

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

by Sumner Hunnewell

(concluded from Vol.25, p. 72)

THE TWOFOLD MISSION OF THE ENGLISH

The initial objective of the government of Massachusetts was a military one. Massachusetts’s hope was that it could get help from the other United Colonies, Plymouth and Connecticut. The Great Swamp Fight proved how the concerted efforts of these colonies could work well to their benefit. In December 1675, a combined army of over one thousand men and Indians of the United Colonies marched and took the Narragansett swamp fort, turning the tide of the war. Therefore, on the first of June 1677 it was decided by the Council sitting in Boston to solicit the help of her sister colonies to once again answer the constant attacks now happening at the Eastward. The Massachusetts Council hoped to raise 200 Indians and less than 100 English for the venture, using the agreed-upon quotas filled by all three colonies. However, there would be no help from the other colonies. Massachusetts would have to fight alone. The number of men raised was around 120. The number of English gathered far outnumbered the friendly Indians in this army.<sup>64</sup>

The deployment of the forces would be approached in two ways. Richardson would take his men to range the woods between the Merrimack and Piscataqua Rivers. To encourage his men, they were to be allowed 20 shillings for every enemy scalp and twice that for any prisoners taken. After a while, they would march up the coast of Maine until they reached Black Point. Clarke and Swett would take a seaward route with the bulk of the army in three ships. The rendezvous date was set at June 26th. The ships left Charlestown on the 25th but something must have impeded the swiftness of their journey, because they did not arrive until the 28th.<sup>65</sup>

Once gathered at Black Point, they were to receive news from Lieutenant Tippen about the movement of the enemy. Clarke was to help decide what to do

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64. *Mass. Bay Records*, 5:140–42; *Colonial Hist. of N.Y.*, 3:254–57, 264–65. Connecticut felt the request did not fall under the articles of the United Colonies, nor did they have time to comply, and the few men needed could more readily be conscripted from Massachusetts (*The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, 15 vols. [Hartford: F.A. Brown, 1850–90], hereafter *Public Records of Conn.*, 2:497–98). Hight does not supply his source but states, “With this demand Plymouth colony declined to comply on the ground that the appointed place of rendezvous was ‘without the limit of the colonies’” (Horatio Hight, “Mogg Heigon—His Life, His Death, and its Sequel,” *Collections and Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society*, Second Series, 10 vols. [Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1890–99], hereafter *Maine Hist. Soc. Collections*, 2nd series, 6:270).

65. Edward Rawson to Daniel Gookin, 15 June 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:171; Edward Rawson to Benjamin Swett, 22 June 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:174–75; Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:234.

based on the information gathered about the Indian forces. He could either counsel that much of the army travel by foot back down the coast trying to rout out the Indians and relieving the garrisons as they passed through or, if the conditions were right, to travel to the headquarters of the Indians to destroy them. It has been intimated that headquarters were on “the falls of Taconick on Kennebeck river; where it was said the Indians had six forts, well furnished with ammunition.” It seems more likely that the headquarters that the combined army was to attack was Ossipee (or “Pegwakick”), which Captain Walderne and later Captains Hunting and Sill set upon, destroying the formidable fort the previous winter, rather than Taconnet. Barring a change in plan, Swett and Richardson were to march *down* the coast and not up it. It seems unlikely that they would have tried to attack Taconnet on the Kennebec, since they anticipated a contingent from New York to reside further up the coast but in the vicinity of that river.<sup>66</sup> The appearance of the Indians on the plain would drive the decision to attack here and now. What was to be done after would be settled when the men returned.

The other reason for this mission was political and could be summed up in a single place name—Pemaquid.

Overlapping claims for Pemaquid rankled not a few in the competing governments of Massachusetts and New York (who represented the claim over Pemaquid by the Duke of York). In December 1676, the government of New York sent ships to Boston and Piscataqua to offer succor and draw off to New York any of those who were driven out of Pemaquid. This Massachusetts would not allow. Massachusetts abandoned Pemaquid in April, its soldiers ill equipped to maintain it against any Indian enemy.<sup>67</sup>

Although Massachusetts and New York were at odds over Pemaquid, Massachusetts sent a delegation to Albany in May and were given “ve<sup>r</sup>y Curteous entertainment.” Gifts were exchanged there with the Mohawks, the dreaded enemies of the Eastern Indians, who promised to pursue the Eastern Indians up to the Kennebec River. Assuming that the Mohawks would be in Maine by the time the forces were gathered under Swett and Clarke, provisions were granted by Massa-

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66. Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New-Hampshire*, 3 vols. (Dover, N.H.: privately printed, 1812), hereafter Belknap, *History of New-Hampshire*, 1:82; *Soldiers of King Philip's War*, pp. 310–11, 323; *Mass. Bay Records*, 5:122–24. Clarke's orders were to “Manage the s<sup>d</sup> forces to the best advantage against the Common enemy by enabling them either to March to the Head quarters, which yet without the Advice of the office's vpon the place & good probability we would not Hazard, or to other service against their p<sup>r</sup>ivate lurking places or for the strengthening & preservation of the frontier towns” (Gov. John Leverett and Council to Thomas Clarke, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:173).

67. *Colonial Hist. of N.Y.*, 3:254–57; Silvanus Davis et al. to the Governor and Council, 23 April 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:164–65. The sloop may have stopped in Salem as well (Franklin B. Hough, *Papers Relating to Pemaquid and Parts Adjacent in the Present State of Maine* [Albany: Weed, Parsons & Company, 1856], hereafter Hough, *Pemaquid Papers*, pp. 8–9).

chusetts for their well being and, when it was time to load the ships commanded by Clarke and Swett, one hundred bushels of Indian corn were hauled aboard.<sup>68</sup>

The governor of New York, Edmond Andros, who would live long enough to become the hated and jailed governor of Massachusetts, saw the benefit of reestablishing the fort at Pemaquid and the profits to be made from the fisheries there. Noting that everything eastward of Black Point had been either abandoned or destroyed, he sought to flex the ducal muscle and (along with the New York council) decided on June 9th to restore Pemaquid. Captain Anthony Brockholes was provided with sailing orders four days later to occupy and fortify it. They were to further the Duke's interests by making peace with the Eastern Indians of Maine and reopen the lucrative trading and fishing operations. New York's intentions were presented to Massachusetts, who now had thrust upon them the trouble and inconvenience of two powers—the natives, who were seen as the enemies, and the men of New York, who were seen as usurpers. Knowing the strategic as well as economic importance of Pemaquid, Massachusetts made its plans to send Clarke to treat with those in charge there, and attempt to make peace with the natives of the eastern part of Maine and redeem captives held by them. Andros believed the rendezvous at Black Point occurred because Massachusetts heard of New York's preemptive reclamation of Pemaquid, but it is obvious that the plans of Bay Colony were in place well beforehand and New York's actions only added to the complexity of the situation.<sup>69</sup>

Massachusetts, in order to make her expectations clear, drew up a communiqué and sent it with Clarke: New York would neither interfere with the prosecution of the plans to attack the Indians by the Massachusetts forces nor would they deal with the Indians themselves, which would put to disadvantage the Massachusetts government. When he was to arrive at Pemaquid, it was to be delivered to Captain Nichols there.<sup>70</sup>

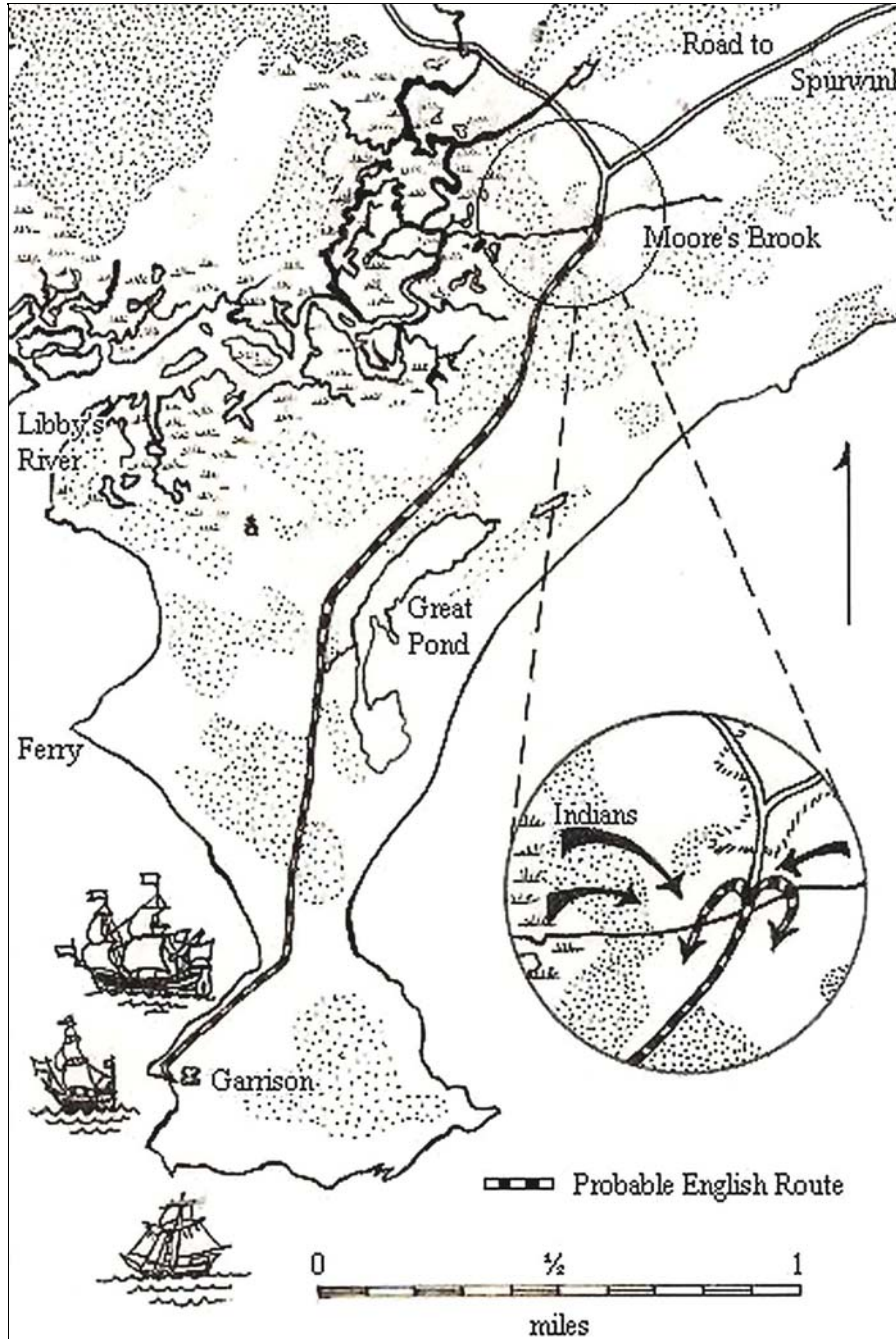
Andros's hopes were not only to reoccupy but also to populate Pemaquid with men more sympathetic to the crown or antagonistic towards the government of Massachusetts. He also suggested that the four ships, which he sent forth, stop

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68. Edward Rawson to Daniel Denison, 5 May 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:166–67; General Court of the Colony of Connecticut to the Governor and Council, 10 May 1677, *Public Records of Conn.*, 2:496–97; “100 bushells of Indian [corn] for prouission for the macquaes,” Governor and Council to Daniel Gookin?, 1? June 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:172–73. There was no mercy shown to the Mohawks among the Eastern Indians, either. Josselyn describes a particularly horrific torture of two Mohawks at the hands of the Eastern Indians (Josselyn, *Two Voyages to New England*, pp. 114–15).

69. *Mass. Bay Records*, 5:133–34; *Colonial Hist. of N.Y.*, 3:254–57; Hough, *Pemaquid Papers*, pp. 14–15; Edmund Andros to Anthony Brockholes, Cæsar Knapton, and Matthias Nicolls, 13 June 13, 1677, *Colonial Hist. of N.Y.*, 3:248–49. Massachusetts started planning for an extensive foray into Maine on 24 May 1677.

70. *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:172–73; “Hull Diary,” *Archæologia Americana*, 3:243.



Drawing by Sylvia Hunnewell

at the Piscataqua and offer positions to three influential men there. The first of these was Major Nicholas Shapleigh, a Quaker sympathizer. The second was Reverend Robert Jordan, whose holdings in Scarborough and along the Spurwink River were formidable but abandoned. The third was the esteemed Henry Jocelyn of Black Point. All three men had been thorns in the side of the Massachusetts government since that body's long arm reached up the coast of Maine. The Massachusetts government in the past had imprisoned both Shapleigh and Jordan, and Shapleigh just three years before. One of these three men took the opportunity to go aboard and sail to Pemaquid.<sup>71</sup>

#### THE MEN EMBARK AFTER THE INDIANS SHOW THEMSELVES

As the men marched, behind them lay plentiful Saco Bay. On their left-hand side were the crescent sands of Saco, Blue Point, and Dunstan. To the right lay the woods of the neck and further on the plains where once the families lived by farming and husbandry, much of their efforts destroyed the year before. An expanse of marshland spread ahead of them where freshwater springs and the sinuous Nonesuch River wound its way.

As the men marched in two or three files, the land gave way to an expanse of marshland on their left, while the land rose before and to the right of them. It took less than half an hour to march to the vicinity of Moore's Brook, a small waterway that led down to the marsh. They were about two miles from the safety of the garrison, finding themselves upon an open plain—a bush here and there to break up the landscape. As the men started crossed over Moore's Brook and started up the hill on the other side, the Indians attacked.<sup>72</sup>

The English were not outnumbered, but the surprise was their undoing. Squando laid his trap well.

The war whoop, which today seems relegated to myth, was very real and, for those less resolute soldiers, must have struck them with terror. Up came the Indians from behind the bushes and up from the marshland to their left, across the

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71. *Colonial Hist. of N.Y.*, 3:248–49; *Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, pp. 390–91, 624.

72. The Maine Indians “shewed themselves on a plain in three parties. Swett divided his men accordingly, and went to meet them.” (Belknap, *History of New-Hampshire*, 1:82.) Swett “was marching upon the Edge of an Hill with one Party and his Lieutenant with another” (Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:235). Moore's Brook is named after Richard Moore, who settled nearby. He was the stepfather of Israel Honeywell who took part in the battle. The H.G. Storer map of Black Point for Southgate's history shows “Swett's Plains” well past what is generally agreed to be the battleground, which is close to the junction of current day Route 207 (Black Point Road) and Route 77 (Spurwink Road). Ware mistakenly places the battle close to present day Massacre Pond. (Southgate, “Hist. of Scarborough,” pp. 77–78, map; *Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, pp. 361–62, 489; George W. Ellis and John E. Morris, *King Philip's War* [New York: Grafton Press, 1906], hereafter Ellis & Morris, *King Philip's War*, photo facing p. 312; Moses Weld Ware, *Beacon Lights in The History of Prouts Neck* [n.p.: Prouts Neck Association, n.d.], p. 16).

plain from their right. What had started as pursuit of a few Indians turned into a full pitched battle.

The initial slaughter on the side of the English must have been horrific. Lieutenant James Richardson was cut down soon after the first volley along with others of his men. English and friendly Indians fell wounded or dead; others tried to carry the wounded to safety, but shelter was two miles away and they were facing an enemy that knew the territory well. Some badly wounded English found ways to hide. Some men, many of those who served with Swett before, must have held their ground. There is no doubt that some of the men, inexperienced soldiers, “shifting for themselves,” left their comrades to bear the brunt of the attack. There is good reason to believe that the friendly Indians stood their ground and there is no record that shows any treachery or perfidy on their part. The townsmen had shown their lack of resolve earlier with their encounter with Mogg the preceding year, but how they reacted now is not known. Soon the English and friendly Indian ranks were thrown into disarray.<sup>73</sup>

Swett, showing great courage, rallied what men he could again and again, and made a torturous retreat towards the garrison on the neck. The rout had turned into a tremendous defeat and by the time Swett was within sight of the garrison, he had suffered many wounds and was bodily taken by the Indians and hewn to death. Of the nearly one hundred men who left the garrison, less than half a dozen came back without a scratch. Nineteen out of twenty of Major Clarke’s men were cut down. A doctor treated those who returned wounded. Fifty to sixty of the New England forces were dead or mortally wounded, including eight friendly Indians.<sup>74</sup>

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73. “The Indians, that had hid themselves in the Swamp on each Side of the Hill, suddenly fired upon the English on both Sides, which not a little discouraged his young and undisciplined Company, so as they could not or did not keep their Ranks, but while some were ready to run and shift for themselves” (Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:235). “Our soldiers, some of y<sup>m</sup> basely ran away w<sup>h</sup> occasioned the slaughter” (*Diary of Increase Mather*, p. 48). Hight, without cause, writes: “We imagine [Richardson’s] Indians after the first volley ‘fled the field’” (Horatio Hight, “Mogg Heigon—His Life, His Death, and its Sequel,” *Maine Hist. Soc. Collections*, 2nd series, 6:274).

74. Accounts of the number of English forces that were killed varies with the teller of the tale, but is generally consistent: “Somewhat above forty of the English, and twelve of the friendly Indians that asited . . . either killed right out or dangerously wounded” [1677] (Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:235–36); “Tis tho’t that 50 persons were slain” [1677] (*Diary of Increase Mather*, p. 48); “The English lost about forty men, whereof were eight of our friendly Indians” [1677] (Gookin, “Christian Indians,” *Archæologia Americana*, 2:516); “about sixty men” [1678] (*Colonial Hist. of N.Y.*, 3:256); “Cap<sup>t</sup> swett : that worthey comander : was slaine : and allmost all his officers : with about 50 men besids & : 21 more that were wounded [to my best Rememberance] of which my self was one” [1678] (“Dutton Petition”); “sixty more were left dead or wounded” [1812] (Belknap, *History of New-Hampshire*, 1:82); “Sixty English fell in this action, including a number of the inhabitants” [1830] (Folsom, *History of Saco and Biddeford*, p. 161); “sixty of his men, forty English and twenty Indians” [1832] (William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine*, 2 vols. [Hallowell: Glazier, Masters & Co.,

The Indians made quick work of the wounded men left on the field. If any were found, they were undoubtedly dispatched. There are no records of any captives being taken. Why the victors left the scene we do not know. It was thought that Squando fled to Canada. Early in the morning soldiers went from the garrison to rescue the wounded and recover the dead.<sup>75</sup>

Thomas Dutton from Billerica described the battle in a petition for assistance from the government months afterwards.

Bilerikye this (1)<sup>st</sup> of 8<sup>th</sup> [*October*]: (1678)

To the honered govener & the Rest of the honered members of the Generall Court now sitting in boston : this 2:8:1678

The petetion of Tho<sup>s</sup> Dutten Jun<sup>r</sup>: most humbly sheweth: thatt som time in June : 77 : I was imprest into the contrey serves from Billeriky : & was sent with sum others to the estward : under the Command of the honered major clarke esq<sup>r</sup> & the wise providence of the allwise god : so ordered if I was in th<sup>t</sup> fattall scirmish : In which cap<sup>t</sup> swett : th<sup>t</sup> worthey comander : was slaine : and allmost all his of-ficers : with about 50 men besids & : 21 more that were wounded [to my best Remembrance] of which my self was one : I was shott therow the side of my belle : and thorow my left knee & so fell down wounded amongst the rest not able to help my self : I being of a child lame one my right thigh my hipp bone was putt out of Joynt and never sett againe so if I was now lame one both sides : beside the shott which went thorow my side: as afores<sup>d</sup> : I therefor hid my self amongst amongst [*sic*] the bushes: not being able to stand nor goe : the battell being over : the indians came forth out of the swamp and one of them espied me in a bush : and seing my gonne in my hand : apprehended more danger th<sup>n</sup> there was : and spake to the rest and they all ran away the which I perceiveing : with much deficoltie : crept into the swamp and Covered my self with mudd & dirt : the Indians qicklie returned to the place to look for me : & fiered into the bush where the indian did se me : & they sought diligentlye for me : but It pleased the lord : they could nott find me : then in the night after all was still : I crept out of the swamp towards the gareson about a mile & a halfe and whatt with my bleeding and great paine : I was not able to goe one rodd farther : it was the more deficolt for me to creep because I was shott thorow one of my knees: but there I laye doune & thought I must dye before mornig but the lord who ordereth all things according to the counsill of his own will : so ordered th<sup>t</sup> an other wounded soldier came bye me : in the night a letle before daye : and so took my condetion to the Cap<sup>t</sup> of the gareson : who sent forth men imediatlye : and found me and brought me into the gareson who had much adoo to keep life in

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1832], 1:551); “Sixty . . . were left dead or wounded” [1852] (Thornton, “Swett Family,” NEHGR 6[1852]:55). As for the number of friendly Indians killed, the author defers to Gookin. It may have been the surgeon David Middletown who tended their wounds. He traveled with Capt. Hunting to Maine in April to serve as surgeon and may have been stationed at Black Point, as later pay records show him there (Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip’s War*, p. 339; Governor and Council to David Middleton, 2 April 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:162).

75. Letter from A. Brockholes et al. to the Governor and Council, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:189–90.

me : & I was sent by the first oportunitye to salem : where I came upon the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July : from th<sup>l</sup> time till the : 28<sup>th</sup> : of Janeuary I Remained under the hands of docter welds : as will appear by his certeficate which I gave it to to [sic] the honured counsell<sup>76</sup>

#### THE FATE OF CLARKE, SWETT, AND RICHARDSON AND THEIR MEN

More English and friendly Indians from Massachusetts died in this one military action in Maine than at any other time during the war. It was a devastating blow to the colony and once again the men of Essex County bore the brunt of the casualties. Some of the wounded Essex men were shipped to Salem, where nineteen arrived on July 2. Others arrived in Boston. At Salem Dr. Barton and Dr. Welds, physicians of long standing, tended them. Some soldiers were paid for their service, others were not. They or their towns bore the cost of their medical expenses.<sup>77</sup>

Already feeling vulnerable, since four men were killed outside the town two weeks before and upon hearing the news, the Hampton town fathers wrote to the Governor immediately asking for a suitable replacement for their worthy Captain Swett. Swett's wishes were granted and his wife, Hester, was given twice her portion of his estate. She married Swett's ensign the following March.<sup>78</sup>

Lieutenant Richardson's wife Bridget's sorrow increased when their seven-year-old daughter died three months later. She received solace, no doubt, from her family and her husband's, many with military ties. She remarried in October 1679.<sup>79</sup>

The slain men were probably buried in a mass grave, which was a common occurrence during this and other Indian wars. A burying ground lay beyond the ferry and it may have been there where they were interred or they may have been buried close to the battle scene.<sup>80</sup>

76. "Dutton Petition," author's transcription.

77. Ellis & Morris, *King Philip's War*, p. 312; Libby, *The Libby Family in America*, p. 24n; Richard D. Pierce, ed., *The Records of the First Church in Salem, Massachusetts 1629-1736* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1974), p. 142; "Casualty List." "I Have Recivd No Wages For My service or anything of Publick Allowance for My loss of time and long suffaringe . . ." (Benjamin Rockwood Sr. to Gov. William Shirley et al., 24 Nov. 1742, Massachusetts Archives 72:622-24 [hereafter "Rockwood Memorial"]). "I never received for all this time more th<sup>n</sup> : 11 : & 6<sup>d</sup> for those few dayes before I was wounded. . . ." ("Dutton Petition").

78. Seaborne Cotton et al. to the Governor and Council, 3 July 1677, Massachusetts Archives 69:135a; *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:435; Thornton, "Swett Family," NEHGR 6(1852):56.

79. Vinton, *Richardson Memorial*, pp. 43-44.

80. Libbey states without authority that the men were not buried until that November (Dorothy Shaw Libbey, *Scarborough Becomes a Town* [Freeport: Bond Wheelwright Company, 1955], p. 76). A mass grave was made at Black Point for the ambushed garrison men led by Capt. Hunnewell in 1703 (often incorrectly 1713). The pond nearby carries the name Massacre Pond to this day. Schultz and Tougias confuse this appellation and associate it with the battle between Swett and Squando. (*Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 3:63 [map facing]; Eric B. Schultz and Michael J. Tougias, *King Philip's War* [Woodstock, Vt.: Countryman Press, 1999], p. 315).



## ESSEX COUNTY

*Andover*

All of the men known to have come from Andover died in the battle: the cousins JAMES PARKER and JOHN PARKER, JOHN PHELPS, and the servant DANIEL BLANCHARD.<sup>81</sup>

*Beverly*

All three men from Beverly were slain: FRANCIS LAWRENCE, JAMES MANSLY, and BENJAMIN MORGAN.<sup>82</sup>

*Gloucester*

From Gloucester, also known as Cape Ann, both men, VINCENT DAVIS and NATHANIEL KNIGHTS, died.<sup>83</sup>

*Ipswich*

THOMAS BURNHAM JR. survived the battle and become prosperous. He followed in his father's military footsteps. By 1688 he was sergeant and in 1702 was made lieutenant by Governor Dudley. His family increased and by two wives he fathered well over a dozen children. He died in 1728 at 86.<sup>84</sup>

ISRAEL HONEYWELL was shot in the leg and shoulder but made his way back to the garrison. He returned to Ipswich where he found himself before the court a few times where his greatest exploit was revealed. He was accused of and later imprisoned for stealing a horse with his wife-to-be riding behind him. He eventually settled in New York.<sup>85</sup>

Four of Ipswich's men were killed in battle: JAMES FORD, JAMES BURBEE, SAMUEL POOLER, and JOHN POLAND JR.<sup>86</sup>

*Lynn*

The Indians slew THADDEUS BRAND as well. His older daughter Sarah grew up in Lynn, married, and had a large family. Of the baby daughter Mary, nothing more is known.<sup>87</sup>

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81. "Casualty List."

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Abraham Hammatt, *The Hammatt Papers: Early Inhabitants of Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1633-1700* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1980), p. 42; Burnham, *The Burnham Family*, p. 311; Mary Walton Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, 2 vols. (n.p.: the author, 1931-43), 1:129.

85. *Hunnewell Descendants*, 81; *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:409, 8:181, 9:113-14, 528.

86. "Casualty List."

87. *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, 2 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1905-6), 2:54; Walter Goodwin Davis, *The Ancestry of Lieut. Amos Towne 1737-1793 of Arundel (Kennebunkport), Maine* (Portland: The Southworth Press, 1927), pp. 53-55.

*Marblehead*

Four sons of Marblehead, THOMAS EDWARDS, RICHARD HURLS, PHILIP HUTTON, and JOSEPH MORGAN, would not return to their families and livelihoods, but lay struck down far from home.<sup>88</sup>

SAMUEL BEALE was the only known survivor from Marblehead. Later in the year, he took the Oath of Fidelity with his brothers there. He married and raised a family, dying by 1699.<sup>89</sup>

*Newbury*

The men of Newbury fared better than most. MORGAN JONES was shot through the thigh and sent to Salem. He recovered and went to work for William Lake of Salem, where he once was served a warrant for excessive drinking. He returned to Newbury by the end of 1678 and made an account of what he was owed for use of his personal belongings in the war.<sup>90</sup>

CALEB PILSBURY was shot in the back. He returned to Newbury, took the Oath of Allegiance there in 1678, and seems to have remained unmarried. He died at 27, three years after the battle.<sup>91</sup>

*Rowley*

NICHOLAS RICHARDSON was slain. He must have had some close ties with the Appleton family of Rowley and Ipswich, because Isaac Appleton claimed the land promised as a result of the Narragansett Swamp Fight.<sup>92</sup>

*Salem*

NATHANIEL HUNN died, leaving a wife and children in Salem. His widowed wife would receive assistance from the town. During her lifetime, she would marry three more times, eventually moving to Delaware, where she could raise her children from this and the other marriages as Quakers.<sup>93</sup>

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88. "Casualty List."

89. *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:398; Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 1:146. According to the casualty list Samuel Beale was killed. He m. Patience Lowell, whose nephew was John Lovewell of Lovewell's Fight (Joseph B. Felt, "Genealogical Items Relative to Lynn, Mass.," NEHGR 5[1851]:94; Ezra S. Stearns, "Notes," NEHGR 63[1909]: 300; Albert Henry Silvester, "Richard Silvester of Weymouth, Mass., and Some of His Descendants," NEHGR 85[1931]: 257).

90. *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:452, 7:110.

91. David B. Pillsbury and Emily A. Getchell, *The Pillsbury Family* (Everett, Mass.: Massachusetts Publishing Co., 1898), p. 7; *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 7:157.

92. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 142, 415; *Essex Co. Probate Records*, 3:278. It seems likely that the Maj. Isaac Appleton or his son claimed Nicholas Richardson's land as two of his grandsons or sons settled in Buxton, a Narragansett township. The Appletons originally hailed from Rowley but moved to Ipswich. (Isaac Appleton Jewett, *Memorial of Samuel Appleton* [Boston: Bolles and Houghton, 1850], pp. 34-35).

93. *Essex Co. Probate Records*, 3:315-16; *Town Records of Salem, Massachusetts, 1659-1690*, 3 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1868-1934), hereafter *Town Records of Salem*, 2:323, 325-26; George Valentine Massey II, "Priscilla Kitchen, Quakeress, of Salem, Mass., and Kent County, Del., and Her Family," NEHGR 106(1952): 39-50.

PETER PATTEE was identified as one of the soldiers to have died, but this was a mistake. He may have been wounded in the battle or at another time soon after by spring of the following year. He was impressed again in 1679. Pattee settled in Haverhill where he remarried in 1682 after his first wife would not leave Virginia. There he raised his family and became constable of the town in 1694. He was also a ferryman, carrying people across the Merrimack. Later in life, his attempts to start a gristmill and tavern were squelched by the town. After his second wife's death, he remarried a third time while in his seventies. He died at 80 and his grave was still marked in the Pentucket Cemetery in Haverhill in 1992.<sup>94</sup>

ANTHONY WALDRON returned to his hometown to recover from being shot in the neck. Nothing further is known of him.<sup>95</sup>

JAMES VERIN was shot through the upper part of the thigh. He sailed with the others to Salem to recover. Two years later, he and other families living together on a "small fishing Island of Saccadahoc" requested of Edmund Andros of Massachusetts to be allowed land at Arrowsic. This was granted in September 1679.<sup>96</sup>

#### *Topsfield*

Although slain at Black Point, JOHN WILDES JR. still had an impact. His reckless talk about his stepmother helped seal her doom when years later she was accused of being a witch. Her own son and John's half-brother, then the constable of Topsfield, reluctantly had to serve her the warrant and bring her to Salem where she was convicted and put to death as a result of the witch trials of 1692.<sup>97</sup>

### NORFOLK COUNTY

#### *Hampton*

STEVEN BROWN died and like his commanding officer would no longer return to his beloved Hampton.<sup>98</sup>

### MIDDLESEX COUNTY

#### *Billerica*

THOMAS DUTTON, as has been related before, was shot in the knee and belly and by his wits saved himself. According to one account, he was the only survivor

94. Marie Lollo Scalisi and Virginia M. Ryan, "Peter Pattee of Haverhill, Massachusetts: A 'Journeyman Shoemaker' and His Descendants," *NEHGR* 146(1992):315-21; *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 7:289.

95. "Casualty List."

96. Grant from Edmund Andros, 6 Sept. 1679, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 4:386-38; John B. Threlfall, "The Verin Family of Salem, Massachusetts," *NEHGR* 131(1977):109.

97. Two of his sisters, Sarah and Phoebe, and fellow soldier and brother-in-law, Edward Bishop, were also accused, but escaped the same fate (Walter Goodwin Davis, *Massachusetts and Maine Families in the Ancestry of Walter Goodwin Davis (1885-1966)*, 3 vols. [Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1996], pp. 619-28).

98. Asa W. Brown, "The Hampton Brown Family," *NEHGR* 6(1852):232; Parker, *Parker in America*, p. 55.

of the twenty men under the command of Clarke. He was sent to Salem where he was under Dr. Weld's care until January 1678. That year he petitioned the government. Unable to work in husbandry due to his wounds and his father's savings spent to maintain a family "vesited with sicknes & lamenes," he petitioned the government for aid. His desire was to "lern the art of a shoemaker : th<sup>t</sup> by som honest means I may gitt a living. . .," and his prayers were answered when he received £15. He returned to Billerica and married. There he raised his family, living near Fox Brook in town, but it was not without some tragedy. Not far from his home his sister-in-law, niece, and nephew were killed by Indians in an attack on the town on the first of August 1692.<sup>99</sup>

#### *Chelmsford*

JACOB PARKER, shot through the shoulder, was taken to Salem to recuperate. He later returned to Chelmsford and followed in his father's footsteps, serving as Town Clerk in 1688. He may have married and afterwards moved to Malden by 1690.<sup>100</sup>

#### *Concord*

There is no record that the four men from Concord took part in the battle. All four returned. JOHN BALL married twice and brought up his family in Concord. He died in 1703.<sup>101</sup>

SAMUEL STRATTON inherited the family homestead and became a weaver. He married, raised his family in Concord, and died in 1717.<sup>102</sup>

JOHN WHEAT lived out the rest of his life alone or with siblings on land bequeathed by this father. He died by July 1715.<sup>103</sup>

THOMAS WOOLLEY became a yeoman, married late in life, and had six children. The family was successful and continued to reside in Concord. He died in 1710 within a month of the birth of his last child.<sup>104</sup>

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99. "Dutton Petition"; Henry A. Hazen, *History of Billerica, Massachusetts, With a Genealogical Register* (Boston: A. Williams and Co., 1883), pp. 17, 45, 127–28, map. Hazen states that he married "Rebecca Draper, widow, of Concord." Shattuck wrote that Rebecca Brabrook married Adam Draper in 1666 and that they "removed to Marlborough about 1680," which must be incorrect (Shattuck, *Hist. of Concord*, p. 369).

100. "Casualty List"; Waters, *Hist. of Chelmsford*, p. 755. A Jacob Parker with wife Joanne lived in Malden. He d. in 1694 at age 42 (Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 3:350). Other than Parker, the names of the men who might have come with Richardson from Chelmsford are unknown.

101. *Concord Registers*, pp. 26, 28, 35, 38, 40, 42, 45, 50, 57, 59, 60; Frank D. Warren and George H. Ball, *The Descendants of John Ball of Watertown, Massachusetts, 1630–1835* (Boston: Spaulding Moss Co., 1932), p. 12.

102. Harriet Russell Stratton, *A Book of Strattons*, 2 vols. (New York: The Grafton Press, 1908–18), 1:166.

103. Silas C. Wheat, *Wheat Genealogy: A History of the Wheat Family in America*, 2 vols. (Brooklyn: Silas C. Wheat, 1903–60), 1:54.

104. Irene Cynthia Gould, "Christopher Wooley of Concord, Mass., and Some of His Descendants," *NEHGR* 75(1921):31.

## SUFFOLK COUNTY

*Boston*

It is uncertain if JOHN HARKER, the only man known to have hired himself out, fought in the battle. He returned to Boston, married, and raised a family there.<sup>105</sup>

*Medfield*

When he was cut down at Black Point, JOHN MASON suffered the fate of many of his family but far from his Medfield home. The following year, a townsman, seeing John's uncle, his widowed mother, Benjamin Rockwood's father, and another settler in dire straits, petitioned the court for relief of taxes for the year, which was granted. Only John's youngest brother and two sisters survived the war.<sup>106</sup>

BENJAMIN ROCKWOOD never fully healed from his wounds, having been shot in the thigh twice. He caught cold while at Black Point and from thence was sailed to Salem where he stayed for three months. He married and move to Wrentham, where he lived a long life. In 1742 when Rockwood was 93, his son-in-law petitioned the government for his maintenance in remembrance of his service during King Philip's War. He was allowed four pounds per year. A neighbor, who supported Rockwood four years later, petitioned the government because his son-in-law was not using the money towards Rockwood. The government allowed the pension to be sent to the "Overseers of the Poor of the Town of Wrentham & their Successors in said Office" henceforth. At 97, he may have been the last surviving member of the English army to fight at Black Point. He died in 1747.<sup>107</sup>

*Milton*

Some of those who survived still had to convalesce for months. In May of 1678, the townsmen of Milton petitioned the government to reimburse them for the costs of treating DANIEL DIKE's wounds. Dike's bone splintered as a bullet passed through his arm. He was sent to Salem after the battle and after a time was sent to Boston, placed under the care of Dr. Slice. The Governor and Council addressed the petition in October, where it was rejected. Neither the Governor and Council nor the selectmen of Milton would have the burden of Dike's continued medical expenses, and he died some six weeks after the refusal.<sup>108</sup>

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105. *A Report of the Record Commissioners Containing Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630–1699* (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1908), pp. 153, 155, 163, 184, 195.

106. John Wilson to the General Court, 4 April 1678, Massachusetts Archives 69:191; Tilden, *Hist. of Medfield*, pp. 95, 429.

107. "Rockwood Memorial"; *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*, 27 vols. (Boston: Wright & Potter, 1869–1922), 13:192, 651–52.

108. The petition of the selectmen of Milton was rejected, but those of the wounded Richard Russ of Weymouth and Thomas Parkes (on behalf of his wounded son John) were granted on the day of the council. Gov. John Leverett, Symon Bradstreet, Edward Tyng, and Joseph Dudley, who were on the court when Dike was sentenced for theft earlier that year, also rejected the plea of the townsmen. Dike d. 21 Nov. 1678. (Selectmen of Milton to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, 9 May 1678, Massachusetts Archives 69:202; *Mass. Bay Records*, 5:207; *Milton Records* [Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1900], p. 218.)

## THE FATE OF THE "FRIENDLY" INDIANS

The friendly Indians from Massachusetts lost more in this one battle than at any time during the war. Eight fell; no doubt many others were wounded. Three wounded Natick Indians were brought to Salem.<sup>109</sup>

JOHN NUCKWICH was shot in the junction of the knee. NATHANIEL PENUMPUM was shot in the thigh. History tells no more of them.<sup>110</sup>

ABRAHAM SPEEN was shot through both of his thighs. He returned to Natick and took part in the town's activities as his name appears in many petitions to the government about the sale of Indian lands. It seems likely that he was married. Either he or a possible son of the same name was a proprietor of the town in 1719.<sup>111</sup>

## THE FATE OF THE TOWNSMEN

JOHN MCKENNEY was shot through the breast and back, and was sent back to Salem where his family waited for him. There they stayed until the town paid to have them returned to Black Point in 1679.<sup>112</sup>

Only two of the four Libby men would come back to their refugee family. All four may have joined the group of townsmen to go with Swett. It is known that at least JAMES LIBBY or SAMUEL LIBBY was killed in battle. No doubt grief stricken and in terrible condition, their father petitioned (within two weeks of the fight and the night after one of his sons died) to have his other two garrisoned

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109. Major Gookin stated that "eight of our friendly Indians . . . was then slain; this was the greatest loss that our Indians sustained all the war." However, at least eight or eleven friendly Indians of Plymouth Colony were killed with Capt. Pierce in Feb. 1676 in an ambush that is tragically similar to the fate of the men at Black Point. (Gookin, "Christian Indians," *Archæologia Americana*, 2:516; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 347-49; Samuel G. Drake, *The Old Indian Chronicle* [Boston: Samuel A. Drake, 1867], pp. 307-8.)

110. A "Nataniel" (along with Abraham Speen and others of Natick) signed two 1684 petitions about the sale of Indian land (Petition of Capt. Tom, Wahaughton, and Dublett to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants, 16 April 1684, Massachusetts Archives 30:287; Petition of the Indian Rulers and Indian Inhabitants of Natick to the Governor and Magistrates, 22 May 1684, Massachusetts Archives 30:279a).

111. List of Indians of Natick for sale of land, 3 Oct. 1683, Massachusetts Archives 30:276; Petition of Capt. Tom, Wahaughton, and Dublett to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants, 16 April 1684, Massachusetts Archives 30:287; Petition of the Indian Rulers and Indian Inhabitants of Natick to the Governor and Magistrates, 22 May 1684, Massachusetts Archives 30:279a; Petition of the Indian Natives of Natick to Richard, Earle of Bellomont, 31 May 1699, Massachusetts Archives 30:503; Charles Hudson, *History of the Town of Marlborough* (Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son, 1862), pp. 89-91. An Abraham Speen died in 1747 but he may have been a son or other relative, as he left behind a teenage daughter (Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997], pp. 100, 134-35, 143, 154, 186).

112. *Town Records of Salem*, 2:285. He may have drowned in the Ogunquit River in 1697 (*Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, p. 473).

sons returned to him. This petition was answered, allowing the two sons to return to Boston.<sup>113</sup>

HENRY LIBBY remained at Black Point, married, and became a selectman in 1686. During the abandonment of the town at the start of King William's War in 1690, he lived with his family in Lynn. He was present at the resettlement of the town in 1720, living upon the south side of the present-day Black Point Cemetery. He died twelve years later.<sup>114</sup>

ANTHONY LIBBY stayed at Black Point for awhile and then moved to Falmouth where he met his wife to be. He moved to his wife's hometown of Hampton (present-day Rye), where he raised his family and did quite well as a prosperous carpenter and farmer. He died in 1718.<sup>115</sup>

Although they were at the Black Point garrison, there is no documentation whether the Brown brothers participated. Their father petitioned the Governor and Council the same day that John Libby did, requesting that his sons be released from garrison duty. This was granted.<sup>116</sup>

ANDREW BROWN JR. remained in Scarborough for the next few years. At some point he moved to the "upper part of Kittery" and was an ensign there. During King William's War he moved to York and had a garrison there during Queen Anne's War. He was a selectman in three towns and achieved the rank of lieutenant. He married twice, raised his family through all of this, and died in 1723.<sup>117</sup>

JOHN BROWN married and sometime moved to Marblehead. There they brought up their children while he made his living as a fisherman. He died by 1695.<sup>118</sup>

#### THE FATE OF THE SOKOSIS AND AMMOSCOGGINS

Although it has been stated that the Indians suffered great losses pursuing the men back to the garrison, the Maine Indians reported that only two of their company were killed with an equal amount wounded.<sup>119</sup>

113. John Libby wrote: "4 Sonns of yo<sup>r</sup> Petitioner wherof ~~two~~ one is Latly Kild at Black point and two more sickened at Black point of which two) one) was brought here to Boston about Tenn days agoe and Died Last night And the other two Sonns are at Black point . . ." (John Libby to the Governor and Council, 10 July 1677, Massachusetts Archives 69:145). The phrase "and Died Last night" is inserted above the normal sentence.

114. Libby, *Libby Family*, pp. 27–28.

115. *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30.

116. *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:184–85.

117. *Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, p. 114; Grant of Land to John Swarton, 29 June 1687, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:267–68; Charles Edward Banks, *History of York, Maine* (1931; reprint, 2 vols., Portsmouth, N.H.: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 1990), 2:225–26.

118. *Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, p. 116.

119. According to the Kennebec Indians, who claimed no friendship with Squando during this time, "they [Squando and his men] receiueing noe more losse then 2 kild & 2 wounded" (Journal kept by Mr. Manning, 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:180). Holland states without authority that many more Maine Indians were killed (Rupert Sargent Holland, *The Story of Prouts Neck* [Prouts Neck: Prouts Neck Association, 1924], p. 15).





## THE CURIOUS CASUALTY LIST

Military leaders from Salem, John Curwin and John Price, sent the Governor and Council a list of the names of the men killed and wounded. Salem records state that they received 19 wounded men and that they arrived on July 2. On July 4th, Curwin and Price wrote (in all likelihood) to their commanding officer, Major Daniel Dennison, supplying him with a list of men wounded or killed at the battle. Only 13 are listed as wounded. Among the 23 that are listed as dead, some of these men seem to have survived. They were Thomas Burnham of Ipswich, Samuel Beale of Marblehead, Peter Pattee of Salem, and, possibly, Thomas Edwards of Marblehead. No easy explanation seems to fit in the case of these men.

Hono<sup>rd</sup>: S<sup>r</sup> : Salem: the: 4<sup>th</sup>: July 1677.—  
 Vnd<sup>f</sup>: standing, p<sup>r</sup> doctor Barton, th<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup>: hono<sup>er</sup>  
 desires, & Expected, to receiue a pticular acc<sup>tt</sup>.  
 of the mens names th<sup>t</sup> are wounded, as alsoe the  
 place they belong to, w<sup>th</sup> the manner of their  
 wounds, haue accordingly, made Inquiry, & Sent  
 you acc<sup>tt</sup> as followeth—

English	Daniell: Dike: of Milton : through the Arm boan Splint <sup>rd</sup>		
	//Ben : Rockett of Medfield . two Shots In thigh		
	//Jacob: parker of Chensford: shott through the should <sup>r</sup> .		
	//Tho: Dutton of Bellricke: shott In the knee & belly		
	//Jn <sup>o</sup> : Mechenne, of Blackpoint: through the brest & back		
	//James Veren of Salem: Through the up <sup>r</sup> : part of thigh		
	//Anthony waldern Salem: In the neck		
	//Morgan: Joanes of Newberry: through the thigh—		
	//Caleb : pilsberry of Newberry: In the back		
	//Israell Hunewell of Ipswich In the Legg & Should <sup>er</sup>		
Indians	—		
	//Jn <sup>o</sup> - Nuckwich: In the knee Juncture—		
	//Nathan <sup>ll</sup> : penumpu <sup>m</sup> .— In the thigh—		
	//Abraham Speen, through both the thighs		
	Acc <sup>tt</sup> : of the Slaine In this County, Soe far as wee Can gather is—		
Salem//	Nath: Hun	Andiv <sup>r</sup>	Jn <sup>o</sup> .- parker .-
	//peter: petty—		James: parker
	—		Jn <sup>o</sup> : phelps:
	James : Ford—		Daniell Blackead
Ipswich	//James : Burbee		—
	//Sam <sup>ll</sup> : pooler	Marblehead:	Tho. Edwards
	//Jn <sup>o</sup> : poland		Sam <sup>ll</sup> . Beal
	//Thom : Burnum		Richard Hurls
	—		Joseph : Morgan
Rowly	: Nick : Richardson		<u>philip</u> : Hutton

Beu <sup>ly</sup>	James Mansly Ben : Morgan Francis Lawrance	Cape an:	Vincen : Davis — Nathanie <sup>ll</sup> Knights — Lin
			One man w <sup>ch</sup> was all they sent —

[*Second page*]

S<sup>r</sup> This acc<sup>tt</sup>: is the best th<sup>t</sup> att p<sup>r</sup>sant Can giue  
yo<sup>r</sup>: hono<sup>r</sup>:, as for the other Counties wee Can ~  
Enforme noe other waies, butt th<sup>t</sup> Major Clark  
sent on shoar nineteen-twenty men where of nine-  
teen Slaine—w<sup>ch</sup> is all att p<sup>r</sup>sant butt humble  
Seruice to you—Rest.-

Yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>rs</sup> most humble  
Seruants to Command

Jn<sup>o</sup>: Curwin :

Jn<sup>o</sup> Price<sup>120</sup>

#### POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

When the news reached the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, it was a devastating shock. Familiar with most of the events of the war, Increase Mather still made this entry in his diary:

*June 29.* A doleful Slaughter near Black Point. Tis tho't that 50 persons were slain. There were near 100 soldiers, it is questioned whether there were so many of the Enemy. They fought in a plain, not above 5 (or thereabouts) of ours th<sup>t</sup> came off without being either slain or wounded. Our soldiers, some of th<sup>m</sup> basely ran away w<sup>h</sup> occasioned the slaughter. The Enemy strangely bold & courageous. So th<sup>t</sup> there never was a more solumn rebuke since the War begun.<sup>121</sup>

Massachusetts in her pious way of confronting such tragedies as seen at Black Point held a day of humiliation.<sup>122</sup>

The failure of the English can be attributed to many factors. The most obvious was marching into an ambush so far from help. The story of King Philip's War is littered with the bodies of men, whose commanders found themselves in such a predicament. It has been stated that Swett did not have time to harden and

120. "Casualty List," John Curwin and John Price to Daniel Dennison?, 4 July 1677, Massachusetts Archives, 69:137–38. The transcription was made by the author. It was the discovery of this casualty list and the recognizable names of the men who died from Andover that inspired the author to write this. Although it was identified elsewhere by genealogists, no historian of the battle or of Scarborough seems to have made the connection or attempted to find the names of all the soldiers that took part (Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, p. 474). Waters transcribes the Ipswich men as "James Burbee, Sam<sup>ll</sup> Pooler, In<sup>c</sup> Poland, and Thomas Burns" but does not mention James Ford (Waters, *Hist. of Chelmsford*, p. 214.). No doubt, he renders "Burnum" as "Burns," because he knew that Thomas Burnham Jr. continued to serve Ipswich in a military fashion.

121. *Diary of Increase Mather*, 48.

122. *Ibid.*; "Hull Diary," *Archæologia Americana*, 3:243.

sharpen his soldiers. He had only three days to prepare men who had arrived from over a dozen different towns, as they were all requested to be in Charlestown at one o'clock on the 22nd in order to sail on the 25th, expecting to be at Black Point the next day. This hurried pace may have been due to Massachusetts's resolve to rush what men it could, a smaller force, without waiting for Connecticut or Plymouth to be persuaded to send men. Later Massachusetts would write a scolding letter to the government of Connecticut for its lack of assistance in the cause to defend the Eastward. Another reason to send men hastily may have been the knowledge that Pemaquid had been taken by New York and the new owners' inevitable overtures towards peaceful relations with the Indians about the Kennebec in order to reopen the fisheries and trade there. In his diary, John Hull, treasurer of the Bay Colony, does not write only about Swett's army on their way to Maine. He wrote: "Soldiers sent to Black Point; Major Thomas Clarke, with three vessels, both thither and to Kenibeck, to treat with Captain Nicolds from New York."<sup>123</sup>

Another complaint was that the men were inexperienced to handle the attack. Of the men identified and records that can be found, just over 20 English had some experience as soldiers either on the field or in the garrison, which seems to uphold the comment. It is safe to assume that the friendly Indians were well versed in war. This would make less than half of all the Massachusetts force (and Black Point garrison recruits) known to have some military experience; the average age of the English soldier from Massachusetts was around 24. Richardson's death early on must have been a crushing blow for the friendly Indians and it is perhaps their unwillingness to leave the field that led to so many of their deaths. The men running from the field of battle only made circumstances worse in what would have been otherwise evenly matched armies.

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123. Letter from Edward Rawson, July 15, 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:171; "Hull Diary," *Archæologia Americana*, 3:243. Hubbard writes:

The Number they sent of English was a great deal too small, those that were chosen this Bout to take their Turns in the Service Abroad, were many of them young, raw, and unexperienced Soldiers, who were not able to look Danger, much less Death, in the Face, in cool Blood, by which Means it came to pass that the Enterprise succeeded so ill. . . . [Swett] began to try the Valor and Courage of the Company before he had disciplined them, or had any Experience of their Ability to fight. (Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:234–35.)

The letter from Massachusetts to Connecticut read in part:

Gent<sup>m</sup>. wee are not willing to say any thing th<sup>t</sup> may iustly greive or provoake, yet you well know the Proverb, Loosers ought to haue liberty given them to speake. The sad consequence of this yo<sup>r</sup> neglect is apparent, & wee doubt not but th<sup>t</sup> you haue already heard thereof by Publ. fame, being no less th<sup>n</sup> the loss of 100: men slayne & taken captive by the Enemy, besides the loss of great estates by sea aswell as by land, w<sup>h</sup> in an ordinary way had ben prevented had wee had yo<sup>r</sup> ayd & help according to notice given you. (David Pulsifer, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England* [Boston: William White, 1859], 2:462–64.)

## PEMAQUID, PEACE, AND FATE OF SQUANDO

Major Clarke, taking what men he could, left Black Point and made his way to Pemaquid, where he expected to find the New York soldiery. Upon arriving he was not disappointed by this assumption. Four New York ships lay off the coast. A rebuilt and well-armed fort lay before him. His own soldiers were a little over half of what greeted him. He related the story of the skirmish at Black Point to the commanders of the fort and presented the letter of the Governor and Council. Upon meeting the leaders of the fort, Clarke may have been surprised, if intelligence had not reached him in Boston already, that standing before him was Henry Jocelyn, Esq., late of Black Point and now Justice of the Peace and in the employ of the governor of New York. The communication between the envoy and the new residents was cordial and Major Clarke returned to Boston with a letter explaining the intentions of New York to make peace with the Indians thereabout. It was either this time or later in the weeks of negotiations that, adding insult to injury, Clarke's ship was destroyed at sea.<sup>124</sup>

The Indians throughout Maine were not a single fighting force and towards the end of the war, the eastern Indians about Pemaquid disowned any allegiance or alliance with Squando. These Indians felt ill used, betrayed, and mistreated but were involved with the early attacks on English settlers. Much of their grievances lay in the mistrust of Major Waldron of Cocheco. After the encounter at Black Point, they were disavowing any of the recent bloodshed, placing the bulk of the blame on Squando and the "damrallscogon" Indians. They said that Squando did not want peace. It was this mood that found them more willing to parley with New York and Massachusetts. By the middle of July, the commanders of Pemaquid had made peace with the Indians of the Kennebec. However, at that time "Squando would not consent to the peace, but vnd<sup>r</sup>standing the resolution of the other sachems aboute a conclusion of the peace . . . Imediatly falls vpon 7 or 8 captives & kills them. & flyes in his p<sup>r</sup>son to Canada."<sup>125</sup>

Massachusetts sent other envoys to Pemaquid to make peace with the Indians. Their expectations of the help of New York were great, including their requirement that before any peace was settled that the ketches stolen from Salem in July would be returned. After two weeks of negotiations, Captain Scottow exchanged

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124. When the news reached Increase Mather in Boston on 15 July, he wrote "The New York men are erecting a fort near Pemaquid they have pretended a Peace with the Indians who are our Enemies & send to us that we may be included therein if we please. A most humbling Providence in more respects than one." (*Diary of Increase Mather*, 48.) Clarke gave his government's letter to those in charge at Pemaquid on 3 July starting a correspondence between Boston and Pemaquid (Governor and Council to Anthony Brockholes, 10 July 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:185–86). It is unknown if Clarke ever personally returned as an envoy to Pemaquid. On 18 August it was reported that "Medockawando said that Major Clarkes Sloop was Lost, staved upon the Rocks . . ." ("Voyage to Pemmaquid").

125. Moxes et al. to the Governor, 1 July 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:177–79, 180.

prisoners and made peace with all of the Indians that August, including Squando. In April of the following year, another peace was made with Squando and other Indian leaders at Casco. From that time to his death, there was no recorded enmity between Squando and the English who dealt with him.<sup>126</sup>

Six years after the fight at Moore's Brook, Scottow wrote to Increase Mather about the fate of Squando, the Sagamore of Saco, the man who defeated the English at Moore's Brook:

In the latter end of the last year, (82) he left Sacho, & went to Casco, & from thence towards the French, p'tending his removall was because of disorder of drinking among the Indians, which he could not reforme. In the begining of last winter news was brought to vs that he had hung himself, being some time before dumpish & melancholique, he having formerly told the Indians, & allso did then tell his wife that God told him if he hung himself, he should the next day liue againe, & never should die more. Which God he said was the Englishman's God, & did appeare to him frequently, soe as he could see him when he would. He was a man of a grave & ponderous spirit, & much reformed in his course in abstinence from rum, strong drink, tobacco, plurality of wives, & gñally was a man of a courteous & civill conu'saçõ towards the English (except in times of war). He was a strict observer of the Saboth, from even to even, & gñally would not out in that day, & hath told myself & others that this course & reformaçõ of his was the effect of his vision of the English man's God's apping vnto him after a great fit of sicknes; who came to him as a Minister, in blacke clothes, & told him if he did soe as above he should be happy & goe upwards, but if he did not, he should goe downward & be miserable.<sup>127</sup>

Mather uses much of this letter to describe Squando but, unlike Scottow, cannot help himself to draw his own conclusions upon Squando's conversion:

Concerning Squando, the Sachem of the Indians at Saco, the story of him is upon sundry accounts remarkable. Many years ago, he was sick and near unto death, after which he said, that one pretending to be the Englishmans God appeared to him in the form of an English minister, and discoursed with him, requiring him to leave off his drinking of rum, and religiously to observe the Sabbath-day, and to deal justly amongst men, withal promising him that if he did so, then at death his soul should go upwards to an happy place; but if he did not obey these commandments, at death his soul should go downwards, and to be for ever miserable. But this pretended god said nothing to him about Jesus Christ. However, this apparition so wrought upon Squando, as that he left his drunkenness, and became a strict observer of the Sabbath-day; yea, so that he alwayes kept it as a day of fast, and would hear the English ministers preach, and was very just in his dealing. But in the time of the late Indian war, he was the principal actor in the bloody tragedies in that part of the countrey. The last year the pretended Englishmans God appeared to him again, as afore, in the form of a minister, requiring him to kill himself, and promising him that if he did obey, he

126. "Voyage to Pemmaquid"; Belknap, *History of New-Hampshire*, 1:82-83.

127. Joshua Scottow to Increase Mather, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 4th ser., 7:631.

should live again the next day, and never die more. Squando acquainted his wife and some other Indians with this new apparition; they most earnestly advised him not to follow the murderous counsel which the spectre had given. Nevertheless, he since hath hanged himself, and so is gone to his own place. This was the end of the man that disturbed the peace of New-England.<sup>128</sup>

[Correction to Part 1, p. 60, note 23: Thomas Burnham Jr. was a son of Thomas and Mary (Lawrence) Burnham; his mother was not Mary (Tuttle) Burnham as stated. For more information on the Burnham family, see Mary Walton Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines*, 2 vols. (n.p.: the author, 1931–43), 1:129. Appreciation is expressed to Martin E. Hollick for pointing out this error.]

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128. Increase Mather, *Remarkable Provinces Illustrative of the Earlier Days of American Colonisation* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1890), pp. 252–53.