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# The Expeditions

OF

CAPT. JOHN LOVEWELL,

AND

*His Encounters with the Indians;*

INCLUDING

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE PEQUAUKET BATTLE, WITH A  
HISTORY OF THAT TRIBE; AND A REPRINT OF  
REV. THOMAS SYMMES'S SERMON.

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By *FREDERIC KIDDER.*

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TO

EDWARD KIDDER, ESQUIRE,

**Of Wilmington, North Carolina,**

WHO, DURING A FOUR-YEARS' REIGN OF TERROR, WAS EVER TRUE TO HIS  
COUNTRY AND ITS FLAG,

*THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED*

**By his Affectionate Brother.**







## PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

**T**HIS, the first reprint of Mr. Kidder's edition of the famous New England classic LOVEWELL'S FIGHT, is also the only one in which the various errors of the text are corrected.

For this I am indebted to Mr. George W. Chamberlain, member of several Historical Societies, and author of various historical works, including the sketch of John Chamberlain, which he has allowed me to reprint as a necessary supplement to the "Fight" itself.

WILLIAM ABBATT.

NEW YORK, March, 1909.



## ORIGINAL PREFACE

**A**MONG the various conflicts with the Indians of New England, since the first settlement of the country, perhaps none has created a greater or more lasting sensation than "Captain Lovewell's fight" in 1725. Certainly, no event, from that time to the Revolution, had taken so strong a hold of the feelings of the people, or had so constantly been the theme of the fireside and of the soldier. It will be hard for the present generation, who have spent their youth in villages or cities, to realize the anxieties and feelings of the families who inhabited the frontier towns of our country at that period.

But there are lingering among us a few aged persons who well remember, that, in the days of their childhood, while the family were gathered for a winter evening around the ample hearths of that period, some old man told the story of the brave Captain Lovewell and his company, their successes and misfortunes, till it awakened such an intense interest in their breasts, that the listeners were almost carried back to the scene of the encounter, and started as the winter blast swept round the house, almost expecting to hear the whoops of the savage, and to see the forms of Paugus and his warriors. They can also call to mind how they have listened to hear their grandmothers sing one of the rude songs of that day, of which those heroes were the theme.

But the Battle of Bunker Hill, and the succeeding events of the Revolution, threw Captain Lovewell and Paugus into the shade, and they are now only to be heard of on the pages of history.

The earliest public notice of this battle was the preaching of an

appropriate discourse, on the 16th of May, only eight days after the event, and about four days after the first intelligence had reached Dunstable, by the Rev. Thomas Symmes at Bradford. No one from that town was in the expedition; but two of the company were from the adjoining town of Haverhill, and it is possible that these two may have heard the discourse. At any rate, they soon gave him an account of the engagement, which he wrote out, and it was attested by three of the survivors. This was published as a prefix to Mr. Symmes's sermon.

It had a most ready sale, the edition being soon exhausted, and a new one called for. It was revised with some additions and corrections, and a second edition issued, which found a great sale, and formed the basis of all subsequent accounts. It has been reprinted, at various times, with changes and various interpolations. But I have never been able to find, that any one has made any reliable additions to the earliest chronicler. Some dozen years ago, the writer commenced a search for additional details, and found, among the archives at our State House, the journal of Lovewell's second expedition, and the reports to the Governor and Council when the news of the disastrous battle of Pequauket came to Dunstable, and their orders thereon. A part of them were printed for preservation in the "Historical and Genealogical Register" for 1853. A desire has often been expressed, that further searches should be made, and, with Mr. Symmes's account and sermon, be embodied in a book that should embrace everything that could be found relative to the event, and those connected with it. These searches have been continued, at intervals, to the present time. The results have been equal to the anticipations; and the compiler thinks it will be difficult for any succeeding gleaner in this field to add anything of value to what is now much of it for the first time published. The present readers of history love details, and Pigwacket fight is one of those events that will be read with interest as long as the contests of Thermopyæ and Bunker Hill continue on the pages of history.

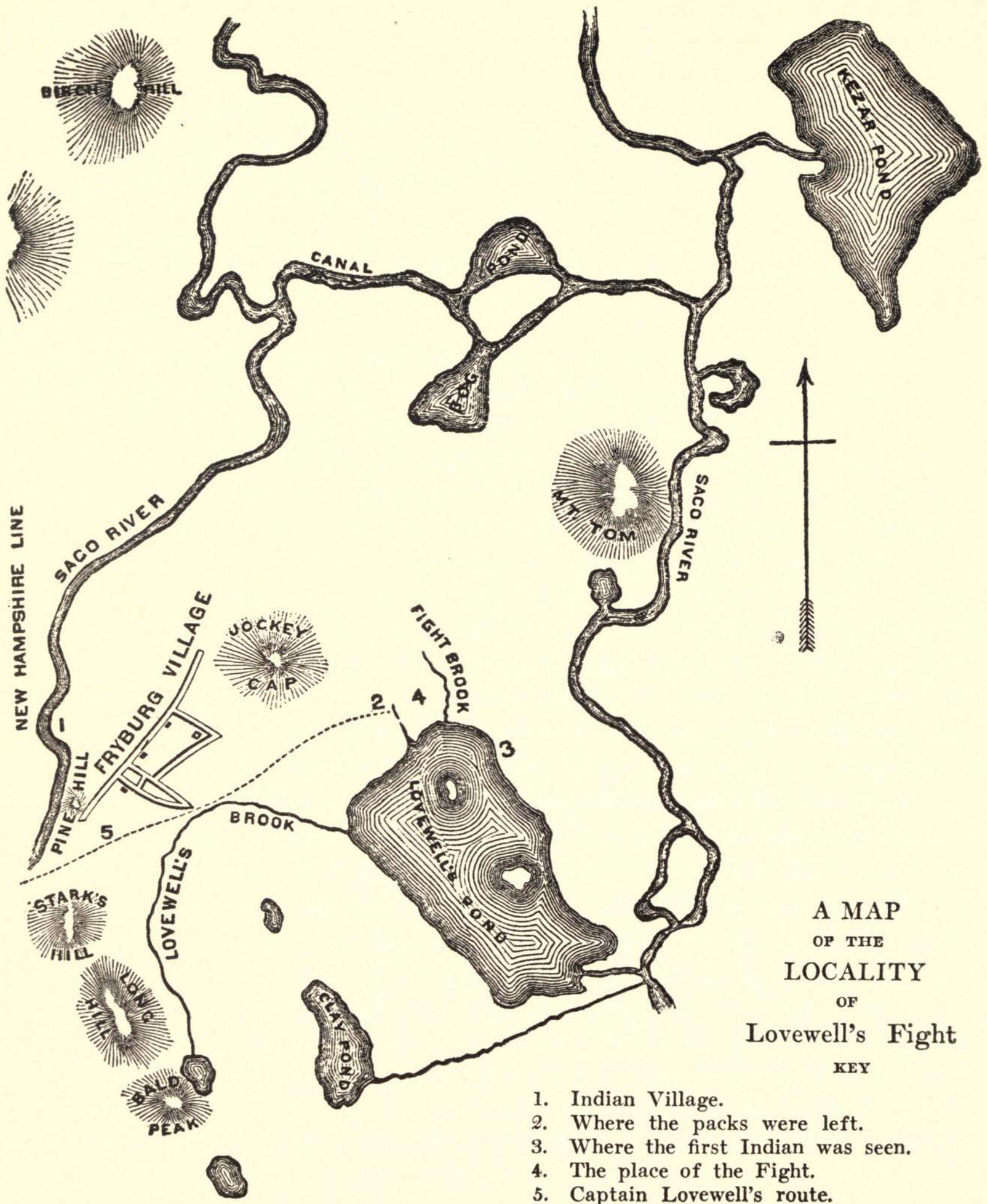
The accompanying map of the locality of the fight is copied

from that in Rev. Mr. Bouton's edition of "Lovewell's Great Fight," Concord, N. H., 1861.

In conclusion, the compiler trusts that the lovers of New-England history will look with favor on this attempt to give a thorough and truthful account of a very interesting episode in our border warfare.

F. K.

BOSTON, May, 1865.



A MAP  
 OF THE  
 LOCALITY  
 OF  
 Lovewell's Fight  
 KEY

1. Indian Village.
2. Where the packs were left.
3. Where the first Indian was seen.
4. The place of the Fight.
5. Captain Lovewell's route.

## EXPEDITIONS OF CAPTAIN LOVEWELL

CAUSES AND COMMENCEMENT OF LOVEWELL'S WAR, HIS PETITION TO THE GOVERNMENT, AND THEIR AUTHORITY TO RAISE A COMPANY OF VOLUNTEERS.

**T**HE peace of 1713, which closed what was called "Queen Anne's war," was received with joy throughout New England; but we can hardly now conceive the feeling of relief which that event gave to our frontier towns, where almost every man had been obliged to march against the enemy, or watch and ward to defend his own fireside. Nearly ten years of quiet had done much to restore the devastated places, and to invite the enterprising to new settlements. But the causes that had produced the previous wars were still at work to reproduce the same result; the Indians saw the advance of the pioneer settlers up the valley of the Merrimac with a feeling of irritation, and often remonstrated against it; but their rights had, ever since Philip's War, been more and more disregarded, till their claim to the land was hardly thought of.

About 1720, they commenced some depredations on the frontiers, more particularly in Maine, where many cattle were killed and buildings burned.

It was now generally believed that the French,\* at Quebec, and the Jesuit missionaries among the tribes, were instigating the Indians to begin a war; and Rasle, who for a long time had resided

\* Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, writing, in 1721, to his Government at home, names a tribe as Pegouakky (Pequauket). This letter, in New York Colonial History, proves that the French had done everything in their power to instigate the Indians to make war on our frontiers.

at Norridgewoc, on the upper part of the Kennebec, was believed to be the principal instigator. The Government of Massachusetts determined to arrest him; and, in the winter of 1722, Colonel Westbrook led a force to that place, but Rasle was not to be found, though in his strong-box they discovered letters from the governor of Canada, proving that the French were exasperating the Indians to attack our frontiers, and were supplying them with arms and munitions for that purpose.

In August, 1724, another expedition was sent against Norridgewoc. The town was surprised, the Jesuit and many of the Indians killed, and the chapel and its furniture destroyed.

Instead of this chastisement having the desired effect, it exasperated them beyond all bounds. It is now known that the governor of Canada made a representation to his king on the subject, asking for arms, ammunition, and blankets, to furnish these Indians to take revenge on our people. The greatest excitement and fear prevailed throughout the frontier towns; and an attack was made on Dunstable, and two men were captured, and carried to Canada. A party of ten, among whom was Josiah Farwell, went in pursuit of the enemy; but through some misunderstanding of the leaders, they were ambushed, and all except Farwell were massacred; their bodies, being afterwards found, were brought in and interred in one grave at Dunstable.

It was now felt that a general Indian war was inevitable, and that more energetic measures against the enemy were demanded. Heretofore the men to carry on these wars had been impressed from the various militia regiments; but now it was thought that volunteer companies could, by the offers of large bounties, be raised, who would carry the war into the enemy's country, and more effectually compel them to make peace. Accordingly, John Lovewell, Josiah Farwell, and Jonathan Robbins, three men of approved courage and skill in hunting and border-fighting, were induced to offer the following petition to the Legislature of Massachusetts for their approval:—



The Humble Memorial of John Lovel Josiah Farwell Jonathan Robins all of Dunstable—Showeth that your petitioners with forty or fifty others are inclinable to range and keep out in the woods for several months together in order to kill and destroy their Indian Enemy, provided they can meet with Incouragement suitable—And your petitioners are imployed and desired by many others that each soldier may be allowed five shillings per day in case they kill any enemy Indian & produce their scalps, they will employ themselves in Indian hunting one whole year, and if your honors shall thus see fit to encourage them or take up with their proposal they will proceed in ye s<sup>d</sup> service in case they have proper officers appointed to lead them & if they bring in any scalp they are willing and desirous to submit to what the Government shall see cause to give them (over and above their wages) as a reward for their service.

Nov., 1724.

*John Lovewell*

*Josiah Farwell  
Jonathan Robbins*

The above autographs were taken from the petition in the State archives.

The following is the action of the General Court on the memorial:—

Novr 17 1724. On the petition of John Lovewell Josiah Farwell and Jonathan Robbins all of Dunstable and others who are desirous of going out in quest of the Indians—

It was Voted That his Honor the L<sup>t</sup> Governor be desired to commission proper & suitable officers for this service (the number of men not to exceed fifty) and that they keep exact journals or accounts of the time they are out in the woods & where they go, as well as the time they may be at home or in towns fitting to go out again,

And that they may be allowed two shillings and sixpence per diem each, for the time they are actually out in service & the time of fitting out as aforesaid, they subsisting themselves, Provided that the time of their being out in this service shall be until the session of this Court in May next—And for their further encouragement they shall be entitled over and above the two shillings and sixpence per diem, the sum of one hundred pounds \* for each male scalp and the other premiums established by law to volunteers without pay or subsistence, And that the commission officers have the loan of a sufficient number of arms for the use of the Maquas [Mohawks], and other Indians who may be willing to enter and engage with them in service, the officers to be accountable for the arms they receive.

\* The currency at this period being about two and a half for one in sterling. According to "Felt's Massachusetts Currency," from 1724 to 1727, inclusive, silver was worth 17s. per ounce; so the pound was really worth only about \$1.36 in silver of our present decimal system, and a shilling about 7 cents. Indian corn was worth 4s. and wheat 8s. per bushel.

HIS FIRST MARCH INTO THE WILDERNESS AND RETURN. THE JOURNAL OF HIS SECOND CAMPAIGN, AND HIS RETURN TO BOSTON. RECRUITS A THIRD COMPANY, AND MARCHES FROM DUNSTABLE.

**W**ITH such encouragement, Lovewell soon raised a company, of which he was elected captain, Josiah Farwell, lieutenant, and Jonathan Robbins, ensign. Various expeditions had been set on foot before this from Dunstable and the neighboring towns, but they met with but poor success; and some of them returned without seeing a trace of the enemy, after long and fatiguing marches; which caused so much discouragement, that Lovewell could only raise thirty men instead of the "near forty or fifty others" that his petition speaks of. He must have displayed much energy to have collected that number, and have been out some days, when he had to send into Haverhill for supplies, as the annexed document informs us:—

HAVERTHILL Nov. 26, 1724

Pursuant to an order from his honor ye Lieut Governor to John White of Haverhill to supply Capt John Lovewell with bread of the Province stores, & now ye s<sup>d</sup> Lovewell being marching out with a company of volunteers against ye Indian enemy & he has appointed me Josiah Farwell of dunstable who am his Leut to receive ye s<sup>d</sup> bread & to meet him at Kingtown in order to march, I acknowledge I this day received of s<sup>d</sup> White four hundred & eighty-seven pound & one half of good bread for which I promise to be accountable for to Jeremiah Allen Esqr province treasurer & to pay for ye same as witness my hand

JOSIAH FARWELL, Leut.

They met with no enemy till the 19th of December, when, falling on a trail, they came to a wigwam, containing an Indian and boy; the former they killed, and the latter they took prisoner. Having now been out probably more than a month, and their supplies of food exhausted, they returned to Dunstable.

The following, extracted from the *Boston News Letter*, shows his arrival and reception by the officers of the Province Government:—

Jan'y 7, 1725 On tuesday last arrived Capt John Lovewell commander of a company of Volunteers in the pay of the Province & brought with him a scalp of an Indian man and a captive, a lad of about 15 years of age, who were taken by said company about 44 miles above Winnepisockee Pond upon the 19th of December last, for which good service, and for their further encouragement the Honorable the Lieut Governor and Council were pleased to give them fifty pounds over & above one hundred & fifty pounds allowed them by law.

Such success started up the Indian hunters in the region about Dunstable; and when it was known that Lovewell and his officers were about to start again in search of the "Indian enemy," there was no want of eager applicants for this service, and his company, made up largely of men from Groton, Lancaster, Billerica, and Haverhill, promptly came to Dunstable. We annex his journal, which gives in the briefest manner this successful campaign:—

JOURNAL OF CAPT. JOHN LOVEWELL and eighty-seven soldiers under his command in their march in quest of ye Indian enemy, by virtue of a commission from the Hon. Wm. Dummer, Esq., Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, &c.

Jan. 27, 1724[5], Groton and Lancaster men came to Dunstable.

28th, Haverhill and Billerica men came to Dunstable.

29th, we mustered and came over the river.

30th, we travelled up to Nantecuck which was five miles. 31st,

we travelled 10 miles encamped above Cohasset. Feb'y 1st, we travelled 10 miles and encamped about 3 miles above Amuskeeg.

2d, we travelled 15 miles and encamped at Penny Cook.

3d, we travelled 12 miles and encamped at Contoocook.

4th, we lay still and sent out Scouts.

5th, we travelled 8 miles towards Winnepeseocket, and encamped.

6th, we travelled 5 miles and encamped at The Lower Pond, below Winnepeseocket river.

7th, one of our men being cut very bad with an axe, we sent 6 men home with him, and travelled 8 miles that day. 8th, we lay still by reason of a storm of snow. 9th, we travelled 14 miles, & encamped at the N.W. corner of Winnepeseocket.

10th, we travelled 16 miles, & encamped at the north side of Cusumpe Pond. 11th, we travelled N. & by E. from said pond, & encamped and sent out scouts, and some of our scouts thought they discovered smokes, & others thought they heard guns. 12th, we lay still & sent out scouts, who discovered nothing.

13th, we lay still & sent out scouts, & for want of provisions thirty of our men went home.

14th, we travelled 10 miles towards the easterly part of the White Mountains, & encamped upon a branch of Saco River; sent out scouts, and killed a black moose that day.

15, we lay still & sent out scouts. 16th, we travelled 6 miles, & came upon the tracks of Indians, & we left 16 men with our packs, & the rest pursued the tracks till dark that night, and staid there all night, and on the 17th we followed their tracks till about 8 o'clock, & then we found where the Indians had lain twenty-four hours before, & we having no victuals, returned again to the 16 men we had left our packs with, & refreshed ourselves, & then we all pursued the remaining part of that day, & the night ensuing, 6 miles.

Feb. 18th, we travelled 20 miles & encamped at a great pond upon Saco River. 19th, we travelled 22 miles & encamped at a pond.

20th, we travelled about 5 miles, & came upon a wigwam that the Indians had lately gone from, & then we pursued their tracks 2 miles further, & discovered their smokes, and there tarried till about 2 o'clock in the morning, & then came upon their wigwams & killed ten Indian men, which were all that there were there, & not one escaped alive.

21st, we came 6 miles. 22d, we lay still to see if any would pursue & kept scouts on our back tracks. 23d, travelled 30 miles and came to Cochechea. 24th, we travelled to Oyster River, 6 miles. 25th, lay still, as our men were lame in their feet. 26th we marched down to Capt. Knights, at Newington, and 27, went on board a sloop to come to Boston, where we arrived the 9th current. Mar. 10th, 1724-5.

The following list of names is printed as it is found in the archives. It has just been seen by the "Journal," that the Company under Lovewell consisted of *eighty-seven* men, but this list is marked as consisting of but *sixty-two*.<sup>1</sup> It is supposed that this last number were all who continued in the expedition till its termination, or, all who had a right to be considered as participants in bounties accruing on account of services. In the History of Dunstable<sup>2</sup> is this note:—"The Report of the Committee upon the subject of the Grant" of land, now Pembroke, N. H., "says, that the whole number was 88, of whom 62 were in the second expedition, and 26 in the last as well as the second expedition." Thus a discrepancy is seen in the accounts, as to the numbers of men who went out. The following names accompanied the "Report," which was made in 1728, when the grant of land was made:

<sup>1</sup> [In answer to the Petitioners and others who were in Capt. Lovewell's Co. in the late action at Pigwackett, June 29, 1727, the reply was as follows: "The Committee having seen the muster roll of the within named Lovell and company finde that at the march to Pegwacket there were in all forty-seven men, three of which returned home sick and lame, and ten of them stayed at Ossapy to build a shelter for retreat. We also finde that on the march under the said Lovell when the ten Indians were killd, there were eighty-eight men, twenty-six of which were in the expedition to Pegwacket and that sixty-two of them did not go on the said march to Pegwacket." (*Mass. Archives*, Vol. 72, folio 369). It would be interesting to know the names of the 26 who served in both the second and the third expeditions but there appears to be no way to determine that point.]

<sup>2</sup> [*History of the Old Township of Dunstable including Nashua, Nashville, Hollis, Hudson, Litchfield and Merrimac, N. H., Dunstable and Tyngsborough, Mass.* By Charles J. Fox (1846)]

[Acco:] of Persons w<sup>n</sup> ye 10 Indians were killed —

Jn <sup>o</sup> White	Oliver Pollard
Sam: Tarbol	Sam <sup>ll</sup> Trull
Jer: Hunt	Ben <sup>a</sup> Parker
Eben Wright	Wm. [Spalden]
Jos: <sup>[h]</sup> Read	Sam <sup>ll</sup> Fletcher
Sam Moor	Jn <sup>o</sup> Duncom
Phin Foster	Jethro Ames
Fr. <sup>a</sup> [Dogen]	John Sawyer
S Hilton	Moses Chandler
Jn <sup>o</sup> Pollard	Josep[h] Wilson
Ben Walker	Jon <sup>a</sup> Parks
Jos Wright	Joshua Webster
Jn <sup>o</sup> Varnum	Sam <sup>ll</sup> Johnson
Robt Ford	Steph Murrill
Ben Parker	Jacob Pearly
Sam Shattock	John Hazzen
Jacob Ames	Eb: Brown
Jn <sup>o</sup> Stephens	Jon <sup>a</sup> Ferren
Jos: Wheelock	Sam Stickney
Sam Sawyer	Joshua Hutchins
[Ezr <sup>a</sup> Sawyer]	Benony Boynton
[Jon. <sup>a</sup> ] Houghton	Eph Farnsworth
[James Houghton]	Ruben Farnsworth
Hen. <sup>ry</sup> Willard	Tho <sup>s</sup> Farmer
Jacob Gates	Rich Hall
Joseph Whitcomb	Neh: Robinson
Sam <sup>ll</sup> Learned	Jon <sup>a</sup> Parks
Rob <sup>t</sup> Phelps	Caleb [Dolton]
Moses Graves	62.
Moses Hazzen	
John Levingston	
Jerem <sup>h</sup> Pearly	
Wm Hutchins	
Jacob Cory	

[At killing the ten Indians *Lovell & White* 88:]  
 The list of 62 w<sup>n</sup> ye ten Indians were killd.  
 [Mass. Archives. Vo., 72, folio 368.]

The pond where this exploit was performed is at the head of a branch of the Salmon-Falls River, and is now in the town of Wakefield<sup>3</sup>, N. H. The Indians were, no doubt, just from Canada, and were on their way to fall upon some of the frontier settlements. Penhallow says<sup>4</sup>, "Their arms were so new and good that most of them sold for seven pounds apiece; and each of them had two blankets, with a great many moccasins, which were supposed to be for the supply of captives that they expected to have taken. The plunder was but a few skins; but, during the march, our men were well entertained with moose, bear, and deer, together with salmon-trout, some of which were three feet long, and weighed twelve pound apiece."

It must have been a day of excitement when this brave company marched through the streets of Boston; and this display must have contributed much to the reputation of Lovewell and his officers<sup>5</sup>. And those who then saw them must have felt their subsequent misfortunes with a keener regret, from the fact that they had been familiar with their persons.

It will be seen by his journal, that Captain Lovewell was in Boston the 10th of March, 1724-25, where he was probably detained some days to settle the affairs of the campaign, and obtain the bounty, and pay off his men.

Encouraged by his success, and determined to attack the Indians in their own homes, he did not desire much time for rest, but immediately commenced recruiting another company; and although he had the same lieutenant and ensign, not another man of his late command joined him. It is likely that they returned

<sup>3</sup> [Lovell's Pond in the southern part of Wakefield perpetuates the name of the intrepid leader in the locality where the ten Indians were killed on Feb. 20, 1724-5.]

<sup>4</sup> [Penhallow's *THE History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians*. (1726) p. 108.]

<sup>5</sup> [The *Boston News-Letter* gives the following account of the return of Capt. Lovewell and his company from their second expedition: "On Tuesday last Capt. Lovewell brought in here the Ten Indian Scalps referr'd to in our Last, and produced them before the Honourable the Lieutenant Governour and Council, and having made Oath according to Law, received a Thousand Pounds Reward out of the Publick Treasury, for himself and Company. (*The Boston News-Letter*, From Thursday March 4 to Thursday March 11, 1725). The issue of the preceding week is not preserved in the files of the Boston Public Library.]



much fatigued, or that their services were required on their farms, as the season for planting was approaching.

The following, addressed to the governor, shows that he had again taken the field. It may have been his last communication to any one; at least we hear nothing more of him and his company till the sad news of the battle came to Dunstable:—

DUNSTABLE, April ye 15, 1725.

SIR This is to inform you that I march from Dunstable with between forty or fifty men on the day abovementioned & I should have marched sooner if the weather had not prevented me. Nomore at present but I remain your humble servt.

JOHN LOVEWELL.

[*Mass. Archives*, Vol. 52, folio 146.]

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

### REV. THOMAS SYMMES

**T**HE Rev. Thomas Symmes was the son of Rev. Zechariah Symmes, the first minister of Bradford, and grandson of the Rev. Zechariah, the second minister of Charlestown. He was born Feb. 1, 1678; graduated at Harvard College, 1698; was ordained the first minister of Boxford, 1702. He was dismissed from Boxford after the death of his father, and succeeded him at Bradford. He was a man of much learning,—very active with his pen. Several of his productions were printed; one of which, under the title of the "*Joco-Serious Dialogue*," was written in a lively and amusing style. He tells us, on the title page, that it is "calculated for a particular town (where it was publicly had on Friday, October 12, 1722), but may serve for other places in the same climate." It is a tract of upwards of fifty pages, which, he informs us, he wrote in a single day, excepting a few quotations which he afterwards added. It was caused by the opposition to a change in the mode of singing, which was about this time taking place in many of the churches.

He preached the Artillery Election Sermon, in 1720, which was printed. It was entitled, "Good Soldiers Described and Animated." The same year he published a small pamphlet on regular singing, and some other works. His manners were earnest and enthusiastic; and he always seemed desirous of doing good, either in private or public.

But the most enduring of Mr. Symmes's works is that reprinted in this volume, which contains a sermon on the "Pigwacket" fight, with an historical account of the event.

The fight took place on [Saturday], the 8th of May, 1725; and the man who ran away, and the nine who were left in the fort, arrived at Dunstable on the night of the 11th: but Keyes, who was in the fight, got in on the 13th, while most of the others only arrived on the 15th; and yet Mr. Symmes preached his sermon only one week from the time it occurred. This shows that he must have been of a most active mind, and ready to take advantage of any event as soon as it happened. It is probable that it was soon printed, and the edition exhausted, as a second edition was published during that summer. His historical account was extended and improved in the second edition, which has been repeatedly reprinted, but not improved. In many cases it has been altered, and traditionary stories of uncertain authority interpolated. It was reprinted at Fryeburg, near the locality where the fight occurred, as early as 1799, and at Portland, in 1818; and has since made a chapter of several town-histories, with many variations. How little could this old chronicler have anticipated the fame his brief account would give to Lovewell and his associates, and also confer on himself! It is curious to read his apology for making his account so minute, when now we wish he had given us more particular details. He did not long survive his second edition, as he died October 6th, 1725, in the 48th year of his age.

He was thrice married: first to Elizabeth Blowers, of Cambridge. By her he had "seven very hopeful and desirable children," one of whom died young. The other six, four sons and two daughters, were living in 1726. Mrs. Symmes died April 6, 1714. He married, in 1715, a second wife, Hannah, daughter of Rev. John Pike of Dover, by whom he had two "very desirable daughters." She died February 8, 1719; and he married, thirdly, June 19, 1721, Mrs. Eleanor Moody, of Dedham, who survived him. His son, Timothy who emigrated to New Jersey, had two sons, one of whom, John Cleves Symmes, was well known as a prominent pioneer in the settlement of Ohio.<sup>6</sup>

The *Boston News Letter*, of October 14, 1725, contains a long obituary of Mr. Symmes, from which is extracted some facts:

<sup>6</sup> He was the author of the famous theory of "Symmes' Hole."

His death was sudden and unexpected ; for, though his distemper was chronic, he had so much spirit to sustain his infirmities that he complained not much till a little before his death. About three weeks before, being called to preach at a fast in Newbury, on account of the sickness prevailing there, he found himself very much indisposed, with a great pain in his breast. The next sabbath, at evening, he was taken with bleeding at the nose; and again, on Tuesday morning, he bled for about two hours, but held up till next sabbath, and performed public service of that day, but very faint. The next Tuesday night he fell a bleeding again, which continued without intermission about twenty-six hours, from which time he languished a week longer, and died.

He was descended from a line of venerable ancestors, employed in the same sacred office as himself, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were famous ministers of the gospel.

He was a goodly person, of a vivid and comely countenance, of a strong and sanguine constitution, of a very sprightly genius, a cheerful and quick temper, which, being sanctified, made him the more ready for every good work.

AN  
*Historical* PREFACE,  
OR  
*Memoirs* of the BATTLE,  
at *Piggwacket*.

**W**HEN Joshua with his chosen soldiers, had discomfited Amalek, and his people, with the edge of the sword; (while Moses with the Rod of God in his up-lifted hands, supported by Aaron and Hur, made intercession to the God of Armies, on the top of the hill) the Lord said to Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua, Exod. XVII. 14. For this would be an unspeakable encouragement to that renowned General, in his wars with the aborigines of Canaan.

Now from this story we learn not only, that if Israel would prevail against her enemies, they should all, but their magistrates and ministers especially lift up and keep up, the hand of prayer:<sup>1</sup> But also that the remarkable preservation and success of soldiers in fighting the Lord's battles are very proper to be commemorated, for the honour of God, and encouragement of his servants in future expeditions, and military actions.

In consideration hereof, I've the more easily comply'd with the

<sup>1</sup>Agreeable to which upon intelligence of great numbers of *Indians* coming down on the frontiers, and the March of several of our companies in search of 'em at the motion of his honor the Lieutenant Governor and the Ministers of *Boston*, the public Lecture there on April 29 was turned into a Day of Prayer, which was but Nine Days before the fight at Piggwacket: The success whereof should therefore be Ascribed with Thankfulness and Praise to GOD as a Gracious Answer of the humble Prayers of his People and improved as their farther Encouragement.

request of some of the publishers of the ensuing sermon, that it might be accompany'd with a narrative of the memorable occasion of it.

And, tho' I at first propos'd only to reprint the relation of this action, given us in the public newspapers; yet having been favour'd with a more particular account from the valorous Capt. Wyman, and some others of good credit that were in the engagement; I hope it will not be unacceptable to any, and I am sure it will be very grateful to some; to have the story publish'd with some enlargements. And particularly to make a public record of the names of those couragious soldiers, who have so nobly play'd the man for their country; several of whom have been grievously wounded, and others have died in the field of battle, or of the wounds they there receiv'd: All of whose names I am perswaded the greatest part of the country will allow, deserve to be transmitted unenvi'd to posterity, with very bright encomiums.

'Twas then, about the 16th of April, 1725, that the brave Lovewell<sup>2</sup> began his march from Dunstable for Piggwacket, with forty-six<sup>3</sup> men under his command.

When they'd travell'd a little way, Toby,<sup>4</sup> an Indian falling lame, was oblig'd to return, with great reluctancy.

When they came as far as Contoocook, one Wm. Cummins of Dunstable, was so disabl'd by a wound he'd receiv'd from the Enemy some time before, that the Captain dismiss'd him, with a kinsman of his to accompany him.

Then they travell'd as far as Ossipy,<sup>5</sup> and there one Benjamin Kidder of Nutfield falling sick; the Capt. made a halt, and tarried while they built a small fortification, for a place of refuge

<sup>2</sup> See notes at end of sermon.

<sup>3</sup> Penhallow says he had with him forty-four men; but he did not include the two who returned. In the grant of land, it will be seen the number is given at forty-seven. That committee had the roll before them. It is not likely that Toby, the Mohawk's name, was included in either number.

<sup>4</sup> Toby was no doubt one of the Mohawks; for a particular account of, see p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Ossipee.

to repair to, if there should be occasion. Here he left his doctor,<sup>6</sup> a Serjent and seven other men, to take care of Kidder, and of a considerable quantity of provision here left to lighten the men, and facilitate their march; and for a recruit upon their return.

With his company now reduc'd to thirty-four men with himself, the Capt. travell'd to Pigwacket, which is about forty miles from said fort.<sup>7</sup>

Their names that made up this company (excepting his<sup>8</sup> that started from them in the beginning of the battle, and ran back to the fort, which I'd be excus'd from mentioning) were as follow:

Capt. <i>John Lovewell,</i>	} of Dunstable.
Lieut. <i>Josiah Farwell,</i>	
Lieut. <i>Jonathan Robbins,</i>	
Ensign <i>John Harwood,</i>	
Serjent <i>Noah Johnson,</i>	
<i>Robert Usher,</i> <i>Samuel Whiting.</i>	
Ensign <i>Seth Wyman,</i>	} of Woburn.
Corpo. <i>Thomas Richardson,</i>	
<i>Timothy Richardson,</i>	
<i>Ichabod Johnson,</i> <i>Josiah Johnson,</i>	

<sup>6</sup> Potter, in his "History of Manchester," to which work I am indebted for many facts, gives the following as the names of the men left in the fort: Nathaniel Woods of Dunstable, sergeant; Dr. William Ayer of Haverhill, Benjamin Kidder and John Goffe of Nutfield, John Gilson of Groton, Isaac and Zachariah Whitney of Concord, Zebediah Asten of Haverhill, Edward Spooner and Ebenezer Hulbert of Dunstable.

<sup>7</sup> FORT IN OSSIPPEE.—On the farm of Daniel Smith, Esq., of Ossipee, now [about 1860] eighty-eight years of age, may be seen the remains of the fort built by Lovewell and his company in 1725. It is situated near the west shore of Ossipee Lake, in an extensive meadow containing about two hundred acres. The outline can be very clearly traced. Probably, when built, it was palisaded, or a stockade fort. Its eastern face fronted the lake, and was situated on a ridge or bank, which extended from the river southward. At the north and south ends of the fort, considerable excavations of earth were made, resembling cellars in size and appearance. The ditch in which the palisades were set can be traced round the whole tract which the fort contained. The excavation at the north end of the fort is much the largest. This almost reaches the river, whence probably they obtained their supply of water. The ground, which, some forty years ago, was overgrown with trees and bushes is now cleared and cultivated. But the locality of the fort cannot be mistaken.—*Rev. Mr. Bouton's account.*

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Hassell. See biographical account, etc.

*Eleazar Davis,*  
*Josiah Davis,*  
*Josiah Jones,*  
*David Melvin,*  
*Eleazar Melvin,*  
*Jacob Farrah,*  
*Joseph Farrah,*

} of Concord.

Mr. *Jonathan Frie, Chaplain,* of Andover.  
 Serjent *Jacob Fullam,* of Weston,  
 Corporal *Edward Lingfield,* of Nutfield,

*Jonathan Kittridge,*  
*Solomon Kies,*

} of Billerica.

*John Jefts,*  
*Daniel Woods,*  
*Thomas Woods*  
*John Chamberlain,*  
*Elias Barron,*  
*Isaac Lakin,*  
*Joseph Gilson,*

} of Groton.

*Ebenezer Ayer,*  
*Abiel Astin,*<sup>9</sup>

} of Haverhill.

From the Thursday before the battle, the company were apprehensive they were discover'd and dog'd by the enemy: And on Friday night the watch heard the Indians<sup>10</sup> about the camp and alarm'd the company, but it being very dark, they could make no further discovery.

<sup>9</sup> [These 33 persons were in the battle on May 8. Besides these, 13 other persons marched with the company on April 25 for Pigwacket. They were Sergt. Nathaniel Woods, William Cummings, Edward Spooney, Ebenezer Hulbert, Benjamin Hassell and Toby, an Indian, all of Dunstable; Isaac Whitney and Zachariah Whitney, both of Concord, Mass.; Benjamin Kidder and John Goffe, both of Nutfield, N. H.; John Gilson of Groton, and Zebediah Asten and Dr. William Ayer, both of Haverhill.]

<sup>10</sup> These could not have been Indians, but were some wild animals,—perhaps wolves.



Saturday, the eighth of May, while they were at prayers, very early in the morning, they heard a gun; and sometime after spy'd an Indian on a point that ran into Saco Pond.

They now concluded that the design of the gun, & of the Indian's discovering himself, was to draw them that way: And expecting without fail to be attack'd; it was now proposed whether it were prudent to venture an engagement with the enemy, (who they perceiv'd were now sufficiently alarm'd) or, endeavour a speedy retreat. The men generally and boldly answered, "We came out to meet the enemy; we have all along pray'd God we might find 'em; and we had rather trust Providence with our lives, yea dy for our country, than try to Return without seeing them, if we may, and be called cowards for our pains."

The Captain readily comply'd to lead them on, though not without manifesting some apprehensions; and (supposing the enemy were ahead of 'em, when as it prov'd, they were in the rear) ordered the men to lay down their packs, & march with greatest caution, and in utmost readiness.

When they'd march'd about a mile and a half, or two miles, Ensign Wyman spy'd an<sup>11</sup> Indian coming toward them, whereupon he gave a sign, and they all squat, and let him come on: presently several guns were fir'd at him; upon which the Indian fir'd upon Captain Lovewell with Bever-shot and wounded him mortally (as is supposed) tho' he made little complaint, and was still able to travel, and at the same time wounded Mr. Samuel Whiting: Immediately Wyman fir'd at the Indian and kill'd him; and Mr. Frie and another scalp'd him.

They then march'd back toward their packs, (which the enemy in the mean while had seiz'd) and about ten a clock, when they came pretty near where they'd laid 'em, on the northeast end of Saco Pond, in a plain place, where there were few trees and scarce any brush; the Indians rose up in front and rear, in two parties,

<sup>11</sup> Governor Hutchinson, in his history of Massachusetts, has ranked this Indian with the Roman Curtius, who devoted himself to death to save his country. Dr. Belknap, who visited the spot in 1784, thinks there is no foundation for the idea that he was placed there as a decoy; and that he had no claim to the character of a hero.

and ran towards the English three or four deep, with their guns presented: and the English also presented in a moment and ran to meet them; and when they came within a few yards, they fir'd on both sides, and the Indians fell amain, but the English (most, if not all) 'scap'd the first shot, and drove the Indians several rods, both sides firing three or four rounds. But the Indians being more than double in number to our men, & having soon kill'd Captain Lovewell, Mr. Fullam (only son of Major Fullam of Weston,) Ensign Harwood, John Jefts, Jonathan Kittridge, Daniel Woods, Ichabod Johnson, Thomas Woods and Josiah Davis, and wounded Lieutenant Farwell, Lieutenant Robbins and Robert Usher, in the place where the fight began and striving to surround the rest, the word was given, to retreat to the Pond, which was done with a great deal of good conduct, and prov'd a vast service to the English (in covering their rear,) tho' the Indians got the ground where our dead lay.

The fight continu'd very furious and obstinate, till towards night. The Indians roaring and yelling and howling like wolves, barking like dogs, and making all sorts of hideous noises: the English frequently shouting and huzzaing, as they did after the first round. At one time, Captain Wyman is confident, they were got to Powawing, by their striking on the ground, and other odd motions, but at length Wyman crept up toward 'em and firing among 'em, shot the Chief Powaw and brake up their meeting.

Some of the Indians holding up ropes, ask'd the English if they'd take quarter, but were answer'd briskly, they'd have none but at the muzzle of their guns.

About the middle of the afternoon, the ingenious Mr. Jonathan Frie, only son of Captain James Frie of Andover, a young gentleman of a liberal education, and who was chaplain to the company, and greatly belov'd by them, for his excellent performances and good behaviour, and who fought with undaunted courage till that time o' day, was mortally wounded. But when he could fight no longer, he pray'd audibly several times, for the preservation and success of the residue of the company.

'Twas after sunset when the enemy drew off, and left our men the field: and it's suppos'd not above twenty of the enemy went off well. About midnight the English got together, and found Jacob Farrah, just expiring by the pond, and Lieutenant Robbins and Usher unable to travel. Lieutenant Robbins desir'd they'd charge his gun and leave it with him, (which they did) for says he, The Indians will come in the morning to scalp me, and I'll kill one more of 'em if I can. Eleven more that were wounded, who were Lieut. Farwell, Mr. Frie, Serjent Johnson, Timothy Richardson, Josiah Johnson, Somuel Whiting, Elias Barron, John Chamberlain, Isaac Larkin, Eleazar Davis, and Josiah Jones, march'd off the ground, with the nine that received no considerable wound, who were Ensign Wyman, Edward Lingfield, Thomas Richardson, two Melvins, Ebenezar Ayer, Abiel Astin, Joseph Farrah and Joseph Gilson, who did not perceive they were way-laid or pursued by the enemy, tho' they knew our men had no provision, and must needs be very faint. Four of the wounded men, viz. Farwell, Frie, Davis and Jones, after they'd travell'd about a mile and half, found themselves unable to go any further, and with their free consent, the rest, hoping for a recruit at the fort, and to come back with fresh hands to relieve them, kept on their march. But one morning as they were passing a thick wood, they divided into three companies for fear of making a track, by which the enemy might follow them. One of the companies came upon three Indians, who pursu'd 'em some time; and Elias Barron, one of that party, strayed from the rest and got over Ossipy River, by the side of which his gun case was found, & he has n'er been heard of since.

Eleven in another party recover'd the fort, and to their great surprize, found it deserted. For in the beginning of the battle the man that I promised not to name, ran directly to the fort, and gave the men posted there such an account of what had happen'd, that they all made the best of their way home. There came in also to the fort, one Solomon Kies, who having fought till he'd receiv'd three wounds, and lost so much blood he cou'd not stand, he crawl'd to Ensign Wyman in the heat of the battle, & told

him "He was a dead man; but, (says he) if it be possible, I'll get out of the way of the Indians, that they mayn't get my scalp." This Kies providentially found a canoe in the pond, and roll'd himself into it, & was driven by the wind some miles toward the fort, when being wonderfully strengthen'd, he got to the fort as soon as the eleven aforesaid: & they all came in to Dunstable, May 13th, at night. O that men would praise the Lord for His goodness, and for his wonderful works toward the children of men.

May 15th came in at Dunstable four more of our soldiers, whereof Ensign Wyman was one; who says, "They'd no sort of food from Saturday morning till Wednesday following, and yet scarce felt at all hunger-bitten. They then caught two mouse-squirrels, which they roasted whole, & found them a sweet morsel. Afterward they kill'd some partridges and other game, & were comfortably supply'd till they got home.

Eleazar Davis came in at Berwick, & reports, (as I'm inform'd) that he and the other three men left with him, when they'd waited some days for the return of the men from the fort, & at length, despair'd of their coming, tho' their wounds stank & were corrupt, & they were ready to Dy with famine; yet they all travell'd several miles together, till Mr. Frie desired Davis & Farwell not to hinder themselves any longer for his sake, for that he found himself dying, & so lay down, telling them "He should never rise more: charging Davis if it should please God to bring him home, to go to his father, & tell him, that he expected in a few hours to be in eternity; and that he was not afraid to dy." Whereupon they left him; and this hopeful gentleman Mr. Frie, who had the journal of the march in his pocket, has not been heard of since.

Lieutenant Farwell, who has been very much & no doubt deservedly applauded, was also left by Davis at a few miles distance from the fort & not heard of since. But Davis getting to the fort and finding provision there, tarried and refreshed himself and recover'd strength to travel to the place mention'd. Josiah Jones another of the four, came in at Saco.

Since the action, Col. Tyng with a company, have been on the spot, and found and buried twelve of our men. They also found where the Indians had buried three of their men, and when they were dug up, one of them was known to be the bold PAUGUS, who has been such a scourge to Dunstable; but if he be gone to his own place, he'll cease from troubling.<sup>12</sup>

His Honour, our Excellent Lieutenant Governour, has been pleas'd to give Ensign Seth Wyman, a Captains commission, since his return, as a reward for his valour. And it's much to be desired, that he, and all that are return'd from Piggwacket, to their own houses, will consider and show what great things God has done for them. And that they and all our brave soldiers, will still take for their motto, when going forth to war, the inscription made by Moses on his altar of gratitude, after the defeat of Amalek, Jehovah-nissi, *The Lord is my Banner*.

But thus I've related the story of the action at Piggwacket, according to the best information I cou'd obtain; and hope there are no material, I'm sure, there are no willing or careless mistakes in it.

And I've only to add,

That whoever considers the distance our people were at from any English settlement, in a howling wilderness and very far in the enemies country, who were at home, & more than double the number of our men; their fighting from morning to night in a long, hot day, without any refreshment; the number kill'd and wounded, amongst whom were some, that were persons of distinction on both sides; will doubtless grant that this action merits a room in the history of our New-English wars, whenever a continuance of it shall be publish'd. If any judge I've observ'd some circumstances in this action too minute, I've only to say, if some such persons or their Relations had been in the action, it's

<sup>12</sup> [We have Advice here, That a Company of Men under the command of Col. Tyng have been upon the Spot at Pigwacket, where the late Fight happen'd and found Three of the Indians buried: One of which was known by several particular Marks to be PAUGUS; and by the Blood they saw on the Ground, and other Circumstances, judge the Loss of the Enemy very great, and that the rest of their Dead they carry'd off in Canoes"]  
—*The Boston News-Letter*, From Thursday June 3 to Thursday, June 20, 1725.]

possible they would not have been of this opinion. However, those who I am firstly oblig'd to gratify, won't easily come into their sentiments in this matter. And I must beg of the others to forgive me this wrong, and that they'd only consider, the different taste of readers, & consequently the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility of pleasing everybody, in a performance of this nature. And yet none would be more willing to do it, than the unworthy author, who is a hearty lover of his country, and of all good men of every denomination.

T. SYMMES.

AN ATTESTATION.

*We, whose names are hereunto subscrib'd, having had the preceding narrative carefully read to us (tho' we can't each of us, indeed, attest to every particular article & circumstance in it, yet we can and do aver that the substance of it is true; and are well satisfy'd in the truth of the whole.*

SETH WYMAN.  
EBENEZER AYER.  
ABIEL ASTEN.

'The names of the men kill'd at the fight at Piggwacket, and of the wounded lost by the way returning homewards:

I. Kill'd and left on the Spot.

1.	Capt. <i>John Lovewell, of</i>	Dunstable.	} These 12 found & Buried by Col. <i>Tyng</i> in the Field of Battle.
2.	Ensign <i>Jonathan Robbins,</i>	Ditto	
3.	Ensign <i>Jonathan Harwood,</i>	Ditto	
4.	Mr. <i>Robert Usher,</i>	Ditto	
5.	Mr. <i>Jacob Fullam,</i>	Weston.	
6.	Mr. <i>Jacob Farrah,</i>	Concord.	
7.	Mr. <i>Josiah Davis,</i>	Ditto	
8.	Mr. <i>Thomas Woods,</i>	Groton.	
9.	Mr. <i>Daniel Woods,</i>	Ditto	
10.	Mr. <i>John Jefts,</i>	Ditto	
11.	Mr. <i>Ichabod Johnson,</i>	Woburn.	
12.	Mr. <i>Jonathan Kitteridge,</i>	Billerica.	

## II. Wounded, and Lost by the way.

1. Lieut. *Josiah Farwell* of Dunstable.
2. Mr. *Jonathan Frie*, Chaplain, Andover.
3. Mr. *Elias Barron*, Groton<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> [The following account appeared in *The Boston News-Letter* from Thursday May 13 to Thursday May 20, 1725:

“Upon Saturday Morning the 8th. Instant Capt. Lovewell and his Company, consisting of Thirty-three Men, at Pigwocket discover'd an Indian on the side of a Pond, whom they killed and Scalp'd, and having marched about Two Miles, about 10 a Clock in the Forenoon, the Indians fired upon them (from an Ambushment) both in Front and Rear: Whereupon the English ran in and fired upon them, and the Indians (who they reckoned at least double their Number) endeavour'd to encompass them: The English made a regular Retreat to a Pond about 20 Rods distance, in order to have their Rear cover'd, and continued the Fight 'till Night, maintaining their Ground and driving off the Enemy, several of whom they saw fall, and their Bodies drawn off by their Companions; The English fired 14 or 16 rounds and 'tis suppos'd that 20 or 30 of the Enemy were kill'd. Capt. Lovewell and Ensign Robins were mortally wounded by the Indians first shot from their Ambushments, who notwithstanding (supporting themselves by such Trees as they could lay hold of) had their Guns in their hands, Lovewell's being Cock'd and Presented when he was past Speaking. Twenty-one of our Men were together at Night after the Indians drew off, Ten of which were wounded and Four dangerously. Twelve of the said Twenty-one are return'd to Dunstable and London-derry, and we hope Five more to some of the Towns on Piscataqua River. The Loss of so Brave and Discreet an Officer as Capt. Lovewell is much Lamented.”

The next week in *The Boston News-Letter*, From Thursday May 20 to Thursday May 27, 1725, appeared the following account:

“Having obtained a more particular and certain account (by Lieut. Wyman and others who were in the late Fight between Capt. Lovewell's Company and the Enemy Indians at (Pigwocket) than we gave in our last, 'tis thought good now to insert it, which is as follows:

Early on Saturday Morning, the 8th Instant, the English discover'd an Indian on a Neck of Land which runs into a Pond, and by his Actions judg'd there were a considerable Number of Indians near the Pond, and that he was set on purpose to draw the English upon the Neck: They therefore laid down their Packs (that they might be ready to receive the Enemy's Attacks) when they had about two Miles to Travel round the Pond, to come at the Indian upon the Neck. When they came within Gun-shot of him, he fir'd one Gun, and slightly wounded Capt. Lovewell and one of his Men with Beaver Shot. Several of the English immediately fir'd upon him, kill'd and scalp'd him; and returning to the place where they left their Packs, before they could reach it, one of the English discover'd an Indian, and calling out to the rest, the Indians rose up from their Ambush, shouted and fir'd as did the English at the same Instant. The Indians were reckon'd at least 80 in number, and Capt. Lovewell's Company consisted of but 34, nine men and the Doctor being left about 50 miles distant with a sick Man. After the first Fire, the Indians advanc'd with great Fury towards the English, with their Hatchets in their Hands, the English likewise running up to them, till they came within 4 or 5 Yards of the Enemy, and were even mix'd among them, when the Dispute growing too warm for the Indians, they gave back, and endeavour'd to encompass the English, who then retreated to the Pond, in order to have their Rear cover'd, where they continu'd the Fight till Night. During the Fight the Indians call'd to them to take Quarter, but were answer'd that they

would have it with the Muzzles of their Guns. About two Hours before Night the Indians drew off, and presently came on again; and their Shout then compar'd with the first, it was thought half their Number at Least were kill'd and wounded. Of the chief among the English, Capt. Lovewell, Lieut. Fairwell, and Ensign Robins, were Mortally wounded at the beginning of the Fight and Mr. Fry, their Chaplain, in about Five Hours after, having fought with undaunted Courage, and scalp'd one of the Indians in the Heat of the Engagement. Eight of the English dy'd on the Spot, and 9 were wounded, 4 of which Number were just expiring when they came away at Night, and the rest they brought off several Miles, but were oblig'd to leave them with what Provisions they had, when they were unable to travel with them. Sixteen of our Men are return'd, tho' they had no Provision but what they caught in the Woods, the Indians having got all their Packs before the Fight. 'Tis thought that not above 20 of the Indians went off well at Night: But tho' we cannot have a certain Account of the Loss, yet it is evident that it was very great, and they were afraid of another Engagement; for tho' our men staid several Hours after the Fight, and the Indians knew they had no Provision, yet they neither endeavour'd to keep them there, nor way-laid them in their Return Home. His Honour the Lieut. Governour has been pleas'd to grant a Captain's Commission to Lieut. Wyman who distinguish'd himself with great Courage and Conduct during the whole Engagement."







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