853 - Willard says  
 "x exceeds three hundred). This was about one-half of all the ratable polls from sixteen years and upwards"

From the same author we learn that the ratable polls in 1776 were 672.

(a) In Mass. Archives Vol XLII of Enlistment Rolls etc. - p 57 - is "A Return of the Male Inhabitants from 16 yrs old & upwards & also the men engaged in the Continental Service in the County of Worcester with the Number & Deficiency of each Town, in obedience to an order of the Great & General Court passed the 3 of Feb 1778."

	x x x	no. of males &c	(1/4 part)	no of men in service	wanting
Lancaster		672	96	91	5
Harvard		341	49	48	1
Bolton		299	43	42	1
Pittsfield		151	22	21	1

Capt. Mifflin's Regt.

In the Rolls in Mass. Archives, including those of the Lexington Alarm - abt. 570 names of those who served a longer or shorter time in the war, credited to Lancaster, have by diligent search been found & catalogued.

The quotas of 3 years men for Continental service were filled as follows:

1775 - 96  
 1776 - 35  
 1777 - 7 } 138 men

Gen. Arthur St. Clair, who led our forces against the Indians in the northwest. Our army was badly defeated in the battle near the village of the Miami tribes, November 3, 1791. In this fight, Capt. Haskell was killed.

From these lists we learn that ~~eighty-one~~<sup>138</sup> men enlisted <sup>for 3 yrs.</sup> after the second year of the war; ~~and with the exception of the twenty-one men who went on the six months' service at West Point, there were sixty who joined the army either for three years, or during the war.~~ As their average time of service was about twenty-seven months, it follows that Lancaster had, in addition to those who went on the West Point expedition, about ~~forty~~ men continuously in the service of the country. The whole number of soldiers engaged in the Revolution in addition to those who hastened to Lexington and Bunker Hill, exceeded ~~three~~<sup>five</sup> hundred. We have the authority of the historian Willard for saying that "one-half of all the ratable polls, from sixteen years and upwards," were in the field, at different times. Deducting those males under <sup>16</sup>eighteen and over forty-five, there would be but few able-bodied men left. The war drew out all the military strength of the town.

It would be impossible, with any accessible data, to state the cost of the war to the citizens of this town. They paid taxes to the government, paid bounties to the soldiers, and gave them large donations in food and clothing. Their losses in consequence of a changeable and depreciating currency, were immense. But they went through the struggle with an unflinching heroism, inspired by love of country, of liberty, and of God.

Some may be disappointed that among the hundreds who, first and last, for long or short terms, entered the public service, no man became distinguished as an officer of high rank. But the explanation is not difficult. In the first place, not many men obtained great eminence as military officers, either in the state, or the confederation. Secondly, the man best qualified to take rank as an officer, in Lancaster, adhered to the king. Col. Abijah Willard was fifty-one years of age, in

<sup>x<sup>b</sup></sup> The disappointment is that the author failed to recognize Major General John Whitcomb, his brother Colonel Asa Whitcomb & Lt. Col. Henry Haskell, as a fair proportion of Lancaster-born officers of high rank.

the full vigor of his faculties, with ample experience as a soldier, and endowed with a genius for military affairs. If he had been loyal to his country, he might perhaps have filled a bright page in American history. Col. Asa Whitcomb was advanced in life, and soon gave way to younger men. Besides, before the war closed he belonged to another town. Col. Henry Haskell made a respectable officer, and the commissioned officers, line and staff, acquitted themselves with credit. It is enough for the honor of the town that Lancaster sent her full quota of good men and true, and that her soldiers in the field and her citizens at home, did their part in upholding the great arm of Washington.

*William Greenleaf became lieutenant colonel in the service*

"Col. John Whitcomb, a native of Lancaster, resident in Boston, was the first Major-General of Massachusetts - and Joseph Warren, who had been a Lancaster Schoolmaster, was the second. As Whitcomb was Colonel in the Crown Point Expedition of 1755 - he probably was too old for active service. (He was appointed a Brigadier General in U.S. Army June 5, 1776). At Battle of Bunker Hill he had command at Lechmere Point.

a) Asa Whitcomb was Colonel of 3d Massachusetts Infantry & held no Commission in U.S. Army. After the evacuation of Boston, his regiment was sent to Ticonderoga. He died in Princeton March 16, 1804 aged 84 years. Benny Catell was Lieut. Colonel of the

b) 15th Massachusetts Bay Regiment of Infantry (Regulars) his appointment dating Feb. 8, 1777. He died June 10, 1807 - aged 73.

a) The surgeon's assistant of Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment was James Thacher, author of "A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783" (Boston 1823). He says p. 83 "Our Colonel is a serious good man, but is more conversant with the economy of domestic life than the etiquette practised in camp." and this is illustrated by a story he tells of him placing the Colonel in a rather ridiculous light. He had subjected himself to the sneers & jibes & even assaults of "gentleman officers" from southern regiments, by <sup>choosing</sup> his two sons, who were soldiers of his regiment, as servants & even permitting one of them who was a shoemaker, to work at his trade, in his headquarters. This democratic lack of dignity, finally induced a riotous assault led by an inebriated Lieut. Col from Wayne's Regt. in which the Cobbler's bench was demolished, & neither "the good old man" nor any one else got any glory -

Richard Frothingham Jr in his "The Command in the Battle of Benken Hill" p 40. Says John Whitcomb "according to the orderly books" was "one of the three generals who formed the first council of war convened on the 20th of April at Cambridge." "He was one of the sterling, disinterested, uneducated patriot officers of the early revolution, and appears to have enjoyed to a great degree the respect and confidence of his contemporaries."

Rev Tuo Cleveland in 1758 was Chaplain of Colonel Jonathan Baylys regiment. and occupied passage hut with Lieutenant Colonel Whitcomb. See Historical Collections of Essex Institute Vol X II p 85. Cleavelands journal. also Doctor Reas journal in same Vol X VIII. Rea was Surgeon of same regiment. In notes it is stated that John Whitcomb had been a staff officer in 1755 expedition against Crown Point.

On the 6th July 1758. at the time Lord Howe was killed in the ambush. "Col Baylys regiment was ordered to charge the enemy on the right. The brisk engagement lasted about an hour" - Capt. Ara Whitcomb had a company in this regiment. See ante p 259.

John Whitcomb Esq. by his grave stone in the oldest burial place in Bolton died "November 17, 1785 in the 73rd year of his age".

## Deaths of some Revolutionary soldiers in S.

1826. Samuel Joslin act. 88  
       Joseph Nichols " 82  
       Nath<sup>l</sup> Eaton ? - 82  
 1827 Saml. Wilder 81  
 1828 Ephraim Robbins 80  
 1829 Jonas Fairbank ? 86  
 1830 Daniel Rugg ? 87  
 1831 James Fuller 81  
    " James Goodwin 90 pensioner  
 1832 David Butler ? 90  
    " Jacob Lewis 93  
 1834 William Gould ? 80  
    " John Severy 82 pensioner  
 1835. Jonathan Wilder 81 pensioner  
 1836 Josiah Bowers 84  
 1837 Titus Wilder 87  
 1838 Daniel Harris 80 pensioner  
    " John Thurston 84 pensioner  
 1840 Silas Thurston 81 pensioner  
 1842 Amos Sawyer 85  
 1843 Rev. Asa Packard 85

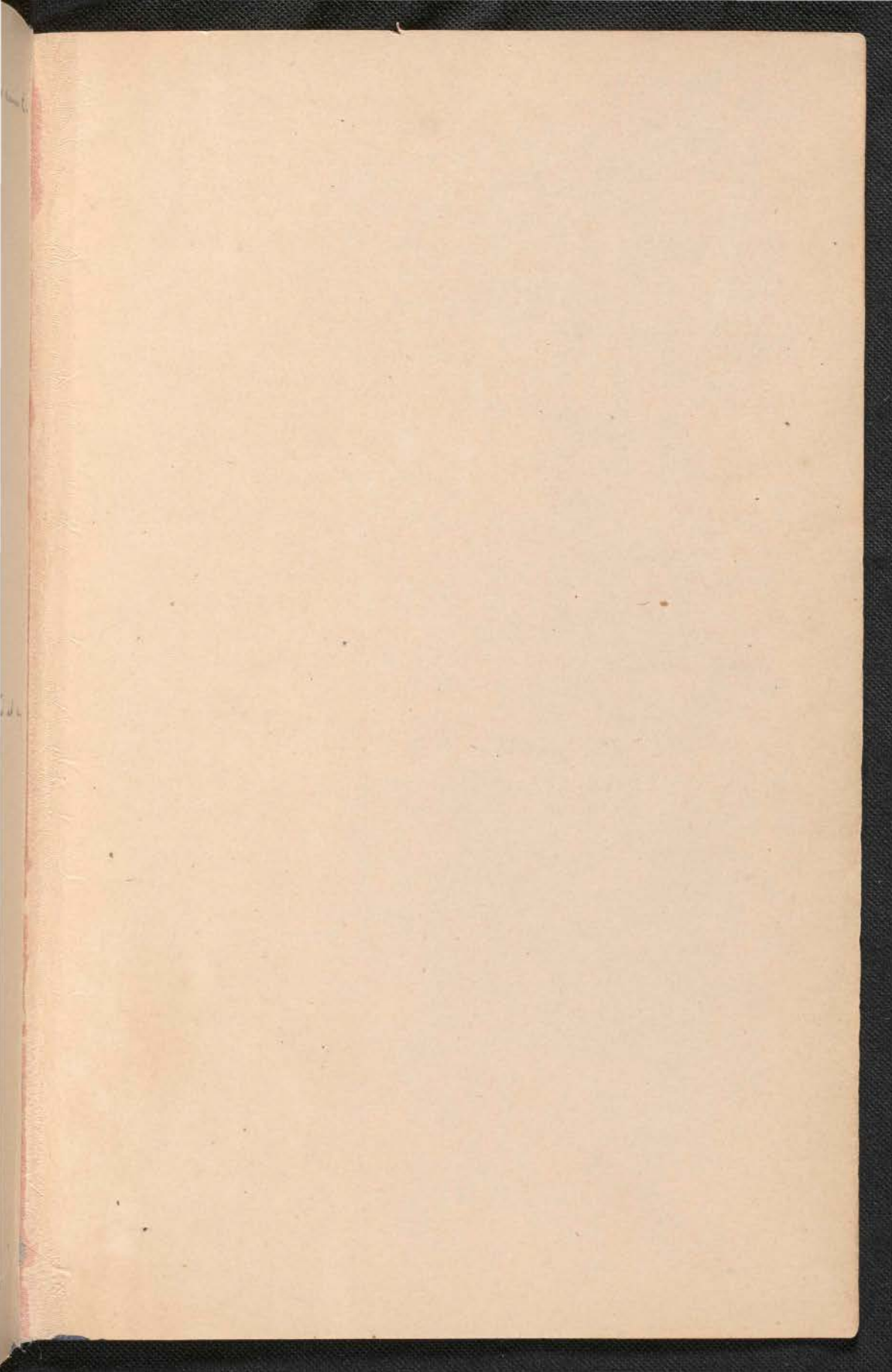
Enlistments by States in Revolution - (1 year's service to unit)

Massachusetts	69907	} 120,251	
Connecticut	31939		
New Hampshire	12497		incl. Vermont
Rhode Island	5908		

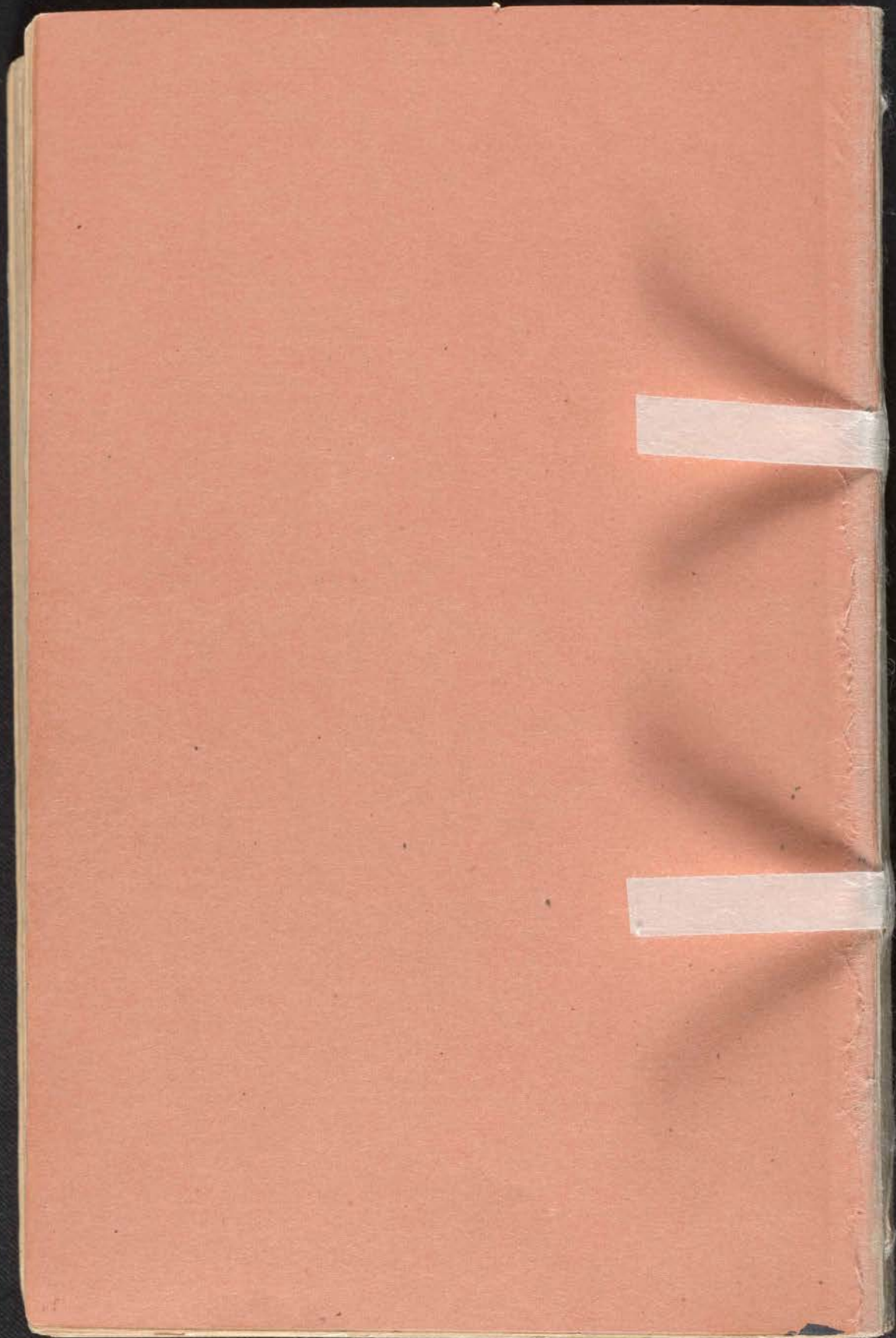
Pennsylvania	25678	} 54,185
New York	17781	
New Jersey	10726	

Virginia	26678	} 59,335
Maryland	13912	
North Carolina	7263	
South Carolina	6417	
Georgia	2679	
Delaware	2386	

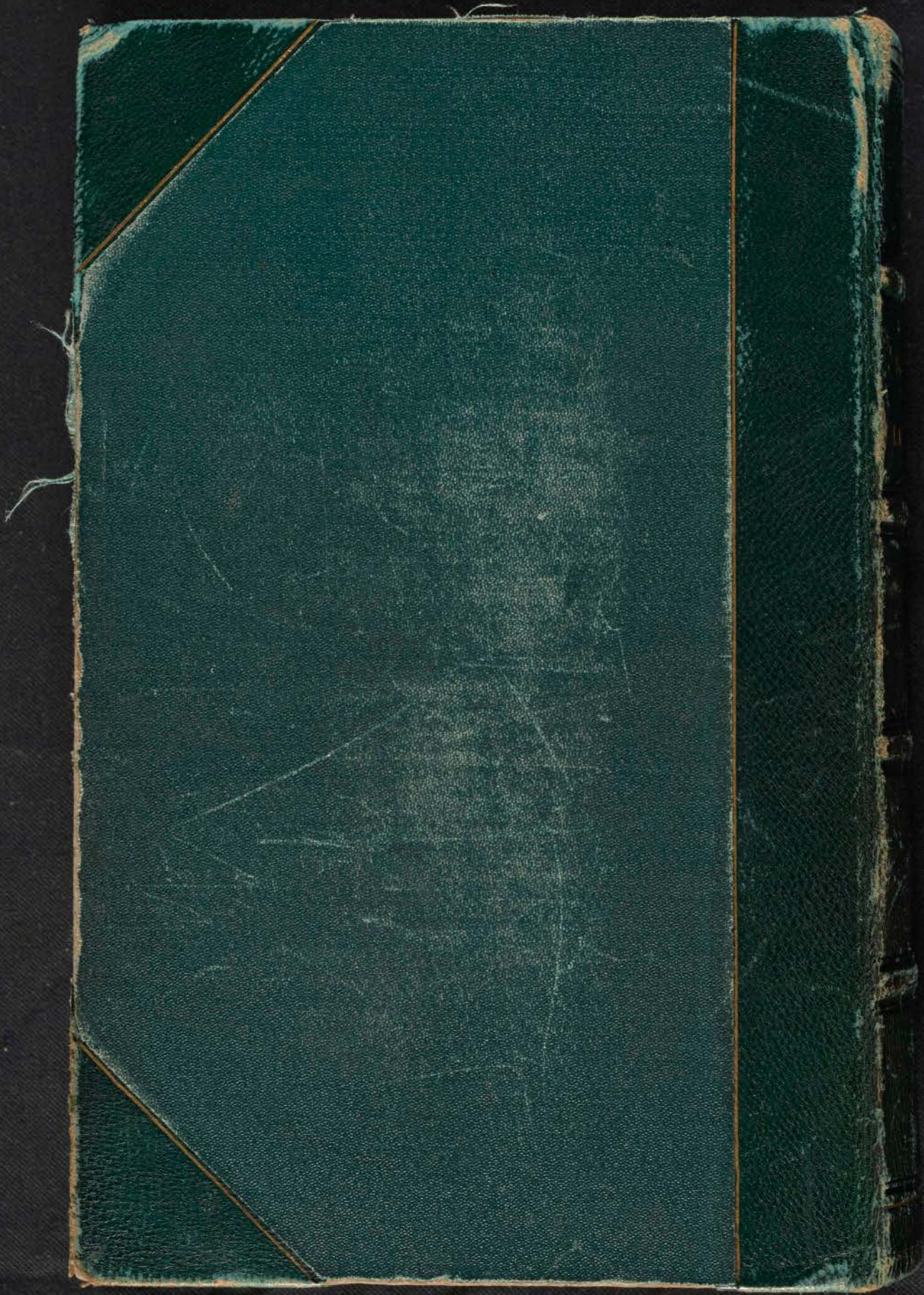
American Army never equalled <sup>Regulars</sup> 38,000 at any one time, and British never <sup>to</sup> 40,000











HISTORY  
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