Maj. John Pitcairn.

By whose order the opening volley of the American Revolution was fired.

THE BATTLE OF APRIL 19, 1775

IN

LEXINGTON, CONCORD, LINCOLN ARLINGTON, CAMBRIDGE SOMERVILLE AND CHARLESTOWN MASSACHUSETTS

By
FRANK WARREN COBURN

SECOND EDITION REVISED AND WITH ADDITIONS

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DEDICATION

TO MY SON

CHARLES L. COBURN

A NATIVE OF LEXINGTON

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

There have been many histories of the Battle of Lexington and of the Battle of Concord, some of them excellent to the extent of that part of the contest to which they were devoted. From time to time gifted orators have gone to the one town or to the other, and eloquently portrayed the heroic deeds of men within that town on the opening day of the American Revolution. No fault should be found with any of those, designed as a healthy stimulus to local pride, and to foster sentiments of national patriotism.

But the student in American local history needs a more extensive view of the operations of that day. He needs to be better informed as to the various scenes of carnage that were waged along all of those nearly twenty miles of highway. Men were slain in Lexington and in Concord; but there were many others slain in Lincoln, in Arlington, in Cambridge, and in Somerville. Nor should we forget the youngest martyr of the day, but fourteen years of age, who fell in Charlestown.

For the purpose, then, of presenting to such as may be interested, I have assembled here the most comprehensive account that has ever been offered, and one that aims to be a history of the entire day.

I have endeavored to make it not only complete and interesting, but just and reliable, recognizing fully the rights of my own ancestors to rebel, and also recognizing the rights of the mother country to prevent such rebellion — even by an appeal to arms. Since those days we have grown to be a mother country ourselves, and have had reason, on more than one occasion, to exercise that accepted right of parental control.

This narrative is based upon official reports, sworn statements, diaries, letters, and narratives of participants and witnesses; upon accounts of local historians and national orators; and, in a few cases, upon tradition, if such seemed authentic and trustworthy.

But I am sorry to say that in more than one instance, I have found even the sworn statements at variance with each other. I am satisfied that the authors did not intend to mislead in any way, but simply tried to tell to others what appeared to them. Their mental excitement naturally added a little of that vivid coloring noticeable in most war narratives of a personal nature. My work has been to harmonize and simplify these, and to extract simply the truth.

In 1775 the greater part of the present town of Arlington was a part of Cambridge, and known as the Menotomy Precinct. Later it was incorporated as a separate town and called West Cambridge. Later still its name was changed to Arlington. Somerville, in that year, was a part of Charlestown. What remained of Charlestown eventually became a part of Boston, though still retaining its ancient

name. In writing of the events that happened within the boundaries of each, I shall speak of them as of Arlington, of Somerville, and of Charlestown.

I am glad to add that the bitterness and hatred, so much in evidence on that long-ago battle day, no longer exist between the children of the great British Nation.

FRANK WARREN COBURN.

LEXINGTON, MASS., April 19, 1912.

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

The first edition of this book was published in 1912. In due time each copy found its new owner, and many subsequent calls could not be favorably answered. For that reason it has been thought best to prepare a new edition. The opportunity will allow of a few minor corrections and several important additions.

Among the latter is a Muster Roll of the seventy-seven men of Captain John Parker's Lexington Company, who responded to the first alarm in the early hours of that April morning, and formed in battle line on Lexington Common. Four hundred soldiers of the King were enough to win the struggle which followed, and Captain Parker withdrew his remaining force of seventy from the field, leaving seven slain, who were the first of the American Revolution.

Naturally, Lexington is proud to own that sacred spot. It is my wish and hope, and the wish and hope of those who are associated with me in this work, that its pride may take a real and tangible form, in the shape of an enduring tablet naming those seven who voluntarily made that supreme sacrifice, and those seventy who stood with them equally as brave and willing.

Pilgrims numbering thousands yearly come here to stand upon the exact spot where they stood, and

now must depart without even knowing the names of those whose memory they would delight to honor.

For one hundred and forty-five years those names were never assembled in one Roll. It was my pleasure to gather them, and their first appearance in such was in *The Boston Daily Globe* of April 19, 1920. There were seventy-five in that first list. The accidental omission of one name called for the corrected list, which appeared in *The Boston Sunday Globe* of May 9 following. One more name was subsequently found, making the seventy-seven, and this Roll as completed was first printed in a little book of mine, "The Battle on Lexington Common," published in March, 1921.

The very limited edition of that work is my excuse for reprinting the Roll here.

Of equal importance are the names of those who, a little later in the day, were the first to march against the King's soldiers at Concord North Bridge. I cannot give them all, but have found those of two companies from Concord; one from Acton; two from Bedford; and one from Lincoln.

During the day nearly 3,800 Americans, enrolled in seventy-four companies, the contributions of twenty-four towns, assembled somewhere along Battle Road, and assisted in driving the British back to Boston. In a special edition of the first issue of this work I enumerated those of sixty-eight companies, numbering over 3,600 men. That work is now out of print, but may be found in some public libraries.

There are quite a few new illustrations in this edition, most of them of real use to the reader, but

some only relatively so, as those of the old homes of the men who were defending them on that day.

My thanks are due and gratefully given to the Lexington Historical Society, the publisher of the present edition; to its President, Edwin B. Worthen; to members of its Publishing Committee, Miss Marian P. Kirkland and Mr. Hollis Webster; and to Mr. J. Henry Duffy, a member. Their advice and practical assistance have been of material value to me. Nor should I forget those readers of the first edition who were interested enough to forward to me their kindly criticisms and helpful suggestions. All were gratefully received and many woven into this narrative.

FRANK WARREN COBURN.

LEXINGTON, MASS., Nov. 29, 1921.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

The Doolittle Pictures.

The Amos Doolittle Pictures of Lexington and Concord, copperplate engravings, size about 12 by 18 inches, and hand-colored, were originally published by James Lockwood in New Haven, Dec. 13, 1775. The drawings were made by Mr. Earl, a portrait painter, and the engravings therefrom were by Amos Doolittle. Both were members of the Governor's Guard, and came on to Cambridge as volunteers under Benedict Arnold immediately after the battle of April 19; and soon after they commenced these early specimens of American art. The student of to-day prizes them, not for their artistic excellence, but for their faithfulness in depicting the scenery, buildings, and troops engaged.

In *The Book Buyer* for January, 1898, is an illustrated article on Early American Copperplate Engraving, by William Loring Andrews. I am indebted to him, and to the Publishers, Charles Scribners' Sons, for permission to copy the Doolittle set for this work.

Loaned by the Lexington Historical Society.

Loaned by the Lexington Historical Society.

Original in possession of the Lexington Historical Society.

MAPS.

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THE BATTLE OF APRIL 19, 1775

Boston and Vicinity in 1775–76.

1, Lieutenant Colonel Smith's starting place.

2, His landing place in Cambridge.

3, 3, 3, Earl Percy's route from Boston to Cambridge.

(Top of map is north.)

THE BATTLE OF APRIL 19, 1775.

In Parliament.

The Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, Feb. 10, 1763, terminated the prolonged struggle between England and France for supremacy in the New World. For seven long years it had lasted, and its cost had been treasure and blood. Justly proud were the British Colonies of the martial success of their mother country, a goodly part of which they, themselves, had valorously won.

During the war, and at its close, England had been generous in remitting to the Colonial Treasuries large sums in partial liquidation of the war expenses advanced by them, but subsequently it was esteemed wise, by a majority of her statesmen, to gradually replace such sums in the royal coffers by a system of colonial taxation very similar to modern methods of raising war revenues. In the abstract this fact was not particularly disagreeable to the colonists, for the necessity was admitted, but the arbitrary method of levying those taxes was bitterly contested.

England's Parliament claimed the right to tax the distant Colonies even as it taxed the neighboring Boroughs, and as a commencement of its financial

plan enacted a Stamp Act, so called, to take effect Nov. 1, 1765, similar in intent and working to the modern revenue stamp of our government. These stamps were to be purchased of the Crown's officers and affixed to certain articles of merchandise, and in denominations according to a schedule of taxable value.

The opposition to this act was immediate, continuous, and bitter in the extreme, and the result was that it was repealed March 18, 1766.

The next move on the part of the Mother Country was the passage of a Military Act which provided for the partial subsistence of armed troops on the Colonies. Violent opposition to this was also immediate and general, but without avail. In Boston one result was a conflict between the troops and the inhabitants on March 5, 1770, and which is now referred to as the Boston Massacre.

In June, 1767, another act taxing tea and other commodities was passed, which was repealed April 12, 1770, on all articles except the tea. Large consignments were sent to America. Ships thus laden that arrived in New York were sent back with their full cargoes. At Charlestown the tea was landed but remained unsold. At Boston a party disguised as Indians threw it from the ship into the sea.[1] Parliament in consequence passed the Boston Port Bill March 7, 1774, closing Boston as a commercial port, and removing the Custom House to Salem in another

[1] In a little cemetery at West Fairlee, Vt., is a memorial stone which reads "Wm. Cox, died July 27, 1838, Aged 88. He helped steep the tea in the Atlantic." His name seems to have been overlooked by historians, so I mention it here.

harbor a dozen miles or more northward up the coast.

This act went into effect June 1, 1774, and was immediately felt by all classes, for all commerce ceased. Boston merchants became poor, and Boston poor became beggars. The hand of relief, however, was extended, even from beyond the sea. The city of London in its corporate capacity subscribed £30,000.[1] In America the assistance was liberal and speedy. George Washington headed a subscription paper with £50.[2]

These severe measures of Parliament, with their natural effect of ruin and starvation among the people of America, served to stimulate a feeling of insubordination and of hatred of the Mother Country, from which crystallized the First Continental Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia Sept. 5, 1774, soon to be followed by the First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, which met at Salem on October 7 of the same year.

On the question of colonial government Great Britain and her American Colonies were not divided by the Atlantic Ocean, for on the American side the Crown had its ardent supporters, while on the other side friends of the American cause were almost as numerous as were the oppressors. We have seen how the great city of London contributed liberally to the Bostonians, shut off from the world by the Port Bill, and on the floor of Parliament many gifted orators espoused the American cause.

[1] Lossing's History of the United States, page 226.
[2] Frothingham's Rise of the Republic, page 326.

With prophetic eloquence the Lord Mayor, Mr. Wilkes, exclaimed: —

> This I know, a successful resistance is a revolution, not a rebellion. . . . Who can tell, sir, whether in consequence of this day's violent and mad Address to his Majesty, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them as well as by us? . . . But I hope the just vengeance of the people will overtake the authors of these pernicious councils, and the loss of the first province of the empire be speedily followed by the loss of the heads of those ministers who advised these wicked and fatal measures.[1]

Lord Chatham, in his motion to withdraw the troops from Boston, said: —

> As an American I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Englishman by birth and principle I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right in which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity.[2]

The Corporation of the City of London passed a vote of thanks to Chatham, and to those who supported him for having offered to the House of Lords a plan to conciliate the differences with America.[3]

When Lord North's unfriendly proposition for conciliating America was introduced, it naturally found an advocate in the loyal and courtly General Burgoyne, — courtly but courageous; loyal ever to his King but not blind to the merits of the claims of the Colonists. While modestly pledging his

[1] Hansard's Parliamentary History, Vol. XVIII, cols. 238, 240.
[2] Hansard's Parliamentary History, Vol. XVIII, col. 154.
[3] Hansard's Parliamentary History, Vol. XVIII, col. 215.

loyalty to the Crown he could not refrain from adding: —

> There is a charm in the very wanderings and dreams of liberty that disarms an Englishman's anger.[1]

In the debate on the bill for restraining the trade and commerce of the English Colonies, Lord Camden asked: —

> What are the 10,000 men you have just voted out to Boston? Merely to save General Gage from the disgrace and destruction of being sacked in his entrenchments. It is obvious, my Lords, that you cannot furnish armies or treasure, competent to the mighty purpose of subduing America. . . . It is impossible that this petty island can continue in dependence that mighty continent.[2]

Continuing, he drew a picture of American union and American courage that in the end would prevail.

The Earl of Sandwich replied: —

> Suppose the colonists do abound in men, what does that signify? They are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish instead of 40 or 50,000 of these brave fellows, they would produce in the field at least 200,000, the more the better, the easier would be the conquest; if they did not run away, they would starve themselves into compliance with our measures.[3]

And the bill was passed.

One has but to read the stirring debates of that memorable year in Parliament — over the petitions for redress of grievances from America; over the petitions for reconciliation from the merchants of Bristol

[1] Hansard's Parliamentary History, Vol. XVIII, col. 355.
[2] Hansard's Parliamentary History, Vol. XVIII, cols. 442, 443.
[3] Hansard's Parliamentary History, Vol. XVIII, col. 446.

and of London; over the resolutions offered by its own members; and over the addresses to them by their King — to realize that the great question of American rights had almost as many, and surely as eloquent, advocates there as here.

The Provincial Congress.

As we have seen, the First Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia Sept. 5, 1774. They met in Carpenter's Hall. The First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts met at Salem on October 7, following. John Hancock was chosen president. In its first set of resolutions it announced "the necessity of its most vigorous and immediate exertions for preserving the freedom and constitution" of the Province.

The Royal Governor, Gen. Thomas Gage, had issued his writs the first day of September, calling upon the inhabitants to return representatives to the Great and General Court to be convened at Salem on the 5th of October. In the meantime, becoming alarmed at the tumults and disorders, the extraordinary resolves passed by some of the counties, the instructions given by Boston and some other towns to their representatives, and the general unhappy condition of the Province, he determined that the time was not auspicious for such a gathering, and accordingly issued a proclamation countermanding the call. However, ninety representatives met on that day, waited loyally for the Governor, and when he failed to appear adjourned to the next day, October 6, and met as a convention, choosing

GEN. THOMAS GAGE.

John Hancock chairman. Not much in the way of business was accomplished on that day, and they adjourned again, until the next, October 7, when they met and declared themselves to be a Provincial Congress, and chose John Hancock permanent chairman.

Thus the First Provincial Congress was, strictly speaking, a self-constituted body, with not even the sanction of a popular vote. Yet they felt secure in a popular support. They could not pass laws, but they could resolve, advise, and recommend, and such acts were generally heeded by a majority of their fellow citizens.[1]

The military organization of the Province was equally without effective power, as they recognized no real commanding officer of higher rank than colonel. It is true that the Congress had nominated three general officers, but their real powers to command were feeble. The minute men and militia were enrolled by thousands, but they were poorly equipped, without uniforms, and without discipline. They marched to Battle Road in company formation, but upon arrival, or very soon after, manœuvred and fought as individuals simply.

The Second Provincial Congress, more nearly an elective body than the first, realized their own lack of authority over the people and particularly over the military branch of their constituents. They

[1] See their "advice" to constables and to tax collectors Oct. 14, 1774, not to pay moneys collected by them to the royal treasurer of the Province, Hon. Harrison Gray (Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 19), and their "recommendation" to towns, October 28, to direct their constables and tax collectors to pay such moneys to their appointee as Receiver General, Henry Gardner (Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 38).

wrote to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, under date of May 16, 1775, stating that they were compelled to raise an army; of their triumph at having one consisting of their own countrymen; but they admitted a lack of civil power to provide for and control it. And they asked for advice from the greater Congress, which represented all the Colonies, as to the taking up and exercising of the necessary powers of a civil government.[1]

Let us, then, as we go forward with this narrative, bear these facts in mind, that we may not, in this very first day of a new nation's struggle for liberty, expect too much from those who had the wisdom, the strength, the courage and the skill, but greatly lacked the first elements of a civil government or a military force, — discipline and efficiency.

The First Provincial Congress next met in Concord Oct. 11, 1774. Hancock was chosen president, an office higher than permanent chairman. Several following days were devoted to public business. From there they addressed a communication to General Gage, wherein they expressed the apprehensions excited in their minds by the rigorous execution of the Port Bill; by the alteration of the Charter; by the administration of justice in the Colony; by the number of troops in the capital (Boston); and particularly by the formidable and hostile preparations on Boston Neck. And they asked, rather pointedly, "whether an inattentive and unconcerned acquiescence in such alarming, and menacing measures would not evidence a state

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 230.

of insanity?" They entreated him to reduce the fortress at the entrance to Boston, and concluded by assuring His Excellency that they had not the least intention of doing any harm to His Majesty's troops.[1]

Four days later, October 17, sitting at Cambridge, they received his reply. It was altogether lacking in satisfaction. He answered them, as to the fortification on Boston Neck, that "unless annoyed" it would "annoy nobody." And the rest of his communication was equally unassuring.

On October 19 a committee was appointed to inquire into the then present state and operations of the British Army,[2] and on October 20 another committee, to report on what was necessary to be done for the safety and defence of the Province.[3]

Matters were crystallizing very fast, for on October 24 a committee was appointed to consider and report on the most proper time for the Province to provide a stock of powder, ordnance, and ordnance stores. That same afternoon one of the members, Mr. Bliss, was ordered to wait upon the committee to ascertain their reply. They quickly responded that their opinion was that "*now*" was the proper time to procure such a stock.[4] Another committee was at once appointed to take into consideration and determine the quantity and expense thereof.[4]

On the afternoon of the following day, October 25, the schedule was presented to the Congress, and

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 18.
[2] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 22.
[3] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 23.
[4] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 29.

one of its items called for 1,000 barrels of powder, and the proposed expense was £10,737. Items were added by the Congress to increase the amount to £20,837. It was likewise ordered "that all the matters which shall come under consideration before this Congress be kept secret."[1]

On October 26 it was resolved that a Committee of Safety should be appointed, whose business it should be "most carefully and diligently to inspect and observe all and every such person and persons as shall at any time, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of this province." And they should have the power to alarm, muster and cause to be assembled with the utmost expedition, and completely armed for the defence, such of the militia as they shall deem necessary for its defence.[2] And it was also resolved that as the security of the lives, liberties, and properties of these inhabitants depended on their skill in the military art and in their being properly and effectively armed, it was therefore recommended that they immediately provide themselves with those qualifications.[3]

On October 27 Congress appointed a Committee of Safety, consisting of nine members, three from Boston and six from the country, John Hancock, chairman, and also a Commissary, or Committee of Supplies, consisting of five members.[4] At a subscquent meeting on the same day, Jedidiah Preble

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 30.
[2] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 32.
[3] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 34.
[4] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 35.

was elected to be chief in command, and Artemas Ward, second.[1]

On October 29 a vote was passed recommending that the inhabitants perfect themselves in the military art.[2] On that same day a committee was appointed to wait upon His Excellency the Governor to express their surprise at his active warlike preparations, and to announce that their constituents would not expect them to be guided by his advice.[3] But before the conclusion of this session another resolution was passed to the effect that the lives and liberties of the inhabitants depended upon their knowledge and skill in the military art.[4]

The First Provincial Congress was dissolved Dec. 10, 1774, every session of its deliberations having been devoted to the civil rights and liberties of the people over which it had presided.

The Second Provincial Congress was convened in Concord Feb. 1, 1775. One of its earliest acts, February 9, was to appoint Hon. Jedidiah Preble, Hon. Artemas Ward, Col. Seth Pomeroy, Col. John Thomas, and Col. William Heath general officers.[5] The same day, in an address to the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, they said, "Though we deprecate a rupture with the Mother State, yet we must urge you to every preparation for your necessary defence."[6]

Nor were the Indians neglected in these strong

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 35.
[2] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 41.
[3] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 45.
[4] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 48.
[5] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 90.
[6] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 92.

appeals to the patriotism of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, for under date of April 1, 1775, an address was issued to Johoiakin Mothksin and the rest of the Indians of Stockbridge, expressing great pleasure that they were "willing to take up the hatchet," and announcing that Colonel Paterson and Captain Goodridge should present each that had enlisted a blanket and a ribbon. A committee was also appointed to address the chief of the Mohawks.[1]

The Committee of Safety met for the first time at the house of Captain Stedman, in Cambridge, Wednesday, Nov. 2, 1774, and organized, as we have stated, with John Hancock, chairman. John Pigeon was chosen clerk. Their first vote after organization was a recommendation to the Committee of Supplies to procure as soon as may be, 335 barrels of pork, 700 barrels of flour, 20 tierces of rice, 300 bushels of peas, and that these be distributed in Worcester and Concord. On November 8, following, in joint meeting with the Committee on Supplies, the latter was advised to procure all of the arms and ammunition possible from the neighboring Provinces, and that they might with safety engage to pay for the same on arrival.

At subsequent meetings various military stores were liberally provided. With a unanimous vote on Feb. 21, 1775, by both committees in joint session, it was decided that the Committee of Supplies should purchase all kinds of military stores sufficient for an army of 15,000 men.[2] It did not then seem

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, pages 115, 116.

[2] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, pages 505, 509.

to them as if a peaceful solution of the estrangement were longer possible.

The last meeting of the Provincial Congress, before the battle, was held in Concord April 15, and when it adjourned it was until May 10. But, considering "the great uncertainty of the present times," it was provided, however, that a call might issue for an earlier assembling. Only two days elapsed before apprehensions of immediate danger arose, which grew so intense that Richard Devens, on the 18th, issued a summons for immediate assembling at Concord. Although it was circulated with the greatest despatch, many of the members could not have learned of it before the marching of the British troops on that same night from Boston Common.

The meeting was finally assembled on April 22, and quickly adjourned to Watertown, evidently to be in closer touch with the thrilling events that had so dramatically opened.[1]

British Forces in Boston.

Gen. Thomas Gage, commander of the British forces in America, and successor of Thomas Hutchinson as Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, landed in Boston May 13, 1774. Inspired by a hope that his administration might soften the feeling of resentment against the Mother Country by annulling some of its causes, his reception on the 17th was dignified and cordial. He was greeted with cheers by the multitude, the firing of salutes in his honor, and a

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, pages 146, 147.

lavish banquet in Faneuil Hall.[1] A few weeks before he had assured his King that the Americans "will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part they will prove very weak."[2]

His military force then in Boston was less than 4,000 men,[3] and consisted of the 4th, or King's Own; 5th; 10th; 17th; three companies of the 18th; 22d; 23d; 38th; 43d; 44th; 47th; 52d; 59th; 63d; 64th; six or eight companies of artillery; and six or eight companies of marines, numbering 460, under Major Pitcairn.[4]

Major General Heath is the authority for the statement that the Provincial Congress appointed a committee to make inquiry into the state of operation of the British Army in Boston, and on the 20th of March they reported that there were about 2,850 men distributed as follows: Boston Common, about 1,700; Fort Hill, 400; Boston Neck, 340; in barracks at the Castle, about 330; King Street, 80; that they were erecting works at Boston Neck on both sides of the way, well constructed and well

[1] Frothingham's Rise of the Republic of the United States, page 330.

[2] Frothingham's Rise of the Republic of the United States, page 318.

[3] Hale in Memorial History of Boston, Vol. III, page 79.

[4] This list I make up from a document from among the Swett papers, and an article in the Atlantic Monthly, April, 1877, entitled A British Officer in Boston in 1775. The Swett manuscript is interesting as giving the distinctive uniforms, as follows: —

"Fourth or King's Own, red faced with white; 5th, Lord Percy, red faced with blue; 10th, red faced with green: 17th, Light Dragoons, red faced with yellow; 22d, Gen. Gage, red faced with white; 23d, Gen. Howe, red faced with blue; 38th, Gen. Piget, red faced with yellow; 43rd, red faced with light buff; 44th, red faced with yellow; 52d, red faced with white; 59th, called the Pompadours, red faced with crimson: 63d, red faced with yellow; 64th, red faced with black; artillery, blue faced with red; Marines, red faced with white."

Some of these were encamped on the Common.

executed. The works were in forwardness and mounted with ten brass and two iron cannon. The old fortification at the entrance of the town was replaced and rendered much stronger by the addition of timber and earth to the parapet, and ten pieces of iron cannon were mounted on the old platform. A block house had been brought from Governor's Island and was being erected on the south side of the Neck.[1]

But a short time was required to show that in every political question General Gage was loyal to his King. Accordingly throughout the Province, the press, the pulpit, the expression of opinion in public meetings, while professing loyalty to the King personally, were extremely bitter against his representative in command.

Conventions were held in the various counties of the Province, the earliest one being in Berkshire County July 6, 1774, followed by the one in Worcester County August 9. Resolutions were passed at each, professing loyalty to the King, but remonstrating strongly against Parliament. It was left for the Middlesex County Convention, August 30, to pass resolutions that rang throughout the Province. While also professing loyalty to the King their final sentence was —

> No danger shall affright, no difficulties intimidate us; and if in support of our rights we are called to encounter even death, we are yet undaunted, sensible that he can never die too soon, who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberty of his country.

[1] Heath's Memoirs, written by himself. Boston, 1798. Page 11.

These resolutions were passed by a vote of 146 yeas against 4 nays.[1]

Although the town of Boston itself was the headquarters of General Gage, and his soldiers were parading in its streets, and encamping on its Common, the patriots had by no means deserted it. There were several secret societies who made it their business to watch for and report hostile movements and plans. These were the "North End Caucus," the "South End Caucus," the "Middle District Caucus," and the "Long Room Club," all of which owed allegiance to the "Sons of Liberty," a body which acted in the capacity of a higher council, and which kept itself in close communication with similar organizations outside of this Province. Members of these various bodies paraded the streets nightly, that any sudden or unusual movement of the army might be at once reported. Paul Revere belonged to one or more of these, and was active in patriotic work.

Nor was General Gage idle in acquiring information about the Provincial Army being assembled and the topographical features of the country around Boston. His troops were especially trained by marches over the highways in the vicinity,[2] and his spies brought him maps and reports from the scenes of his possible future operations. The two

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, page 114.

[2] Rev. Mr. Gordon of Roxbury wrote a very interesting account of the commencement of hostilities, which was published in the North American Almanack for 1776. He speaks of one of their practice marches, on March 30, when about 1,100 men marched to Jamaica Plain, by way of Dorchester, and back to Boston, about five miles. On this particular march the soldiers amused themselves by pushing over stone walls.

1775

4.

GENERAL GAGE's INSTRUCTIONS,

Of 22d *February* 1775.

To Captain *Brown* and Enſign *D'Bernicre*, (of the army under his command) whom he ordered to take a ſketch of the roads, paſſes, heights, &c. from *Boſton* to *Worceſter*, and to make other obſervations:

With a *curious*

NARRATIVE

Of OCCURRENCES during their miſſion; Wrote by the *Enſign*.

Together with an ACCOUNT of their doings, in conſequence of further Orders and Inſtructions from General *Gage*, of the 20th *March* following, to proceed to *Concord*, to reconnoitre and find out the ſtate of the provincial magazines, what number of cannon, &c. they have, and in what condition.

ALSO,

An ACCOUNT of the Tranſactions of the *Britiſh* troops, from the time they marched out of *Boſton*, on the evening of the 18th, 'till their *confuſed* retreat back, on the *ever memorable Nineteenth of April* 1775; and a Return of their killed, wounded and miſſing on that *auſpicious day*, as made to Gen. *Gage*.

[Left in town by a *Britiſh* Officer previous to the evacuation of it by the enemy, and now printed for the information and amuſement of the *curious*.]

BOSTON:
Printed, and to be ſold, by J. GILL, in Court Street.
1775.

TITLE-PAGE OF D'BERNICRE NARRATIVE

who acted for him in this secret service were Captain Brown of the 52d Regiment, and Ensign D'Bernicre of the 10th Regiment. They were disguised in "brown clothes" with "reddish handkerchiefs" tied about their necks, and were accompanied by a servant. All three were well armed.

General Gage's instructions to them, under date of Feb. 22, 1775, called for description of the roads, rivers, and hills; available places for encampments; whether or not the churches and churchyards were advantageous spots to take post in and capable of being made defensible. They were also told that information would be useful in reference to the provisions, forage, etc., which could be obtained at the several places they should pass through.

Their first trip was to Worcester, in the latter part of February, and their next one to Concord, for which place they set out on March 20, passing through Roxbury, Brookline, and Weston, where they stopped at the Jones Tavern. Then they proceeded through Sudbury, crossed over the South Bridge into Concord village, where they were entertained by a Mr. Bliss, a friend of the royal government.

Wherever they went their mission was known in spite of their disguises. They succeeded, however, in bringing back to General Gage a very tolerable description of the country, and so fulfilled their mission. In Concord, especially, they located many of the provincial military stores, — information particularly useful to the invading force on April 19.

Having thus possessed himself of sufficient data,

General Gage then laid his plans for a midnight march to Lexington and Concord, with the view, possibly, of capturing Hancock and Adams, who were known to be at the former place, and especially of destroying all the warlike supplies that had been gathered at Concord.

On April 15 the grenadiers and light infantry had been relieved from duty, with the excuse that they were to learn a new exercise. That night, about 12 o'clock, boats belonging to the transports which had been hauled up for repairs were launched and moored under the sterns of the men-of-war.[1] The "Somerset" was anchored near the Charlestown Ferry.[2] These movements awakened the suspicions of Dr. Warren, who lost no time in notifying Hancock and Adams, then at Lexington. On the afternoon of April 18 he learned from several sources that the British were about to move. A gunsmith named Jasper learned as much from a British sergeant, and lost no time in informing Colonel Waters of the Committee of Safety, who in turn gave the news to Warren.[3] John Ballard, connected with the stable in Milk Street, overheard some one in the Province House remark that there would "be hell to pay to-morrow," a remark so full of significance that he reported it to a friend of liberty in Ann Street, thought to have been William Dawes, who in turn reported it to Paul Revere.[3]

That night General Gage despatched ten or more sergeants, partially disguised, along the highways in

[1] Frothingham's Siege of Boston, page 56.
[2] Holland, pages 7, 8.
[3] Holland, page 9.

Cambridge and beyond, toward Concord. They were instructed to intercept any passersby, and so prevent his intended movement from becoming known. A party of his officers dined at Wetherby's Tavern[1] in Menotomy (now Arlington), where also met that day the Committee of Safety and Committee of Supplies, some of whom—Mr. Gerry, Colonel Orne, and Colonel Lee — remained to pass the night.[2]

Solomon Brown of Lexington, a young man nineteen years old, was the first to report in that town the unusual occurrence of so many officers along the highways in the night, and it was surmised there that the capture of Hancock and Adams was intended. Brown was returning home from Boston when they passed him on the road. Somehow gaining the front again he rode rapidly into Lexington village and reported what he had seen. Sergeant Munroe and eight men were sent to guard the parsonage where the patriot statesmen were stopping, and Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderson, all members of Captain Parker's Company of Minute Men, were despatched to watch the officers after they had passed through Lexington toward Concord. They followed them on horseback into Lincoln, about two and a half miles from Lexington village, where they were ambushed by the ones they were following and taken prisoners. It was then about 10 o'clock in the evening of April 18. They were detained until Revere was also captured at the same place a few hours later, early in the morning of the 19th.

[1] Known also as the Black Horse Tavern.

[2] Frothingham, page 10.

THE BRITISH START FOR LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

The grenadiers and light infantry, under command of Lieut. Col. Francis Smith of the 10th Regiment, augmented by a detachment of marines under Maj. John Pitcairn, assembled at the foot of Boston Common on the evening of April 18, and at about half past 10 o'clock embarked for Lechmere Point, or, as it was often called at that time, Phip's Farm, in East Cambridge. They numbered about 800 men.[1]

The "foot of the Common," was not far from the present corner of Boylston and Charles streets, and just there was the shore line of the Back Bay, a large body of water opening out into the Charles River. Since then the bay has been filled in, and is now an attractive residential district bearing still its ancient aquatic name, however.

The transportation was by means of the rowboats connected with the British men-of-war and transports, and was thus necessarily slow, and undoubtedly required several trips. It seems probable that their course was westerly a little way, along the present Boylston Street, then northerly along the present Arlington Street, into the Charles River and across to Lechmere Point, a distance of about a mile and a quarter.

They landed in the marshes nearly opposite the Court House on Second Street, for East Cambridge also was much smaller then than now. The water was too shallow to allow the heavily loaded boats to

[1] Frothingham's Siege of Boston.

BOYLSTON STREET, BOSTON.

"Foot of the Common" on right, near which 800 British embarked for Lexington and Concord.

reach dry land, so the troops waded knee deep to the shore. There they were halted in a "dirty road," as one of the British officers present termed it,[1] and detained still longer, that each might receive a day's rations and thirty-six rounds of ammunition.

The Messengers of Alarm.

The invading army safely across the Charles River was now really on its way, but with all its precautions for secrecy, its coming was even at that moment being heralded in every direction. The ever-vigilant Sons of Liberty had noticed the unusual movements of the troops after dark, and so informed Dr. Warren. He quickly summoned William Dawes and Paul Revere. Dawes arriving first was the first to start, and his route to Lexington was through Roxbury. So to him belongs the credit of being the first messenger out of Boston bearing the alarm of the British invasion. Paul Revere came soon after, and was carried over the Charles River considerably farther down than the British soldiers were crossing, and landed in Charlestown. His route to Lexington was much shorter than the one through Roxbury.

Dr. Warren had arranged with these two men for this especial work, and so they were ready. Dawes had left home that afternoon, not even confiding to his wife his intention. Immediately after the embarkation he was ready and on his way. He managed to elude the guard at Boston Neck by passing

[1] Diary of a British Officer in Boston in 1775.

out with some soldiers. His ride was then through Roxbury, Brookline, Brighton, over the Charles River by bridge into Cambridge, at Harvard Square, and thence directly on to Lexington. So much longer was his route than Revere's that he did not reach there until half an hour later than Revere did, and then found that Hancock and Adams had been alarmed. The work of William Dawes was efficient over the route he traveled. In Lexington Revere waited for Dawes, and from there onwards toward Concord they traveled together. It is to be regretted that a more detailed account of the ride of William Dawes cannot be given, but momentary flashes of light reveal his course and his work. Revere left a narrative of his ride, and historians have fallen into the error of supposing him to be the only messenger with the warlike tidings. As we progress with this narrative we shall surmise that William Dawes and Paul Revere were but two out of many, for the exciting news radiated in every direction, and could only have been borne by riders equally as patriotic and fleet as those two.

The previous Sunday evening Paul Revere had been out to Lexington for a conference with Hancock and Adams, and on his return that same night to Charlestown he had agreed with Colonel Conant and some others to display lanterns in the North Church steeple if the troops should march, — one lantern if they went by land, which meant out over Boston Neck, through Roxbury, Brookline, and Brighton, into Harvard Square, Cambridge, and two if they crossed the Charles River in boats and

WILLIAM DAWES.

PAUL REVERE.

landed at Lechmere Point in East Cambridge. This arrangement was made because it was surmised that no messenger would be allowed to leave Boston with the news while the troops were leaving.

When Revere left Warren his first duty was to call upon Capt. John Pulling, Jr.,[1] and arrange for the signal lanterns. Then he went to his home in North Square for his boots and surtout, and from there to where his boat was moored beneath a cob-wharf, near the present Craigie Bridge, in the north part of the town. Two friends accompanied him, Joshua Bentley and Thomas Richardson.[2]

Their point of starting was not far from the then Charlestown Ferry, the boats of which were drawn up nightly at 9 o'clock. Out in the Charles River was anchored the "Somerset", a British man-of-war. It was young flood, and the moon was rising.[3] Fearing that the noise of the oars in the oarlocks might alarm the sentry, Revere despatched one of his companions for something to muffle them with, who soon returned with a petticoat, yet warm from the body of a fair daughter of Liberty, who was glad to contribute to the cause.[4] Rowing out into the river and passing to the eastward of the "Somerset" they looked back, and there, shining from the tall steeple of Christ Church, the Old North, were two signal lanterns.

[1] Boston Sunday Globe, April 19, 1908. Article on Lanterns hung in the Steeple.

[2] Goss, E. H., Life of Paul Revere.

[3] Full moon April 15; moon rose on April 18, at 9.45 P.M. Low's Almanack for 1775.

[4] She was an ancestor of John R. Adan, and lived in the Ochterlong-Adan house, at the corner of North and North Centre streets. Goss, Life of Paul Revere.

Far up into the valleys of the Mystic and the Charles those twinkling rays gleamed, and their meaning, picked up wherever it fell, was carried still farther to the remoter hamlets and villages beyond the hills.

When Captain Pulling left Paul Revere he proceeded at once to the home of the sexton of Christ Church, Robert Newman, who lived on Salem Street, opposite Bennett Street. Pulling was vestryman of the church, and when he demanded the keys of Newman they were handed to him without question. Pulling proceeded to the church, climbed the belfry stairs, hung two lighted lanterns out of the highest little window, forty-two feet above the sidewalk,[1] descended, made his exit through a window, and so escaped unnoticed.

Those lanterns were seen by all who looked, and quickly British soldiers sought out the sexton and placed him under arrest. His denial of any knowledge as to who displayed the lanterns was believed, and he was released. Pulling, disguised as a sailor, escaped from Boston in a fishing vessel, landed in Nantucket, and did not return until after the siege.[2]

Revere and his two companions reached the Charlestown shore in safety. Their landing place was near the old battery at Gage's Wharf, not far from No. 85 of the present Water Street, near City Square. They were met by Colonel Conant and several others, who reported that the lanterns had

[1] Goss, Life of Paul Revere.

[2] Capt. John Pulling, Jr., was son of John and Martha Pulling. Born in Boston Feb. 18, 1737. Resided on corner of Ann and Cross streets in 1775. Died in 1787. Goss, Life of Paul Revere.

been seen and interpreted. While Revere was waiting for his horse, which was furnished by Deacon Larkin, Richard Devens, one of the Committee of Safety, came and told Revere that as he came down the road from Lexington after sundown that evening he met ten British officers, all well mounted and armed, going up the road.

It was about 11 o'clock when Revere started from the Charlestown shore on his mission to alarm. He had intended to proceed over Charlestown Neck, through Somerville to Cambridge and thence to Lexington. Just such a ride as his had been anticipated, for he had gone but a short distance along the Cambridge road beyond Charlestown Neck when he perceived two mounted British officers halted under the shadows of a tree in a narrow part of the road.[1] Near by was the gibbet where Mark, the negro slave, executed in 1755 for poisoning his master, hung in chains for about fifteen years.

Revere wheeled his horse and made his escape, retreating along the road to the Neck, then turning into the Mystic road, which runs over Winter Hill into Medford.[2] There he awakened the captain of the Minute Men, Isaac Hall, and alarmed almost if not every house on the way to Lexington. His road was through West Medford to Arlington Centre, there turning at the Cooper Tavern northwesterly toward Lexington. He reached the parsonage in Lexington at midnight, which then stood on the westerly side of Bedford Road, about a quarter of

[1] In Somerville on Washington Street, near Crescent Street.

[2] Now Broadway and Main Street in Somerville, and Main Street in Medford.

a mile beyond the Common.[1] Within were sleeping John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Keeping guard outside were eight men under Sergt. William Munroe, who cautioned Revere not to make too much noise lest he should awaken the family, who had just retired.

"Noise!" exlaimed Revere; "you'll have noise enough before long. The Regulars are coming out."

But he had already alarmed the inmates, for the window was raised, and the parson, Mr. Clarke, inquired who was there. Revere, without answering the question, said he wished to see Mr. Hancock.

"Come in, Revere!" exclaimed Hancock, who also had been awakened; "we are not afraid of you."

Half an hour later Dawes rode up from his longer ride from Boston.[2] Dawes and Revere partook of refreshments and together set out for Concord. Not far beyond Lexington Common they were overtaken by a young man, Dr. Samuel Prescott, whose home was in Concord. That evening he had been visiting the young lady to whom he was engaged to be married, Miss Mulliken of Lexington. Revere spoke of the ten officers that Devens had met, and of the probability that they would attempt to stop them before they should reach Concord. It was planned to alarm every house on the way. Dr. Prescott volunteered to remain with the two riders, as his acquaintance with the people along the road

[1] Bedford Road is now called Hancock Street, and a newer road to Bedford is called Bedford Street. The old parsonage is still standing, though moved from its original location to one a few rods across the street.

[2] Revere's ride was 12⅝ miles, and Dawes's ride was 16⅝ miles.

Buckman Tavern
Jonathan Harrington House

Hancock-Clarke House
Munroe Tavern

might be needed to vouch for the genuineness of the message.

His company was accepted and very welcome. They rode along, alarming each household, a little over two and a half miles from Lexington Common. Dawes and Prescott had stopped at a house to arouse the inmates, and Revere was about a hundred rods ahead, when he saw two men in the highway. He called loudly for Dawes and Prescott to come up, thinking to capture them, but just then two more appeared, coming through the bars from a pasture on the right, or northerly side of the road, where they had been standing in the shadow of a tree. They proved to be officers of the British Army. Dawes wheeled his horse back toward Lexington and escaped. Prescott and Revere attempted to ride toward Concord, but were intercepted and ordered to move through the bars into the pasture or have their brains blown out. They preferred to do as ordered, but when a little way inside, Prescott said to Revere, "Put on," and immediately jumped his horse over the stone wall at his left and disappeared down the farm road leading into a ravine where rise the headwaters of the Shawsheen River. He knew the location well, and easily followed the road through the thicket until it comes out on the Concord road again, a half mile or so beyond. Revere, not so well acquainted with the location, headed toward the dense woods on the lower edge of the pasture, thinking to dismount within their shadows and escape on foot. Six more British officers were in hiding there, and they easily seized

his horse's bridle, and with pistols leveled at his breast ordered him to dismount.

And so there in Lincoln, about two and one-half miles beyond Lexington, ended the midnight rides of William Dawes and Paul Revere. Prescott had gone on to continue the alarm, Dawes had retreated toward Lexington, and Revere was a prisoner. While the latter was being secured, three or four of the officers started up the road in pursuit of Dawes, who galloped his horse furiously up to a farmhouse, where he reined in so suddenly that he was thrown to the ground. With great presence of mind he shouted loudly for assistance, exclaiming: "Hello, my boys. I've got two of 'em."

The British in pursuit, supposing they were ambushed in turn, retreated and made good their escape. Dawes rose from the ground and found himself quite alone, for the house, which might have contained a force of American Minute Men, was empty and deserted. He mounted his horse and rode leisurely away.[1]

But Revere was not the only prisoner captured by the British officers in Lincoln. Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderson, all of Lexington, had been passing along at that place about 10 o'clock the previous evening (for it was now after midnight, April 19), and were detained and being held as prisoners when Revere was added. A one-

[1] Unfortunately no poet has ever thought the ride of William Dawes a sufficiently thrilling one for a place in poetic literature. When he left the farmhouse he rode into obscurity. For the incidents in Lincoln that he took part in I am indebted to his granddaughter, Mrs. Mehitable May Goddard, as narrated in Henry W. Holland's book, William Dawes and his Ride with Paul Revere.

The end of the alarm rides of William Dawes and Paul Revere in Lincoln.

handed peddler, Allen by name, was also a prisoner, having been captured after Brown and his two companions. For some reason he was not long delayed, but released, and went his way.

Revere was ordered to dismount, and one of the six proceeded to examine him, asking his name; if he was an express; and what time he left Boston. He answered each question truthfully, and added that the troops in passing the river had got aground; that he had alarmed the country on the way up; and that 500 Americans would soon be present. This was rather disturbing news for his captors, and the one who had acted as spokesman rode to the four who had first halted the messengers. After a short conference the five returned on a gallop, and one of them, whom Revere afterwards found to be Major Mitchell of the 5th Regiment, clapped a pistol to his head, and, calling him by name, said he should ask him some questions, and if they were not answered truthfully he should blow his brains out. Revere answered the many questions, some of them new ones and some the same as he had already answered. He was then directed to mount, and the whole party proceeded toward Lexington. After riding about a mile Major Mitchell instructed the officer leading Revere's horse to turn him over to the sergeant, who was instructed to blow the prisoner's brains out if he attempted to escape, or if any insults were offered to his captors on the way.

When within half a mile of Lexington meeting house, on the Common, they heard a gun fired, and Major Mitchell, beginning to feel alarmed, asked

Revere its cause, who told him it was an alarm. The other prisoners were then ordered to dismount, and one of the officers cut the bridles of their horses and drove them away. Revere asked to be discharged, also, but his request was not heeded.

Coming a little nearer to the meeting house, within sight of it in fact, they heard a volley of gun shots, whereupon Major Mitchell called a halt, and questioned Revere again as to the distance to Cambridge, and if there were two roads going there, etc. He then ordered him to dismount and exchange horses with the sergeant, who cut away bridle and saddle from his own, which was a small one and well-nigh exhausted, before completing the exchange.[1]

The officers then hastily disappeared down the road toward Lexington meeting house, and Revere made his way, probably afoot, across the old cemetery and the adjacent pasture near Lexington Common, to the parsonage on Bedford Road, where he had left Hancock and Adams a few hours earlier.

The entire distance that Revere rode, from the Charlestown shore to the spot in Lincoln where he was captured, and back to Lexington Common, was between eighteen and nineteen miles, and the elapsed time nearly four hours.

Flight of Hancock and Adams.

The narration of Revere's adventures was eagerly listened to by the patriots assembled at the parson-

[1] Tradition says that Deacon Larkin's horse died from the effects of the strenuous ride of Revere, but it is probable that his second rider may have been equally or more of a contributory cause, as Revere's ride was not long and fast enough to kill a horse in sound condition.

age. Hancock and Adams were urged to flee by their friends. Hancock was loth to do so, but Adams persuaded him that their duties were executive rather than military, so they prepared for a hasty retreat. Their flight commenced in a chaise driven by Jonas Clarke, son of the minister.[1] Mr. Lowell, Hancock's secretary, and Paul Revere accompanied them for two miles into Burlington, where they stopped, first at the house of Mr. Reed for a little time, and then continued farther on to the home of Madame Jones, widow of Rev. Thomas Jones, and of Rev. Mr. Marrett. Then they sent back to the parsonage for Hancock's betrothed, Dorothy Quincy, his aunt, Mrs. Hancock, and lastly, a "fine salmon," which had been presented to them for dinner, and naturally forgotten as they started on their flight. All of these arrived in due time, and then Revere and Lowell returned to Lexington Common, with the intention of rescuing a trunk and its contents which belonged to Hancock, and which he had left at the Buckman Tavern.

The fugitives were about to sit down to the salmon dinner when a Lexington farmer, in great excitement, rushed in exclaiming that the British were coming, and that his wife was even then in "eternity." The salmon dinner was abandoned, and the flight continued, under the guidance of Mr. Marrett, to Amos Wyman's, where they finally sat down to a dinner, not of salmon, but of cold salt pork and potatoes served on a wooden tray. The last stopping place was just over the boundary line

[1] Holland.

of Woburn into Billerica, easterly from the present Lowell Turnpike, and northerly from the Lexington parsonage about four miles.

Samuel Adams had left behind him somewhere on the road his immortal saying: "What a glorious morning for America is this."[1]

Revere and Lowell reached Buckman Tavern, and there learned from a man who had just come up the road that the troops were within two miles. They proceeded to a chamber for the trunk, which they secured, and, looking out of the window toward Boston, saw the King's soldiers but a little way off. They quickly made their exit from the Tavern, passed along the Common through Captain Parker's company, or rather a small part of it, and heard his words: "Let the troops pass by and don't molest them without they begin first."[2]

When a little farther along, "*not half gunshot off*," as Revere expresses it, he heard a single gun, turned and saw the smoke of it rising just in front of the troops, heard them give a great shout, saw them run a few paces, heard irregular firing as of an advance guard, and then firing by platoons.

The American Revolution had indeed commenced.

[1] It has sometimes been written that Hancock and Adams first went to a little wooded hill southeasterly from the parsonage overlooking Lexington Common, and perhaps half a mile away, where they remained concealed until after the British had passed, and that Adams, looking down upon that first scene of bloodshed, expressed himself as above quoted. But I cannot reconcile that statement with Revere's own version of the flight wherein he speaks of going with them two miles and then returning for Hancock's trunk at the Buckman Tavern, which he succeeded in getting just before the British arrived there at 5 o'clock. Thus Adams could not have witnessed the opening scene on Lexington Common.

[2] Revere's Narrative. Otherwise quoted as "Don't fire unless fired upon, but if they want war, let it begin here." Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. I, page 46.

Alarms in Other Places.

It must not be imagined that information of the night march of the troops was known only along the highway to their destination in Concord. There were fleet messengers in every direction, through the counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Norfolk. Those lanterns in the North Church steeple meant as much to many others as to those on the Charlestown shore. But few details of their rides have been left to us. Yet everywhere the hoof-beats, the shadowy form of the horseman, his cry of alarm, the drums, the bells, the guns, the assembling of the Minute Men, their hurried march toward that one long and thin highway from Boston to Concord, — some of these are known and can be written of as a part of the record of that day.

Northerly along the coast the alarm went. At Lynn, ten miles away, the inhabitants were awakened in the early morn of the 19th by the information that 800 British soldiers had left Boston in the night and were proceeding toward Concord. Many immediately set out for the scene of the invasion, singly and in little bands, without waiting to march in company file.[1]

At Woburn, ten miles from Boston, a man rode up to the house of Mr. Douglass, about an hour before sunrise, and knocked loudly at the door, saying: "There is an alarm — the British are coming out; and if there is any soldier in the house he must

[1] Lewis and Newhall's History of Lynn, page 338.

turn out and repair to Lexington as soon as possible."[1]

Such is the sworn statement of Robert Douglass, who lived in Portland, Me., but who was then staying at his father's home in Woburn. He arose and started for Lexington, four miles away, with Sylvanus Wood. And Douglass, upon arrival, paraded with Captain Parker's company. Col. Loammi Baldwin resided in Woburn, and entered in his diary some of his experiences of the day. Under date of April 19 he says that in the morning, a little before the break of day, they were alarmed by Mr. Stedman's express from Cambridge. With others he hurried to Lexington, but could not reach the Common in time to participate in the opening struggle. They saw the stains of blood on the ground, hurried on to Lincoln, and at Tanner's Brook commenced to harass the British on their return.[2]

In Reading, twelve miles from Boston, alarm guns were fired just at sunrise. Edmund Foster in a letter to Col. Daniel Shattuck of Concord, dated March 10, 1825, speaks at length of his personal experiences. Following the guns came a post, bringing the information that the Regulars had gone to Concord.

In Danvers, sixteen miles away, news of the British advance was given at about 9 o'clock, and was communicated to the citizens by bells and drums, who responded by thronging to the rendez-

[1] Deposition of Robert Douglass.

[2] Beneath Old Roof Trees. A. E. Brown.

THE PARSONAGE ON HANCOCK STREET IN LEXINGTON.

Home of Rev. Jonas Clarke, and in which John Hancock and Samuel Adams were sleeping when aroused by Paul Revere. Still standing, but on the opposite side of the street.

vous near the Old South Church at the bend of the Boston road. Women were there, not with entreaty, but to fasten on the belt and gird on the sword.[1]

At Andover, twenty-five miles away, the alarm was given at about sunrise, and Minute Men were ready to march for Concord at about 10 o'clock. On their way through Tewksbury they learned that eight Americans had been killed at Lexington; and at Billerica, that the British were killing Americans at Concord. Reaching Bedford they learned more definitely that two Americans had been killed at Concord, and that the enemy was falling back.[2]

Lexington lies in a northwesterly direction from Boston, at a distance of about eleven miles. At that time it was the temporary abiding place of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were stopping at the parsonage of Rev. Jonas Clarke. It was then supposed that one of the objects of General Gage was to effect their capture, and that his other object was the destruction of military stores at Concord. Possibly the first intimation that Lexington had of the proposed hostile visit of Gage's troops was communicated by a young man, Solomon Brown, who had been to Boston on market business, and on his return had passed a patrol of British officers. There were ten of them; it was late in the afternoon or early evening of April 18, and they were riding away from Boston toward Lexington, which seemed

[1] Hansen's History of Beverly, page 88; Hurd's Middlesex County, Vol. II, page 1010.

[2] Journal of Thomas Boynton of Captain Ames's company, and Hurd's History of Essex County, Vol. II, page 1572.

out of harmony with their ordinary way of riding back to Boston at night. Mr. Brown kept somewhat near them along the road for awhile that he might the better determine their intentions, allowing them to pass and repass him several times. Having at last satisfied himself that their mission meant more than a pleasure sortie into the country, he gained the lead once more, and when out of their sight rode rapidly to Lexington and reported his observations to Orderly Sergeant William Munroe, proprietor of Munroe's Tavern.[1]

These ten officers riding in advance must have known that actual hostilities were at hand, for they not only detained travelers on the highway, but deliberately insulted a large number of the inhabitants along the road. Three or four of them, at least, went far beyond the behavior of military men in time of peace, for as they rode into Lexington they stopped at the house of Matthew Mead, entered and helped themselves to the prepared family supper of brown bread and baked beans. Mrs. Mead and her daughter Rhoda were within,

[1] In an article on the Munroe Tavern in the Proceedings of the Lexington Historical Society, Vol. III, page 146, Albert W. Bryant recites a tradition that the information of ten British officers riding up the road was given to Sergeant Munroe, who gave the first general alarm that assembled Captain Parker's company. A messenger later was sent down the road on a scouting trip for the British, but he did not return. A second was sent who did not return. A third was sent who also did not return. A fourth was despatched who did return with the news that the British Army was really marching on Lexington, and that the previous messengers who had been sent down the road had met and passed two or more British soldiers riding in advance of the main body, who then closed in on them as prisoners. The horse of the fourth messenger had become frightened at the two advancing Britons and turned back in spite of his rider, who caught a glimpse of the British front ranks on the march. (This last messenger was Capt. Thaddeus Bowman, F. W. C.)

and Mr. Mead and two sons were absent. This Lexington home was at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Woburn Street, where the Russell House now stands.[1]

Quickly following Solomon Brown's message came a written one, directed to John Hancock, sent by Elbridge Gerry, one of the Committee of Supplies, then sitting at the Black Horse Tavern in Menotomy. It was practically to the same effect, "that eight or nine officers of the King's troops were seen, just before night, passing the road towards Lexington, in a musing, contemplative posture; and it was supposed they were out upon some evil design."[2]

Hancock at once replied to Gerry that it was said the officers had gone to Concord, and that he would send word thither.[3]

But naturally it was surmised that the capture of Hancock and Adams was intended, so a guard of eight men, under Sergt. William Munroe, was stationed around the home of Rev. Jonas Clarke. About forty of the members of Captain Parker's company gathered at the Buckman Tavern after the mounted officers passed through Lexington,[4] and it was deemed best that scouts should be sent out to follow them. Accordingly Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderson volunteered to act. They started about 9 o'clock in the evening,[5]

[1] Our Grandmothers of 1775, by Miss Elizabeth W. Harrington in Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. I, page 51.

[2] Rev. Jonas Clarke's Narrative.

[3] Life of Elbridge Gerry, by James T. Austin, page 67.

[4] Deposition of Joseph Underwood.

[5] Sanderson having no horse was offered one by Thaddeus Harrington, which he accepted. Deposition of Elijah Sanderson.

and, as we have previously written, they were ambushed and captured at about 10 o'clock on the road toward Concord, in the town of Lincoln, by the same ones they had set out to follow.

Soon after the arrival of Paul Revere, between 12 and 1 o'clock in the morning of April 19, with the intelligence of the starting of the King's troops, Captain Parker assembled his company on the Common. The roll was called and they were instructed to load with powder and ball. One of the messengers who had been sent toward Boston returned and reported that he could not discover any troops on the way out, which raised some doubts as to their coming. It was between 1 and 2 o'clock when they were dismissed with instructions, however, to remain in the immediate neighborhood for quick response to the call of the drum. Many of them adjourned to Buckman's Tavern, and the others, living in the immediate vicinity, returned to their homes.

Between daylight and sunrise Capt. Thaddeus Bowman rode up, and reported that the Regulars were near. The drum was beat and Captain Parker's little band assembled on the Common.

The soldiers of the King were but one hundred rods down the road.[1]

Bedford, an adjoining town to Lexington, and about fifteen miles from Boston, was alarmed on the evening of the 18th by Nathan Munroe and Benjamin Tidd, both of Lexington, who had been sent there by Captain Parker because of the sus-

[1] Deposition of William Munroe, containing statement also of a British prisoner.

Fireplace in the Buckman Tavern, Lexington, around which some of Captain Parker's Minute Men gathered before the battle.

picious actions of the British officers on their way to Concord. Munroe and Tidd aroused the town, and some of the Minute Men rallied at the tavern kept by Jeremiah Fitch, Jr., and were there served with light refreshments. Captain Willson said: "It is a cold breakfast, boys, but we will give the British a hot dinner. We'll have every dog of them before night."[1]

The larger Bedford rally was at the oak tree standing in the little triangle a few rods west of the village, where the road to Concord branches away from the road to Billerica.[2]

Munroe and Tidd continued their alarm to Meriam's Corner in Concord, and returned to Lexington in time to hear the first alarm bell in the morning of the 19th, and witness the assembling of Captain Parker's company. Munroe, being a member, joined the ranks, and Tidd remained on or near the Common and was dispersed with the rest.[3]

Josiah Nelson, living in the northeast part of Lincoln, was awakened on the night of the 18th by horsemen passing up the road. Rushing out partly dressed, to ascertain who they were, he received a blow on his head from a sword, cutting sufficiently to draw the blood. He was seized and detained a little while by his British captors, and when released had his wound dressed, and hurried to Bedford and gave the alarm in that town also.[4]

Billerica, seventeen miles northwest from Boston,

[1] Brown's History of Bedford, page 24.
[2] Brown's History of Bedford, page 53.
[3] Deposition of Tidd and Abbot.
[4] Brown's Beneath Old Roof Trees, pages 218, 219.

probably received the alarm about 2 o'clock, and when the encounter on Lexington Common took place few if any families but had heard the call to arms.[1]

Concord, seventeen miles northwesterly from Boston, was first aroused by Dr. Samuel Prescott, between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning of the 19th. He had just escaped from the British, in Lincoln, at the time they captured Revere. It was nearly 3 o'clock when the alarm bell was rung[2] whereupon several posts were despatched, who, returning, brought the news that the Regulars were indeed coming; that they had reached Lexington, and killed six Americans, and then started for Concord.[3] Captain Minot's company took possession of the hill to the eastward above the meeting house, and Captain Brown's company marched up the road to meet the enemy.[4]

Corp. Amos Barrett of Capt. David Brown's company has left a written statement that he thinks 150 Minute Men had assembled. His company resolved to go up the road toward Lexington and meet the British. They accordingly marched a mile or a mile and a half when they saw them coming. They halted and awaited them, and when they were within one hundred rods were ordered by their captain to about face. They marched back to the

[1] Hazen's History of Billerica, page 235.

[2] "Amos Melvin, the guard on duty at the Court House, had discharged his gun and rung out the town bell." Brown's Beneath Old Roof Trees, page 102.

[3] Diary of Rev. Wm. Emerson in R. W. Emerson's Discourse, and Capt. Amos Barrett's Account of the Battle in True's Journal.

[4] Deposition of Capt. Nathan Barrett and fifteen others of Concord, and Deposition of John Hoar and seven others of Lincoln, present in Concord before the arrival of the British.

village to the music of their fife and drum, the British following, also playing their fifes and drums.[1]

Brown's company consolidated with Minot's, and both took up a new position a little farther north on the adjoining hill, back of the town. The British were so many more in number that it was thought prudent to still farther retire. Accordingly the two companies marched down the hill, over the North Bridge, distant three-quarters of a mile from the village, and took a new and stronger position on Punkatasset Hill, a little more than a mile from the village, but clearly overlooking it. There they welcomed the reinforcements that were arriving from the neighboring towns.

In Tewksbury, twenty miles northwesterly from Boston, the alarm was given at about 2 o'clock in the morning. "The British are on their way to Concord, and I have alarmed all the towns from Charlestown to here," [2] were the words that aroused Capt. John Trull from his slumber, who in turn fired his gun to arouse General Varnum, across the Merrimack River in Dracut, a signal previously agreed upon between them. When Captain Trull reached the village his men were awaiting him, and they at once started for Concord. There were two other Tewksbury companies commanded, respectively, by Capt. Jonathan Brown and Capt. Thomas Clark, who also responded to the alarm.

In Acton, twenty-one miles northwesterly from Boston and the adjoining town to Concord, westerly,

[1] Capt. Amos Barrett's Account of the Battle.

[2] Drake's Middlesex County, Vol. II, pages 375, 376.

the alarm was given early in the morning. Col. Francis Faulkner resided in South Acton. His son, Francis, Jr., was lying awake and listening to the clatter of a horse's hoofs drawing nearer and nearer. Suddenly he leaped from his bed and ran to his father's room, adjoining, and exclaimed: "Father, there's a horse coming on the full run, and he's bringing news!"

His father had heard the horseman also, for he was partly dressed with gun in hand. Across the bridge and up to the house came the messenger.

"Rouse your Minute Men, Mr. Faulkner, the British are marching on Lexington and Concord." And away he rode to spread the news.

Colonel Faulkner, without completing his dress, fired his gun three times as fast as he could load, that being the preconcerted signal. Very quickly a neighbor repeated it, and the boy, still listening, heard a repetition many times, each farther away. Thus was Acton aroused.

At the home of Colonel Faulkner very soon assembled Captain Hunt's company. Women were there, too, to help as they might. Stakes were driven into the lawn, kettles hung, fires built, and a dinner for the soldiers soon cooked. Some of the older boys were delighted to follow on and carry it in saddlebags, separately from the Minute Men, with instructions to take the field roads if the British should be found occupying the highways. Colonel Faulkner marched away with Captain Hunt's company, to take command of the Middlesex Regiment, which he was supposed to be assembling at Concord.

The home of Captain Davis was about a mile westerly from the meeting house in the center of Acton, and about six miles from the North Bridge in Concord. His company was assembling rapidly, and when about twenty had reported he was anxious to march. A man of serious mien, he seemed particularly so on the morning of April 19. One of his companions, speaking cheerily, perhaps lightly, was gently reproved by the brave captain, who seemed to have a premonition of his own fate, and reminded the other of what the day might have in store for them. They were about to proceed when he turned to his wife, as if to speak, but he could only say: "Take good care of the children." [1]

Then he turned and marched away with his little command. It might have been 7 o'clock when he started,[2] to the lively tune of the "White Cockade," played by his fifer, Luther Blanchard, and his drummer, Francis Barker.

When they reached the westerly part of Concord they must have learned what the British were doing at the home of Colonel Barrett, for they left the highway and passed into the fields to the northward of the Barrett home, stopping for a while a little way off to watch the King's soldiers in their work of destruction of the military stores. Continuing again, they marched through the fields until they came out into the highway at Widow Brown's Tavern,[3] which was situated across the river from

[1] Deposition of his widow.

[2] Between one and two hours after sunrise. Deposition of his widow.

[3] Deposition of Charles Handley.

Concord village, a mile away. From there they proceeded by way of the Back Road, so called, to the high ground, rising about a quarter of a mile to the westward of the North Bridge.

Other companies of militia and Minute Men were already assembled there, and Captain Davis marched his men, who now numbered about forty, to the left of the line, a position that had been assigned to him at the muster a little while before.

From this position they looked down upon the gently flowing Concord River; upon the old North Bridge which crossed just in the immediate foreground; upon the red-coated soldiers who stood grimly on guard at the nearer end; and beyond, up the river to Concord village, three-quarters of a mile away, where curling volumes of smoke seemed to indicate the burning of American homes.

In Chelmsford, twenty-three miles northwesterly from Boston, the alarm was early given by a mounted messenger, upon which guns were fired and drums beat. Minute Men met at the alarm post, a rock standing where the hay scales were placed in after years. Acting Captain, Col. Moses Parker's company, and Capt. Oliver Barron's company, marched, not in regular order, but in squads, and came into Concord at Meriam's Corner and on Hardy's Hill in time for the pursuit.

In Dracut, twenty-five miles from Boston, the alarm was given soon after 2 o'clock by the firing of a gun by Captain Trull across the Merrimack River in Tewksbury, a signal previously agreed upon, which aroused General Varnum. Two companies

marched immediately, one under Capt. Peter Coburn, and the other under Capt. Stephen Russell. They were, however, too remote from the scene of strife to meet the British, but continued their rapid march to Cambridge.

Littleton, twenty-five miles from Boston, was alarmed in the morning by the news of the British march on Concord. The messenger then hurried over Beaver Brook Bridge and into the towns beyond, on his mission.

Even in Pepperell, thirty-five miles northwesterly from Boston, the alarm went, reaching there about 9 o'clock. Colonel Prescott gave orders to the Pepperell and Hollis companies, to march to Groton, there to join others of the regiment.[1]

Roxbury, the adjoining town to Boston, southwesterly, was naturally the first town in that direction to know of the movement of the British. William Dawes, the first messenger out of Boston, as we have seen, passed through the town on his roundabout way to Lexington, and must have delivered his first message there before 11 o'clock on the evening of the 18th. There were three companies under the command of Capt. Moses Whiting, Capt. William Draper, and Capt. Lemuel Child, respectively, who took active parts in the events of the 19th. As they marched for the scene of strife many women and children fled to other towns for greater safety.[2]

[1] Lorenzo P. Blood in Hurd's Middlesex County, Vol. III, page 231.

[2] There is a tradition in the Greaton family that Mrs. Greaton took her younger children and such articles as she could carry in a cart and fled to Brookline, the older children walking beside the vehicle. Drake's Roxbury, page 61.

The news reached Dedham, ten miles southwesterly from Boston, a little after 9 o'clock in the morning. It came by way of Needham and Dover.[1]

Framingham, eighteen miles southwesterly from Boston, was alarmed before 8 o'clock in the morning. A bell was rung and alarm guns fired, which assembled many of the two companies of militia and one of Minute Men, who started in about an hour. Captain Edget went on foot the entire distance, and carried his gun. Those living in the extreme south and west parts of the town followed a little later. Not long after the men had left, a report was started that negroes were coming to massacre them all, which seemed the more frightful to the women and children because of the absence of about all the able-bodied men. For those defenceless ones at home it was a terrible day.[2]

Newton, seven miles westerly from Boston, was alarmed at early dawn by a volley from one of John Pigeon's field guns, kept at the gunhouse in Newton Centre, near the church.[3]

Sudbury, eighteen miles westerly from Boston, received its first news by a messenger from Concord, eight miles away, who reported to Thomas Plympton, a member of the Provincial Congress. Captain Nixon was aroused by a messenger, who shouted: "Up, up! The Red Coats are up as far as Concord."

Captain Nixon started off at once on horseback.[4]

In Worcester, forty miles westerly from Boston,

[1] Haven's Historical Address, page 46.

[2] Rev. Josiah H. Temple in Hurd's Middlesex County, Vol. III, page 624.

[3] Smith's Newton, page 341.

[4] Hudson's Sudbury, pages 374, 375, and Hudson in Hurd's Middlesex County, Vol. II, page 401.

the people were alarmed before noon by a messenger mounted on a white horse dripping with sweat, and bloody from spurring. Driving at full speed through the town he shouted: "To arms! to arms! The war has begun!"

At the church the horse fell exhausted. Another was procured and the news still went on. The bell rang out the alarm, cannon were fired, and special messengers despatched to every part of the town to summon the soldiers. In a little while 110 men, under Capt. Timothy Bigelow, were paraded on the Green, and soon marched for Concord. They were met on the way by the intelligence of the British retreat, so they changed their course toward Boston.[1]

It would be interesting to know the full details of that messenger's long ride, and just where in the westward it ended. His exhausted horse, covered with bloody foam, falling in the street before the church, must have been a spectacular sight, and one that spoke loudly of that terrific ride, perhaps the longest one of all the messengers. And we can safely imagine that all along his course other messengers, drawing their inspiration from him, rode into the north and into the south, bearing with them the news that he bore; and that in turn their words were echoed by the gun volley, the clanging bell and the drum beat.

The reveille had now been sounded in Essex, in Middlesex, in Norfolk, and in Worcester counties, and the Minute Men were on their way to the battle of April 19.

[1] Lincoln and Hersey's History of Worcester, page 97.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Advance through Cambridge.

Let us now return to the King's soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, whom we left on the shore of Charles River at Lechmere Point in Cambridge. It was 1 o'clock on the morning of the 19th before the column was fully under way.[1]

Lechmere Point then had but one house, which stood on the southern slope of the hill, on the northern side of Spring Street, between Third and Fourth streets, and facing to the south.[2] Where the troops landed, on Second Street, was sufficiently remote to be out of sight and hearing, — evidently the particular aim of the commanding officer.

They proceeded cautiously, following an old farm road around the northeasterly slope of the hill, sometimes wading in the marshes that bordered Willis Creek, and fording that stream, waist deep, in the vicinity of Bullard's Bridge.

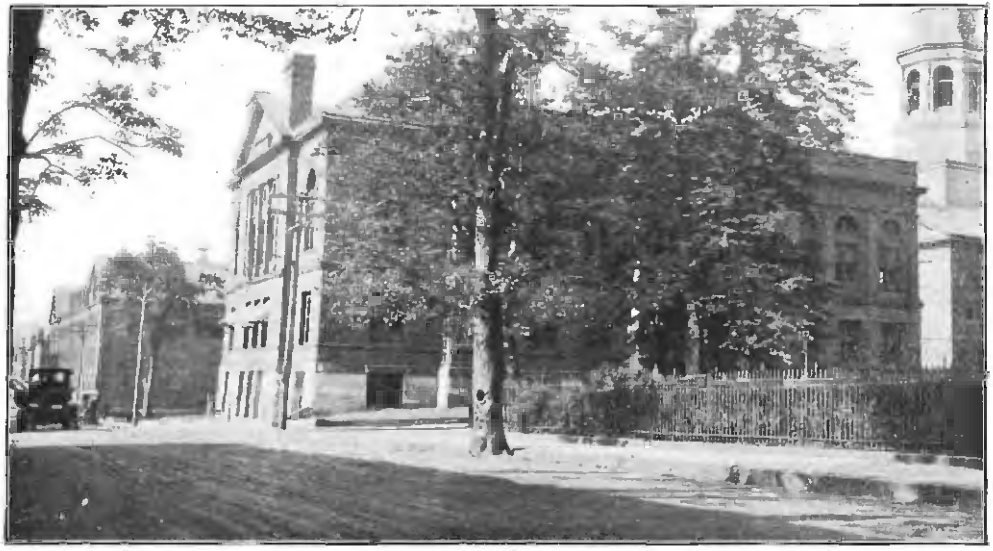
Smith evidently thought that the noise of his soldiers tramping across the bridge itself might attract attention. His soldiers found the ford a long one, and the waters deep.[3]

Even thus early on the expedition was the British Army betrayed by one of its own soldiers, if the

[1] A British Officer in Boston in 1775 (see Atlantic Monthly, April, 1877). In his Diary he places the time of starting at 2 o'clock, and De Berniere, in his report, at about 2 o'clock, but I am compelled to compute it as about 1 o'clock, considering the distance they had to march and the well-known time they arrived at Lexington Common, namely, almost eleven miles, and reaching there a little before 5 o'clock.

[2] E. C. Booth, in the Somerville Journal, April, 1875.

[3] Diary of a British Officer in Boston in 1775.



Second Street, East Cambridge.
Landing place of 800 British under Lieutenant Colonel Smith.

tradition handed down by a Mrs. Moore can be relied upon. Seventy-five years or more ago she related to Rev. J. L. Sibley, who has stated accordingly, that she was then living in Cambridge, a young girl, and that one of the soldiers was taken sick after his landing at Lechmere Point, and was therefore permitted by his commander to return by boat to Boston. He did not immediately return, however, but made his way to the solitary farmhouse where Mrs. Moore was living. The occupants gained from him the significance of his midnight presence, and it was considered of sufficient importance to communicate speedily to their fellow townsmen.

Bullard's Bridge crossed Willis Creek near the present Prospect Street, which runs from Cambridge to Somerville.[1] Later on the Creek was called Miller's River. It was then a little tributary to the Charles River, but has long since been filled in, and modest dwellings and more pretentious business establishments now cover its upper area.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Advance through Somerville.

The invading army emerging from Willis Creek were now in Somerville. They quickly arrived at Piper's Tavern, then standing in what is now Union Square. It was after 2 o'clock, but the moon was shining sufficiently bright for some of the soldiers

[1] The interested reader should consult the map of Boston and vicinity by J. F. W. Des Barres, first published May 5, 1775, and reprinted in Shattuck's History of Boston; and the one by Henry Pelham, first published in London June 2, 1777, and reprinted in the Siege and Evacuation of Boston. A study of them will enable one to more fully understand the topography of the country about Boston at that time.

to read aloud the sign, which an awakened inmate heard. Up the present Bow Street they marched, passing the Choate and Frost houses, continuing along the present Somerville Avenue to Jonathan Ireland's house, at the southwest corner of the present School Street. None of the inhabitants just along there seem to have been disturbed. A few rods farther lived Samuel Tufts, on the westerly side of the road near the present Laurel Street. He was casting bullets in a little hut back of his dwelling, assisted by his negro, but neither of them heard the tread of soldiers in the road. But yet a little farther along, however, at the northwest corner of the present Central Street, lived the Widow Rand. She was disturbed by the unusual noise in the road, and came down stairs in her nightclothes to investigate. A hog had been killed for her the day before, and she feared a midnight thief. Upon opening the door she saw the soldiers, but hid behind the rain-water hogshead until they had passed, and then hurried across the road to tell her neighbor Tufts of the unusual sight. At first he could not believe the story, but with his lantern's aid saw the many foot-prints in the road, and became convinced. Springing to his horse's back he took a short-cut bridle path to Cambridge, there to spread the alarm.

Then marched the column by Samuel Kent's house on the westerly side of the road, at the corner of the present Garden Court. Kent did not awake. Then by the Capen house, a little farther on the easterly side. No one there awakened. Then by the Hunnewell brothers on the easterly side at the

turn of the road. They were both somewhat deaf and did not hear the military tread.

The next house is the home of Timothy Tufts, on the easterly side of the road, nearly opposite Beech Street. Mrs. Tufts heard the soldiers, and saw from her bed the gun barrels shining in the moonlight. She awakened her husband, and they both looked out upon that red-coated column as it halted long enough for some of the soldiers to drink at the well.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Advance through Cambridge.

The march was again resumed a few rods farther along the Milk Row Road, then wheeled to the left, southwesterly, into Cambridge through what is now Beech Street, less than an eighth of a mile in length, then wheeled to the right into the Lexington and Concord road, toward the northwest.[1] They were then on what is now known as Massachusetts Avenue.

Along this part of Battle Road in Cambridge were perhaps captured the first prisoners, Thomas Robins and David Harrington, both of Lexington. Robins was carrying milk to Boston in company with Harrington when they reached the vicinity of Menotomy River, the present dividing line between Cambridge and Arlington. They were detained and compelled to return to Lexington with the soldiers, and released at the commencement of hostilities on the Common.[2]

[1] E. C. Booth in the Somerville Journal, April, 1875.

[2] Francis H. Brown, M.D., in Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. III, page 101.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Advance through Arlington.

Just after crossing the Menotomy River into Arlington they passed a house where lived the venerable Samuel Whittemore with his sons and grandchildren. Silent as was the march intended to be, it awoke the inmates, and preparations for the day commenced.

The troops soon arrived opposite to the Black Horse Tavern, kept by Mr. Wetherby. Thus far their march had not been heralded other than by the flashing lights and fleet and silent messengers. Lieutenant Colonel Smith still thought his little army unnoticed, for he rode a little way beyond the Tavern, halted his troops, and sent back an officer with a file of men to surround and guard the house while others should search the interior for members of the Rebel Congress whom he thought to be within. His surmise was correct, to some extent, for three members were there, who, just awakened by the heavy tread, heard the low-voiced commands to halt.

The day before, April 18, the Committee of Safety and the Committee of Supplies had held a joint meeting at the Tavern, and there were present Col. Azor Orne, Col. Joseph Palmer, Col. William Heath, Col. Thomas Gardner, Richard Devens, Abraham Watson, Capt. Benjamin White, and John Pigeon, of the Committee of Safety, and David Cheever, Elbridge Gerry, Col. Charles Lee, and

Col. Benjamin Lincoln, of the Committee of Supplies. At the close of the meeting most of them, being near enough, had departed for their homes. It will be remembered that Richard Devens of Charlestown departed early enough to meet Revere on the Charlestown shore, and acquaint him with the movement of the ten British officers riding up the road. It will also be recalled that Elbridge Gerry had sent from here a messenger to John Hancock at Lexington to the same effect.

However, there were three members of the two committees who chose to remain at the Black Horse Tavern that night. They were Col. Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, and Col. Charles Lee.

It was not quite 3 o'clock when the slumbers of these three men were disturbed by the unusual noise in the road, and they went to the windows and looked out into the moonlight and down on the marching host and its gleaming arms. They watched with eager curiosity. Not for a moment did they connect themselves individually with the movement, but when they heard the command to halt, and saw a file of soldiers leave the ranks for the Tavern, they were startled, and then it suddenly occurred to them that possibly they were the objects of those military manœuvres. They hurried down stairs, even clad in their nightclothes as they were, and finally sought a safe exit at the rear. It is said that Mr. Gerry, in his nervous haste to escape, was on the point of opening the front door and rushing out that way, but was prevented by the cry of the landlord: "For God's sake, don't open that

door!" who then conducted the three to the back part of the house, and headed them for a field of corn stubble. Elbridge Gerry stumbled and fell, and cried out to his friend, "Stop, Orne, for me, till I can get up. I have hurt myself."

His position, flat on the ground, out of sight because of the corn stubble, suggested that it would be a good hiding place for all, so the three lay prone on the ground until the King's troops passed on. They returned to the Tavern finally to find that the house had indeed been searched for them, very ineffectively, for even their personal effects, including Mr. Gerry's gold watch left ticking under his pillow, had not been disturbed. The search by the soldiers had not been a very thorough one.

Colonel Lee never recovered from the ill effect of his exposure on the damp ground in the night air, too thinly clad as he was, for he died within a month.[1]

The march of the British forces under Lieutenant Colonel Smith up to this point was a little over five miles, and it was nearly 3 o'clock. He continued serenely a little farther, for unknown to him the inmates of many houses that he passed were aroused by the measured tread of his men.

Solomon Bowman, lieutenant in Capt. Benjamin Locke's company of Minute Men, lived in Menotomy, now Arlington.[2] He came to the door to witness the unusual sight. A soldier, perceiving

[1] Samuel A. Smith's Address at West Cambridge, page 17.

[2] House still standing on the northerly side of Massachusetts Avenue, numbered 417, nearly opposite Whittemore Street. *Arlington Past and Present*, Parker, page 141.

Home of Lieut. Solomon Bowman, 417 Massachusetts Avenue, Arlington. Still standing.

him, left the ranks and asked for a drink of water. Bowman refused the request, but asked him, "What are you out at this time of night for?"

The reply of the thirsty soldier was not recorded, but whatever it was Bowman readily drew his own conclusions, and when the column disappeared up the road hastened to call out members of his company. They formed at daybreak on the Common.[1]

But at the house across the road, with its chimneys painted white, the reception was more gracious. A Tory lived there, and white chimneys, it has been said, indicated the owner's politics.[2]

The column halted again briefly in the center of the town, and Lieutenant Colonel Smith despatched six companies of light infantry under Major Pitcairn for the purpose of earlier securing the two bridges on the roads just beyond Concord village.[3] Scarcely had he done so when signal guns and alarm bells were heard, which indicated a general awakening to arms of the Provincials. Smith realized the full meaning of those ominous sounds, and from there, in Arlington village, promptly sent back to General Gage for reinforcements. Fortunate for him that he did so, for otherwise the day's climax for his force would have been even more disastrous than it was.

His marching soldiers could now hardly expect to pass any house unseen. A party of young men playing cards even at that late hour in an old shop

[1] Statement of Mrs. Hill, daughter of Bowman, in Smith's Address, page 18.
[2] Smith, page 18.
[3] Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Report.

that stood near the road lost their interest in the game and gave it up.[1]

At the Tufts Tavern, still standing on the easterly side of Massachusetts Avenue, nearly opposite Mt. Vernon Street, the soldiers halted, and some of them proceeded toward Mr. Tufts's barn. He was awake and saw them, and suspected that their mission might be the confiscation of his favorite white horse. He called for his gun, but his prudent wife informed him that it had been loaned. Opening the door, however, he addressed a British officer, saying, "You are taking an early ride, sir!"

"You had better go to bed and get your sleep while you can," replied the officer, significantly.[2]

At the corner of the main road and the one leading to Winchester, now Forest Street, "At the Foot of the Rocks," lived a shoemaker. A light glimmering through the shutters caught the attention of an officer, who sent a soldier to investigate its cause so late in the night. The good wife replied that her "old man" was sick and she was "making some herb tea." That excuse satisfied the officer, for the family was left undisturbed. The "tea" was in fact melted pewter plates being run into bullets. When the rap first came at the door the old man took to his bed, and his wife emptied the molten pewter into the ashes, where it was readily found after the soldiers had passed on.[3] It is

[1] A. R. Proctor, who heard it from William Hill and told it to Mr. Smith. The shop stood in front of the residence occupied by James Schouler in 1864. Smith's West Cambridge Address, page 19.

[2] Mrs. Almira T. Whittemore in Parker's Arlington, pages 194 195.

[3] Mrs. Henry Whittemore's Statement, Smith's West Cambridge Address, page 20.

"Foot of the Rocks," Arlington, Massachusetts Avenue, near Forest Street.
Farther house, Capt. Benjamin Locke's. Nearer house, home of the shoemaker. Both still standing.

probable that ere night some of the leaden tea had hardened into leaden fruit, and was used for other than medicinal purposes.

In the next house, still standing (1921) and numbered 1193 Massachusetts Avenue, lived Capt. Benjamin Locke. He looked out and saw the marching Red Coats, and knew what their mission was. He lost no time in arousing such of his command as lived in that neighborhood.

The British continued along the main road, which at that time ran up the hill westerly from Captain Locke's home, and is now called Appleton Street, into Paul Revere Road, and out again into the present Massachusetts Avenue. At that time there was no highway between the extreme ends of these two.

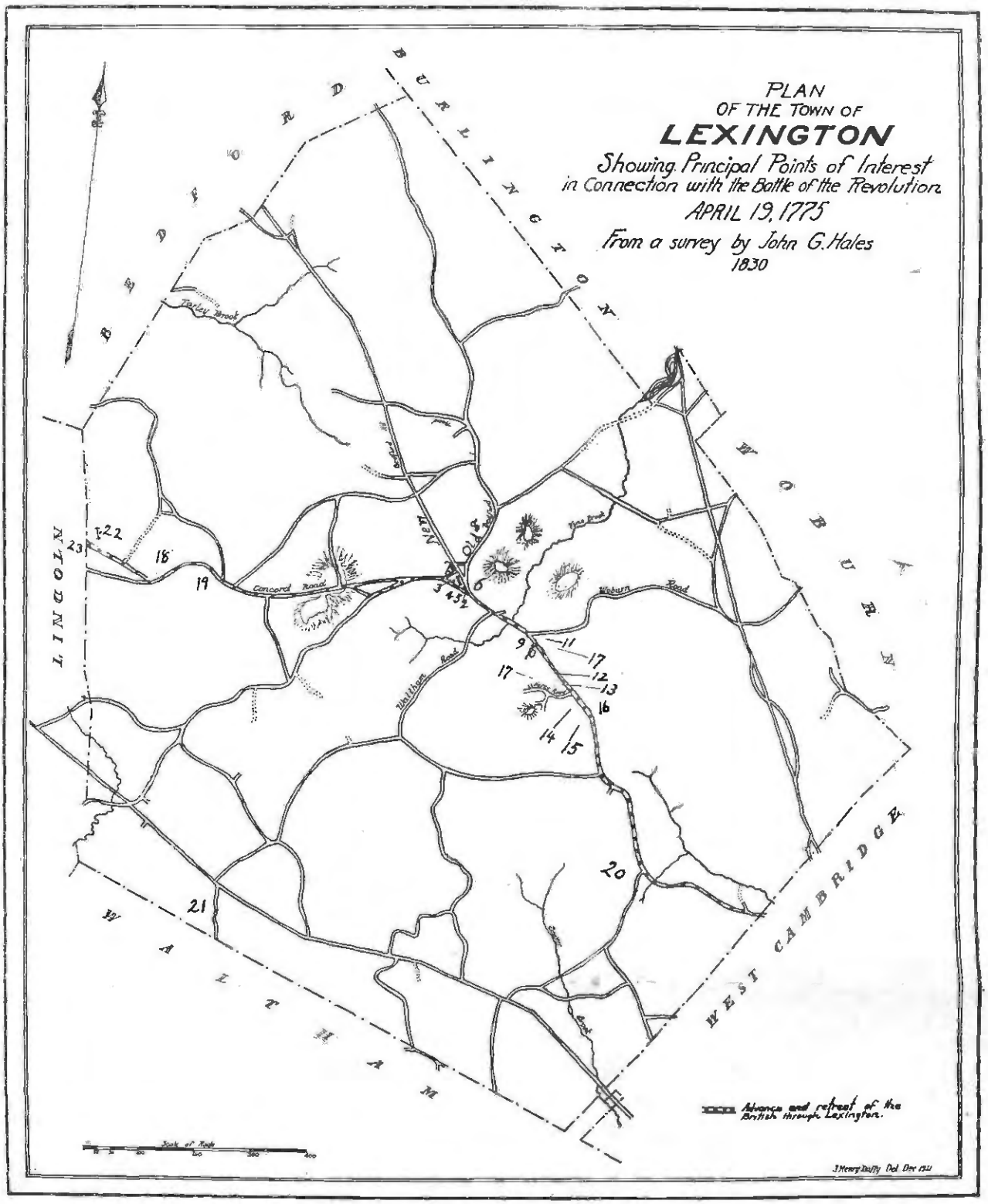
Through the rest of Arlington the march was uneventful, save the capture of the scouts sent out from Lexington, who were so neatly ambushed and taken. As we have seen, they were permitted to come down the road passing a few soldiers who were out in advance, and who secreted themselves when an approaching horseman was heard. After the unfortunate scout had passed into the stretch of road bounded by the advance guard and the main body he was not permitted to return to Lexington.

Two men from Woburn, Asahel Porter and Josiah Richardson, were thus captured. It has been stated that they were on their way to the Boston market. If they lived in that part of Woburn which adjoins Lexington, then their natural journey would have been into Lexington, and thence through Arlington and Cambridge. But it may be that they

were scouting simply, for they were on horseback, and therefore without any apparent market business. They were compelled to dismount, their horses taken, and then forced to walk along as prisoners. Reaching the Common in Lexington they were both released by their kindly disposed guard, with the particular understanding that they were to walk, not run, away. Richardson accepted those conditions, carried them out and so escaped. But Porter, once over Rufus Merriam's garden wall, twenty rods away from his captors, started into a run. Some other soldier than his guard saw him, and evidently thinking that a prisoner was escaping, promptly shot him through the body. Those captures were probably made in Arlington, and not far from the Lexington boundary line.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Advance into Lexington.

It must have been just over the line into Lexington that the young man, Simon Winship, was met. He was on horseback, unarmed, and passing along in a peaceable manner, when he was halted and ordered to dismount. He questioned their right to treat him in that manner, but for answer they forced him from his horse and compelled him to march on foot in their midst. They asked him if he had been out warning the Minute Men, to which he replied that he had not, but that he was returning home to his father's. He was kept as a prisoner until they arrived at Lexington Common, two and one-half



1. The Common. 2. Meeting House. 3. Belfry. 4. Marrett Munroe. 5. Emerson. 6. Buckman Tavern. 7. Harrington. 8. Rev. Jonas Clarke. 9. Merriam. 10. Loring. 11. Mead. 12. Mulliken. 13. Bond. 14. Munroe Tavern. 15. Sanderson. 16. Mason. 17 (two). Percy's Cannon. 18. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, wounded; where Major Pitcairn lost his horse, pistols, etc. 19. Haywood mortally wounded, Briton killed in duel. 20. Wellington, first armed American, taken prisoner. 21. Home of Captain Parker. 22. Where the British sword and bullet were found. 23. Hastings.

WILLIAM DIAMOND'S DRUM.

Now in possession of the Lexington Historical Society.

miles, where he was compelled to witness the shooting of his fellow townsmen.

Half a mile farther along, and about two miles from Lexington Common, Benjamin Wellington, one of Captain Parker's company of Minute Men, was captured. This took place very nearly at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Pleasant Street. Wellington was armed and on his way from home on Pleasant Street to join his company. Thus it is claimed, and rightly, that he was the first belligerent or armed man captured by the British. But for some reason he was allowed to depart, not toward the Common, but for home. His gun was not returned to him, however. He started toward home, but when out of their sight turned and passed northerly along the crest of the hills, parallel to the highway, and reached the Common just after Capt. Thaddeus Bowman, but ahead of the British.

The Opening Battle on Lexington Common.

The six companies of light infantry under command of Major Pitcairn were now considerably in advance of the main body under Smith, and up the road somewhat farther than the present high school building, even farther along than where the Woburn Road, now Woburn Street, turns off to the eastward. When still nearer Lexington Common, within about one hundred rods of it, they heard the beating of a drum by William Diamond, drummer in Captain Parker's company. It was the summons for that little band to assemble across the pathway of an

NAMES OF THE SEVENTY-SEVEN MEN OF CAPTAIN JOHN PARKER'S COMPANY

Who were in the early morning engagement on Lexington Common, April 19, 1775

OFFICERS

Captain JOHN PARKER
Lieutenant WILLIAM TIDD
Ensign ROBERT MUNROE, KILLED
Ensign JOSEPH SIMONDS
Clerk DANIEL HARRINGTON
Orderly Sergt. WILLIAM MUNROE
Corporal JOEL VILES
Corporal SAMUEL SANDERSON
Corporal JOHN MUNROE
Corporal EBENEZER PARKER
Drummer WILLIAM DIAMOND
Fifer JONATHAN HARRINGTON

PRIVATES

EBENEZER BOWMAN
JOHN BRIDGE, JR.
JAMES BROWN
JOHN BROWN, KILLED
SOLOMON BROWN
JOHN CHANDLER
JOHN CHANDLER, JR.
JOSEPH COMEE, WOUNDED
ROBERT DOUGLASS, OF CAPTAIN BELKNAP'S WOBURN COMPANY. ENLISTED IN CAPTAIN PARKER'S COMPANY, APRIL 19
ISAAC DURANT
PRINCE ESTABROOK, COLORED. WOUNDED
NATHANIEL FARMER, WOUNDED
ISAAC GREEN
WILLIAM GRIMES
CALEB HARRINGTON, KILLED
JOHN HARRINGTON
JONATHAN HARRINGTON, "JR." KILLED (SON OF HENRY, BUT KNOWN AS A "JUNIOR" AT THAT TIME)
MOSES HARRINGTON, 3RD.
MOSES HARRINGTON, JR.
THADDEUS HARRINGTON
THOMAS HARRINGTON
ISAAC HASTINGS
SAMUEL HASTINGS
SAMUEL HADLEY, KILLED
THOMAS HADLEY, JR.
JOHN HOSMER
MICAH HAGAR
AMOS LOCK
BENJAMIN LOCK
EBENEZER LOCK
REUBEN LOCK
ABNER MEAD
EBENEZER MUNROE, JR. (SON OF JONAS, BUT KNOWN AS A "JUNIOR" AT THAT TIME), WOUNDED
JEDEDIAH MUNROE, WOUNDED
JOHN MUNROE, JR.
NATHAN MUNROE
WILLIAM MUNROE, 3RD.
NATHANIEL MULLIKEN

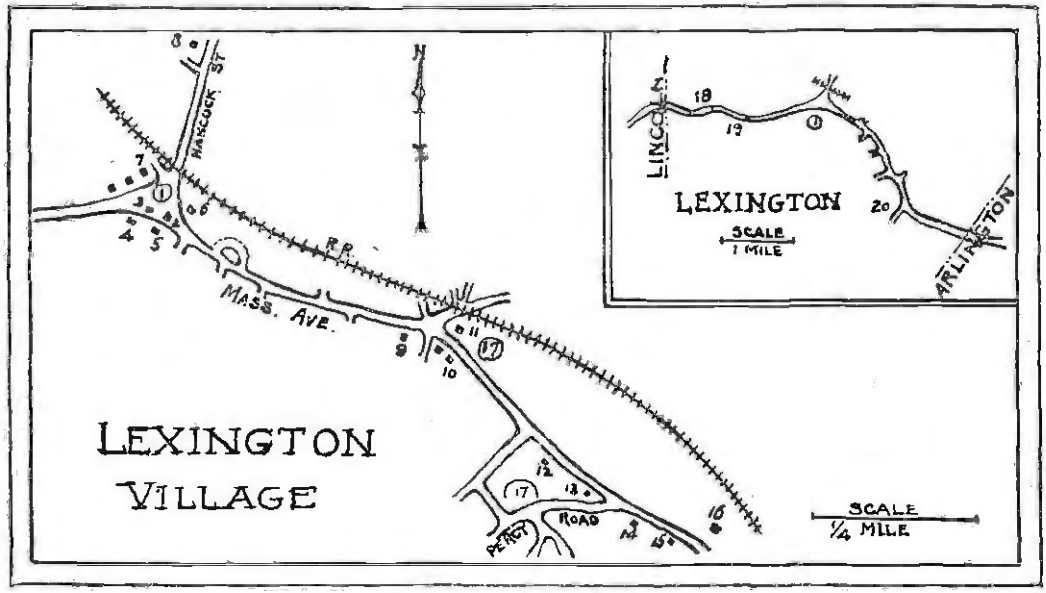
ISAAC MUZZY, KILLED
JOHN MUZZY
JONAS PARKER, KILLED
JONAS PARKER, JR.
NATHANIEL PARKHURST
SOLOMON PIERCE, WOUNDED
ASAHEL PORTER, KILLED. UNARMED. (HAD BEEN TAKEN PRISONER, RELEASED, BUT SHOT AS HE WAS RUNNING AWAY)
JOSHUA REED
JOSHUA REED, JR.
NATHAN REED
JOHN ROBBINS, WOUNDED
PHILLIP RUSSELL
BENJAMIN SAMPSON
JOSHUA SIMONDS
JOHN SMITH
PHINEAS SMITH
SIMEON SNOW
PHINEAS STEARNS
JONAS STONE, JR.
JOHN TIDD, WOUNDED
SAMUEL TIDD
JOSEPH UNDERWOOD
BENJAMIN WELLINGTON
ENOCH WELLINGTON
JOHN WINSHIP
THOMAS WINSHIP, WOUNDED
SYLVANUS WOOD, OF CAPTAIN WALKER'S WOBURN COMPANY. ENLISTED IN CAPTAIN PARKER'S COMPANY, APRIL 19
JAMES WYMAN

77 in all not counting Porter, who was not in line

NAMES OF THE EIGHT MEN OF CAPTAIN JOHN PARKER'S COMPANY

Who returned the British Fire in the early morning engagement on Lexington Common

Lieutenant WILLIAM TIDD
Corporal JOHN MUNROE
SOLOMON BROWN
EBENEZER LOCK
EBENEZER MUNROE, WOUNDED (SON OF JONAS, BUT KNOWN AS A "JUNIOR" AT THAT TIME)
NATHAN MUNROE
JONAS PARKER, KILLED
BENJAMIN SAMPSON



LEXINGTON COMMON AND VICINITY.

1. Lexington Common. 2. Meeting House. 3. Belfry. 4. Marrett Munroe. 5. Emerson. 6. Buckman Tavern. 7. Harrington. 8. Rev. Jonas Clarke. 9. Merriam. 10. Loring. 11. Mead. 12. Mulliken. 13. Bond. 14. Munroe Tavern. 15. Sanderson. 16. Mason. 17. Percy's cannon. 18. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith wounded. 19. Hayward mortally wounded. 20. Wellington captured.

imagine him as a serious and prudent man, with a quiet, yet firm courage.

Two men from Woburn had just arrived, and it was then a little before 5 o'clock. They were Sylvanus Wood and Robert Douglass. They had come about three miles, having heard the ringing of the bell in the Old Belfry, which stood near the church on the Common. As Wood came up he approached Captain Parker and inquired the news. Parker replied that he did not know what to believe, for half an hour before a messenger had returned with the assurance that no British were on the way. While talking, another messenger, Capt. Thaddeus Bowman, rode up with the startling announcement that the British were within half a mile. They were nearer than that — not even down the road as far as Woburn Street.

Captain Parker then ordered his drummer, William Diamond,[1] to beat to arms. The Minute Men assembled from their homes and from the Buckman Tavern. They were but few, so few, indeed, that he turned to Wood and begged him to join their ranks. Wood consented. Parker asked him if his young companion, meaning Robert Douglass, would also join. And Douglass also enlisted into Captain Parker's company. These two were indeed brave, for the danger was really then and there.

[1] "William Diamond. Died July 29, 1828. Aged 73." Inscription on his gravestone in Peterboro, N. H. See article in the Boston Globe, Sept. 23, 1903, speaking of him at length as the drummer in Captain Parker's company. See also the deposition of Sylvanus Wood who called him William Dimon. See also list of Captain Parker's company in Boutwell's Oration at Acton. His drum is now (1921) in possession of the Lexington Historical Society, and may be seen by the interested visitor at the Hancock-Clarke House.

OLD BELFRY ON LEXINGTON COMMON.
Destroyed by a gale in 1900. A replica now standing near the Common.

Bowlder marking line of the Lexington Minute Men.

Sergt. William Munroe.

Fifer Jonathan Harrington.

The Minute Men gathered around their captain in the middle of the road, about half way between the meeting house and the Tavern. The meeting house then stood where the heroic statue of a Minute Man in bronze now stands. The Tavern is still standing (1921).

Parker then said: "Every man of you who is equipped, follow me; and those of you who are not equipped, go into the meeting house and furnish yourselves from the magazine, and immediately join the company."[1] Joseph Comee, Caleb Harrington, and Joshua Simonds then went into the meeting house to comply with the Captain's command.

Then Parker led those who were equipped to the northerly end of the Common, where they formed in single line. Sylvanus Wood stepped from the ranks long enough to count them, and has left his sworn statement that there were thirty-eight, "and no more,"[1] meaning in that first line formed.

In the brief moments which followed others were hastening to join the ranks, and as they arrived Orderly Sergt. William Munroe attempted to form them into a second line, and partially succeeded.[2] Even later still a few more reached the Common, and were back to the British as they wheeled grandly around the easterly end of the meeting house and at last stood on Lexington Common.[3] Captain Parker's entire force then numbered 77 men, ununiformed,

[1] Deposition of Sylvanus Wood.

[2] Deposition of William Munroe.

[3] Depositions of Nathaniel Parkhurst and thirteen others, and of Nathaniel Mulliken and thirty-three others.

scantily armed, poorly disciplined, pitifully few as compared with the 400 of the British.

It is no wonder that one Minute Man exclaimed: "There are so few of us it is folly to stand here."

Captain Parker heard the remark, and answered, "The first man who offers to run shall be shot down."[1]

On came the British, almost on the run,[2] the light companies of the 10th Regiment in advance.[3] At their head rode Maj. John Pitcairn and two other mounted officers.[4]

"Stand your ground!" exclaimed Parker; "don't fire unless fired upon. But if they want to have a war let it begin here!"[5]

Major Pitcairn galloped up to within six rods of Captain Parker's foremost line, and exclaimed: "Lay down your arms, you damned rebels, and disperse."

Captain Parker, seeing the utter hopelessness of armed resistance, gave the order to disperse and not to fire.[6] He did not, however, order his men to lay down their arms. Evidently Pitcairn wished to disarm them, for while they were dispersing he shouted again: "Damn you, why don't you lay down your arms?"[7]

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[1] Depositions of Robert Douglass and of Joseph Underwood.

[2] Deposition of William Draper.

[3] Historical Memoirs of the 52d Regiment copied in Evelyn's Memoirs, pages 56, 57.

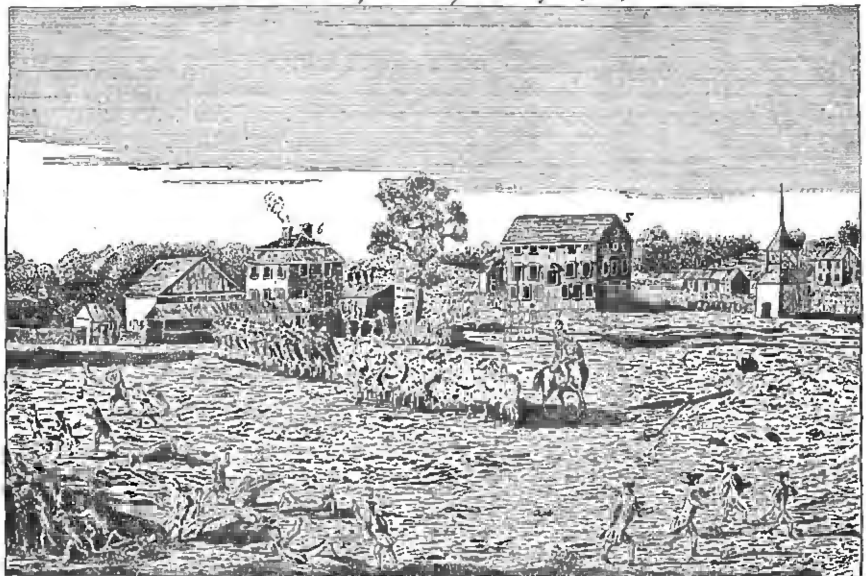
[4] Depositions of Thomas Fessenden and of John Robbins.

[5] When this scene was re-enacted in 1822, William Munroe, orderly sergeant under Parker that morning, repeated the words of Captain Parker as above quoted, and added: "Them are the very words that Captain Parker said." Report of the Committee on Historical Monuments and Tablets, 1884. Paul Revere heard Captain Parker say: "Let the troops pass by and don't molest them without they begin first." See Revere's Narrative.

[6] Deposition of Capt. John Parker.

[7] Rev. Jonas Clarke.

The Battle of Lexington, April 19th 1775 Plate I.



1 Major Pitcairn at the head of the Regular Granadiers
2 The Party who first fired on the Provincials at Lexington
3 Part of the Provincial Company of Lexington

4. Regular Companies on the road to Concord. A. Doolittle Sculp
5. The Meetinghouse at Lexington.
6. The Public Inn

But no answer came back, and each one of Captain Parker's little band retiring from the field carried his gun with him.

Then one of the other mounted officers, about two rods behind Pitcairn, name unknown, brandished his sword and the Regulars huzzaed in unison. He then pointed his pistol toward the Minute Men and fired.[1]

Pitcairn was back to that officer, so did not see him fire. He heard the discharge, and easily might have mistaken it as coming from an enemy, for he had not authorized it himself.[2] Furious with passion he gave the order: "Fire!"

There was hesitation to obey from his men, for he repeated: "Fire, damn you, fire!"[3]

The first platoon of eight or nine men then fired, evidently over the heads of the Minute Men, for none were killed or wounded.[4] Pitcairn saw the effects of that volley and realized that his men did not aim to kill. Then came his next order: "G—d d—n you, fire *at* them!"[5]

The second volley surely was fired to kill.

John Munroe, one of the Minute Men in line,

[1] Deposition of Thomas Fessenden.

[2] The English contention is that the Americans fired first. See letter of W. S. Evelyn, who was with Percy; De Berniere's Account, and Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Report. It seems to me of but little moment as to who fired first. The council of war, convened by General Gage, April 18, wherein it was determined to march out and destroy the public stores of Massachusetts, was the first real hostile act, and could only lead to war. Major Pitcairn has denied that he authorized that first shot. I believe him to have been gruff and profane, but honest, brave, and faithful to his King. He died from wounds received in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

[3] Depositions of William Draper, of William Munroe, of Simon Winship, of John Munroe, and of John Bateman, a British soldier.

[4] Deposition of William Wood.

[5] Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington, a youthful spectator.

thought that the first volley was nothing but powder, and so remarked to Ebenezer Munroe, who stood next to him. But as the second volley came quickly and with fatal effect the latter answered that something more than powder was being used, for he had received a wound in his arm, and, he added, "I'll give them the guts of my gun."[1]

These two Munroes then deliberately fired at the British, though the smoke from the latter's guns prevented a deliberate and careful aim.[1] John Munroe, after retreating about ten rods, loaded a second time, with two balls, and fired, but the charge was too heavy, and he lost about a foot from the muzzle end of his gun.[2]

Jonas Parker, cousin to the Captain, was mortally wounded through the body[3] from the second volley, but having sufficient strength fired in return. He had but just uttered his determination not to run, and had placed his hat on the ground at his feet, and in it put his bullets and extra flints. The British bullet in his body caused him to sink to his knees, but he heroically endeavored to reload. He could not before the advancing enemy were upon him, and one of them ended his sufferings with a bayonet thrust.[4] His death was especially heroic and spectacular, as his company had retired, leaving him alone to face the invaders.

Jonathan Harrington, Jr., was mortally wounded, but staggered toward his home, on the northerly end

[1] Deposition of John Munroe.
[2] Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington, and deposition of John Munroe.
[3] Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington.
[4] Deposition of William Munroe.

of the Common. He fell before reaching there, struggled to his feet again, and staggered almost to his own door, where he expired, just as his wife rushed to meet him. He fell near the barn, then standing in what is now Bedford Street.[1]

Ensign Robert Munroe was killed while attempting to escape. He was just at the edge of the Common, by the wall at Merriam's barn.[1] His daughter Anna, wife of Daniel Harrington, who lived at the northerly end of the Common, must have seen the tragedy, as must have also his two sons, Ebenezer and John, and his two sons-in-law, Daniel Harrington and Lieutenant Tidd, all four in line with Captain Parker.

When Parker directed such of his force as were without ammunition to proceed into the meeting house near by, and supply themselves from the town's stock, as we have written, Joseph Comee, Caleb Harrington, and Joshua Simonds entered the sacred edifice for that purpose. Simonds succeeded in getting down from the upper loft to the first balcony two quarter casks of powder, and had removed the head from one.[2] The opening volley, but a few rods away, indicated to him that hostilities had commenced. He expected to meet his fate. Pointing his gun to the open cask he resolved to blow up the meeting house, himself and his enemies rather than to have them enter and capture him.[3] Comee and Harrington attempted to escape, and were running from the westerly end of the meeting house, when the former was wounded in the arm,

[1] Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington.
[2] Phinney's History of the Battle of Lexington.
[3] Deposition of Ebenezer Munroe.

and the latter shot and instantly killed.[1] Comee made his way to the Marrett Munroe house, passed through it and out of the back door, and escaped over the hill at the rear.

Then with savage ferocity the British rushed on, hunting down the fleeing Minute Men as they attempted to escape in all directions. A mounted officer, supposed to be Pitcairn, pursued Lieut. William Tidd up the North Road (now Hancock Street) about thirty rods, calling out to him: "Damn you, stop, or you are a dead man!"

Thereupon Tidd leaped over a pair of bars, made a stand and discharged his gun at his pursuer, who then retreated to the main body.[2]

Solomon Brown was not idle. Though not in line with Captain Parker's men, he was an active participant. After their second volley he opened fire from the back door of Buckman's Tavern, and then, in order to get a better shot, passed through to the front door and fired from there. The British retaliated with a return volley, and the bullet holes in the old building still vouch for it. John Buckman, the landlord, remonstrated with Brown against having his house used as a fort, so the latter took a new position, lying down behind a neighboring stone wall back of the barn, and opened fire again.[3]

[1] Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington.

[2] Depositions of William Tidd in 1824, and with others, April 25, 1775.

[3] Miss Mary Merriam, ninety years of age in 1887, reported to Edward P. Bliss that she had heard her father say (and he was thirteen years old when the battle took place) that on that morning some who would not stand up for their country believed the British would not fire on *them*. They were at the Tavern. The British fired on them, however, and they promptly retreated to the cellar and attic. Edward P. Bliss in Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. I, page 71.

Home of Marrett and Nathan Munroe. Opposite the Common in Lexington. Still standing.

Tidd House on North Hancock Street Lexington. Demolished in 1891.

The British again responded. Their leaden bullets spattered against the wall, and from their impact little clouds of stone dust like smoke told a witness where they struck.[1] Brown's aim was at an officer and group of soldiers, and subsequently Abijah Harrington saw a pool of blood on the ground where they stood.[2]

John Brown and Samuel Hadley were killed on the edge of the swamp, a little way to the north of the Common. They were retreating, but not beyond the reach of their pursuers' bullets.[3]

Asahel Porter, unarmed, non-combatant, and who had been brought up from Menotomy with Josiah Richardson as prisoners, was killed a few rods over the wall in Buckman's garden, to the eastward of the Tavern. He had been liberated with other prisoners, and had been cautioned not to *run*, but walk away. After walking a little distance he felt impelled to run, and was pursued by a British bullet, with fatal effect. Richardson walked away, and safely escaped.

The work of the British on Lexington Common, occupying less than half an hour, was now finished. Their casualties were slight, one man of the 10th Regiment wounded in the thigh, another in the hand, and Major Pitcairn's horse shot in two places.[4]

[1] Depositions of William Munroe, Minute Man, and of Elijah Sanderson, spectator. Also statement of Rufus Merriam, spectator, then in his thirteenth year, to Rev. A. B. Muzzey. Young Merriam overheard Buckman's remonstrance. Muzzey's Battle of Lexington, page 6. Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington.

[2] Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington; Deposition of Abijah Harrington.

[3] Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington, who, however, erroneously names them John Parker and Isaac Hadley.

[4] A British Officer in Boston in 1775; De Berniere's Account; Report of Lieutenant Colonel Smith; Statement of a British Prisoner as recited in Ebenezer Munroe's Deposition.

The killing of the Minute Men, had, however, wrought the rank and file up to a frenzied pitch of excitement, so much so that the officers had difficulty in forming them into line again.[1] They succeeded though. In the meantime the main body under Lieutenant Colonel Smith arrived, and when they were all in marching order a volley was fired and huzzas shouted as an expression of victory, and then they proceeded on their way.[2] Just then the sun rose on this new field of battle.[3]

Again the fife and drum, at first harsh and loud, echoed against the neighboring hills; then fainter and fainter, as the troops marched up and over the summit of Concord Hill, a mile away.

And when they were indeed gone, the men and women and children of Lexington came forth from their hiding places and looked upon the scene. We of to-day have never seen our Common as they saw it — its turf torn by horses' hoofs, and clotted here and there with human blood; prostrate figures of men, some with faces upward to the sky, others with theirs smothered helplessly in the dust. One might almost think they were asleep.

Such was the fulfilment of their solemn pledge, that they stood ready to sacrifice "*everything dear in life, yea, and life itself, in support of the common cause.*"[4]

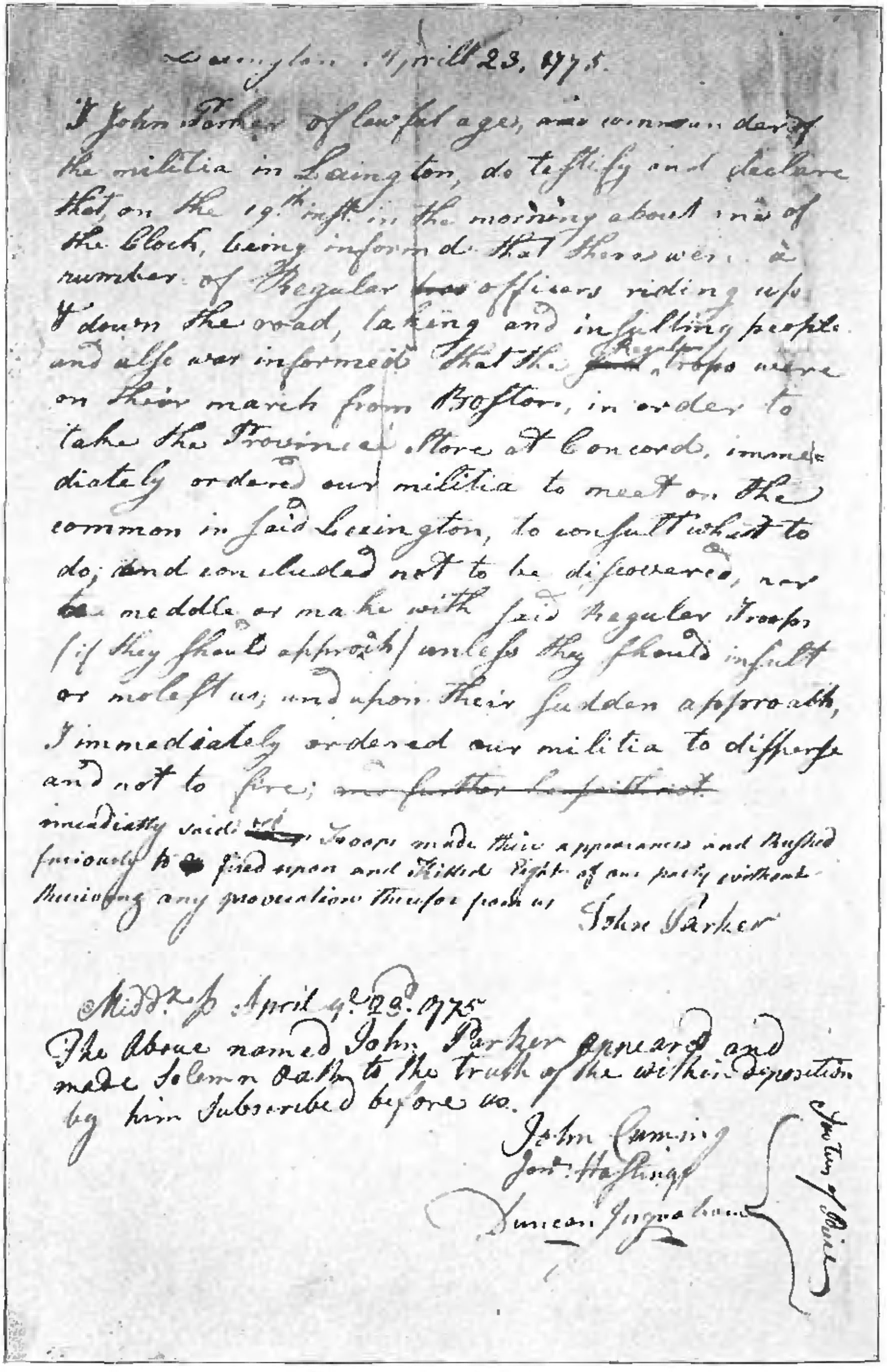
Strong and willing arms then bore all of those precious dead into the house of God. And we can

[1] A British Officer in Boston in 1775.

[2] Rev. Jonas Clarke, an eyewitness of this incident.

[3] At. 5.19 A.M. Astronomical Diary and Almanack for 1775, by Nathaniel Low.

[4] From a patriotic resolution passed in town meeting in December, 1773. Hudson's History of Lexington, first edition, page 102.



Lexington April 23, 1775.

I John Parker of lawful age, and commander of the militia in Lexington, do testify and declare that on the 19th inst. in the morning about one of the Clock, being informed that there were a number of Regular officers riding up & down the road, taking and insulting people and also was informed that the Regular troops were on their march from Boston, in order to take the Province Store at Concord, immediately ordered our militia to meet on the common in said Lexington, to consult what to do; and concluded not to be discovered, nor meddle or make with said Regular Troops (if they should approach) unless they should insult or molest us; and upon their sudden approach, I immediately ordered our militia to disperse and not to fire; immediately said Troops made their appearance and Rushed furiously & fired upon and killed Eight of our party without receiving any provocation therefor from us

John Parker

Middx ss April ye 25. 1775

The Above named John Parker appeared and made Solemn Oath to the truth of the within deposition by him Subscribed before us.

John Cuming
Jona Hastings
Duncan Ingraham

Justices of Peace

CAPT. JOHN PARKER'S DEPOSITION.

imagine as they came forth that their faces were turned toward Concord Hill, shining with a patriot's full meaning. We can go with them through the day, as they join the men of Acton, of Concord, — men from all over Middlesex and Essex and Norfolk counties, who also stood so ready to defend the common cause, yea, even with life itself!

The dead on or near Lexington Common were Jonas Parker, Jonathan Harrington, Jr., Ensign Robert Munroe, Isaac Muzzy, John Brown, Samuel Hadley, Caleb Harrington, and Asahel Porter. The wounded were John Robbins, whose jaw bone was shattered and right arm rendered useless;[1] Solomon Pierce; John Tidd, sabre cut on his head by a British officer;[2] Joseph Comee, on his arm;[2] Ebenezer Munroe, Jr., on his arm;[3] Thomas Winship; Nathaniel Farmer; Prince Estabrook (colored); and Jedediah Munroe (who was killed later in the day).

Hardly had the soldiers of King George reached the summit of Concord Hill, a mile away, ere stragglers, wearing the same uniform, were seen coming up the road, apparently without fear or guile. There were five in all, but as they came singly or in twos, were not looked upon as dangerous belligerents. Joshua Simonds emerging from the meeting house captured the first one, took his gun away, and gave it to Captain Parker.[4] Deacon Benjamin

[1] His deposition April 24, 1775, and Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War.

[2] Manuscript Narrative of Levi Harrington.

[3] His deposition.

[4] This gun descended to his grandson, Rev. Theodore Parker, who gave it to the State of Massachusetts. Bradford Smith in Lexington Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. II, page 145.

Brown captured one.[1] Joshua Reed of Woburn captured one, took away his gun and other warlike equipments and turned him over to James Reed of Burlington,[2] then called Woburn Precinct. Two more were taken on or near the Common, and their arms, or those of two Britons, at all events, carried into Buckman Tavern by Ebenezer Munroe and later given to Minute Men who had none of their own.[3]

Another prisoner, the sixth, was captured by Sylvanus Wood of Woburn, the man who joined Captain Parker's company and stood in line to receive the first volley as the British marched into sight. When they marched away he followed on, up over Concord and Fiske Hills. Arriving at a turn in the road, beyond the latter, he came unexpectedly upon a soldier who for some good reason had dropped out of the ranks. He was seated at the roadside, and his gun leaned at rest beyond his reach. Wood was a little man, about five feet tall, but large in valor, so he demanded the surrender of his enemy. Helpless as he was he could only comply, and Wood marched him back to Lexington Common and placed him in the charge of a Mr. Welsh.[4]

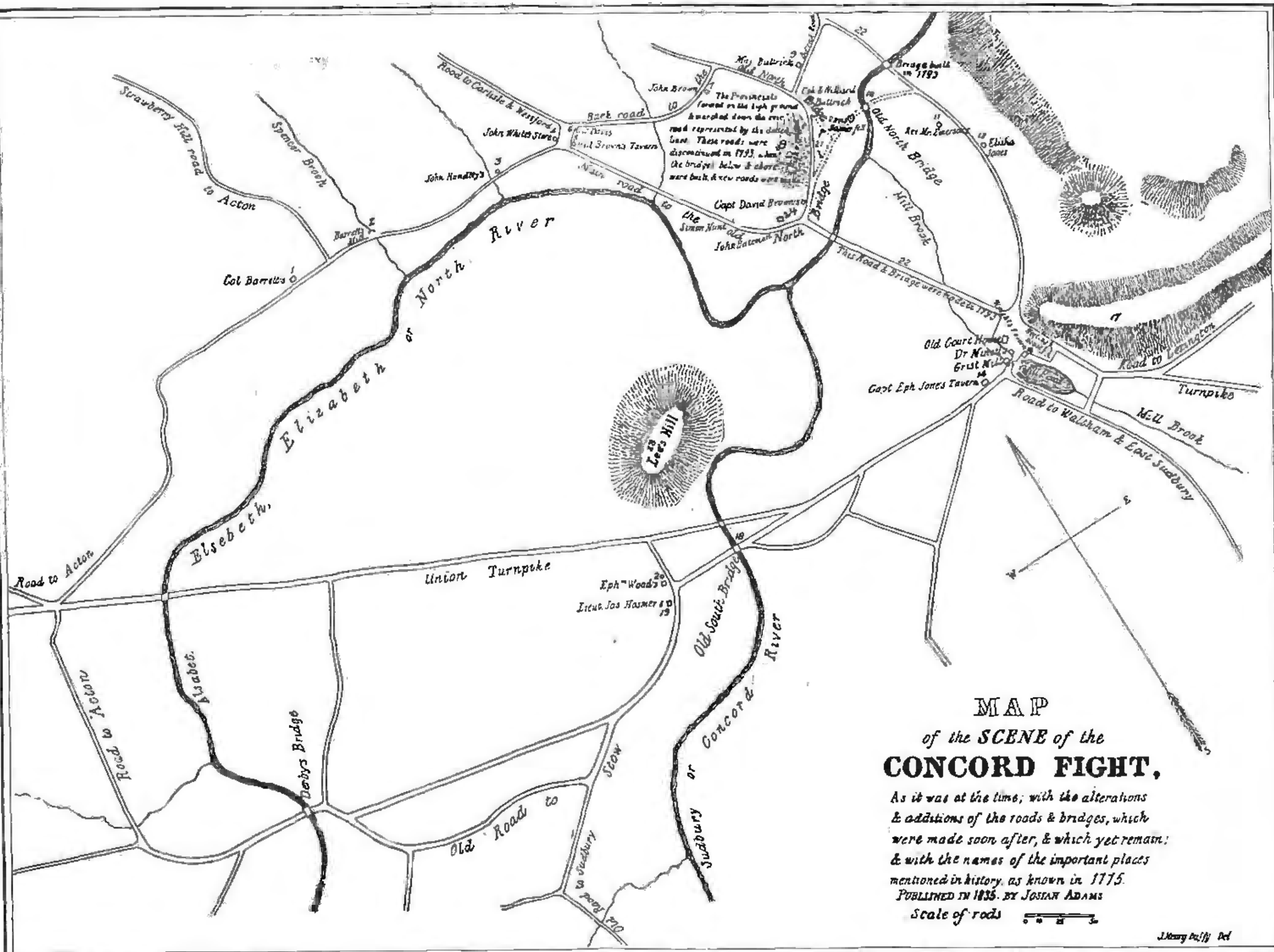
This prisoner also was captured in Lexington, at

[1] Deposition of Abijah Harrington.

[2] Deposition of James Reed.

[3] Deposition of Ebenezer Munroe.

[4] Mt. Vernon Papers by Edward Everett, page 430. Everett, a member of Congress in 1826, secured a pension of $96 per year for Wood. Once, when the latter was in Washington, he introduced him to President Jackson. See also the History of Woburn, by Sewall, who received his information from Wood's son. Also see the deposition of Wood.


Strawberry Hill road to Acton
Spencer Brook
Road to Carlisle & Westford
Back road
John White's Store
John Handley's
Barrett's Mill
Col Barrett's
John Brown
Maj Buttrick
Capt Dand Brown's
Simon Hunt
John Bateman
New road to the old North Bridge
Old North Bridge
Hill Brook
Rev Mr Emerson's
Elisha Jones
Bridge built in 1793
This Road & Bridge were made in 1793
North River
Elizabeth or North River
Elsebeth
Road to Acton
Union Turnpike
Lee's Hill
Old Court House
Dr Minot's
Grist Mill
Capt Eph Jones Tavern
Road to Lexington
Turnpike
Mill Brook
Road to Waltham & East Sudbury
Eph. Wood's
Lieut. Jos Hosmer's
Old South Bridge
Sudbury or Concord River
Alsabet
Darbys Bridge
Road to Acton
Old Road to Stow
Road to Sudbury
Old Road to Sudbury
MAP
of the SCENE of the
CONCORD FIGHT,
As it was at the time; with the alterations
& additions of the roads & bridges, which
were made soon after, & which yet remain;
& with the names of the important places
mentioned in history, as known in 1775.
PUBLISHED IN 1835. BY JOSIAH ADAMS
Scale of rods
J. Henry Duffy Del

the bluff near the Bull Tavern, later kept by Mr. Viles. It stood not far from the Lincoln line. He and four of the others taken on Lexington Common were escorted to James Reed's in Burlington by Thomas R. Willard, William Munroe, and E. Welsh.[1]

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Advance through Lincoln.

The march of the British from Lexington Common to the Lincoln line, and thence through the town of Lincoln and into Concord to Meriam's Corner, a distance of a little over five miles, was without unusual incidents. That part of Lincoln through which they passed is the edge of the town, and then, as now, but sparsely settled. The village of Lincoln is considerably to the westward, fortunately, and thus most of the inhabitants were too remote for insult or more serious trouble. The men of Lincoln, however, were not unmindful of the enemy's movements, as we shall see later on. In the woods that bordered the highway the British saw some of them,[2] but not in sufficient number, evidently, to oppose their advance.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Advance into Concord.

From Meriam's Corner in Concord to the center of Concord village is about a mile and a quarter. From the Corner, and on the northerly side of the

[1] Deposition of E. Welsh.

[2] Deposition of Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould, a British prisoner.

road, commences a line of hills rising fully sixty feet,[1] or more above the road, which skirts along their edges, and perhaps an eighth of a mile from, and parallel to, their summits. The ridge commands very easily and nicely the road for the entire distance, and was looked upon by both sides as a desirable place to occupy. Capt. Nathan Barrett and his company of Concord militia had occupied that part of it near the meeting house from about an hour after sunrise, for they had received the intelligence of the killing of six Americans at Lexington.[2] Capt. George Minot and his company of Minute Men assembled there also.[3] Farther along the ridge, toward Meriam's Corner, other Americans had taken position,[4] probably as individuals. It was about two hours after sunrise when the enemy came into sight.[5]

As Lieutenant Colonel Smith came into view of this location he saw the body of provincials along the ridge, and quickly decided to dislodge them. The light infantry were ordered to that work, and they succeeded in forcing the Americans back to the village. The grenadiers continued along the road, driving before them Capt. David Brown's company of Concord Minute Men who had marched up from the village as far as Meriam's Corner on a scouting trip. When the British were seen descending from the hills of Lincoln Brown's company halted,

[1] United States Geological Survey, 1886.
[2] Deposition of Capt. Nathan Barrett and fifteen others, all of Concord.
[3] Diary of Rev. William Emerson.
[4] Deposition of Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould, British.
[5] Deposition of Capt. Nathan Barrett and fifteen others.

Plate II. A View of the Town of Concord

1 Companies of the Regulars marching into Concord
2 Companies of Regulars drawn up in order
3 A Detachment destroying the Provincial Stores
4 & 5 Colonel Smith & Major Pitcairn viewing the Provincials who were mustering on an East Hill in Concord.
6 The Townhouse 7 The Meetinghouse

A. Doolittle Sculpt

and when the enemy came within about one hundred rods wheeled about and marched back to the village. The fifes and drums of both forces were playing.[1]

On the hill not far from the village stood the Liberty Pole, from the summit of which some kind of a flag was flying. The British cut it down.[2]

It was between 7 and 8 o'clock when the enemy reached Concord village.[3] The march from Lexington must have been a steady one, without interruption. The distance is about six and a quarter miles and the elapsed time about two hours. The entire distance from Lechmere Point is about seventeen miles, sufficiently long, even thus far, to exhaust many of the soldiers. Adding to the length of the march, their loss of sleep before starting, and the excitement on Lexington Common, it is easy to imagine that a few halts for rest were allowed, though anxiety to accomplish their errand would not permit of unnecessary delays.

Their advance into Concord village compelled the Americans to move along to an adjoining hill just to the northward, which they subsequently abandoned and marched still farther along, passing over the North Bridge and taking a stronger position on Punkatasset Hill whose summit is fully two hundred feet[4] higher than Concord River, and perhaps half a

[1] Capt. Amos Barrett's Account, who was present as a member of Brown's company.

[2] A British Officer in Boston in 1775.

[3] De Bernicre, the British authority who was present, states the time as being between 9 and 10 o'clock, but I follow Captain Barrett and fifteen others who state, in their deposition, that it was about two hours after sunrise.

[4] United States Geological Survey, 1886.

mile from the Bridge, and rather more than a mile from the village itself. It was their third position, and then about 8 o'clock in the morning.[1]

Reaching Concord village Lieutenant Colonel Smith proceeded at once to carry out the plan of his expedition, namely, the destruction of the military stores. Ensign De Bernicre acted as guide to where they could be found, for he had been one of the spies sent out by General Gage for the express purpose of locating them.

Smith found but few people in the village, for the able-bodied men were with their companies, and many of the non-combatants had considered other places more secure. Some, however, remained, and the British officers labored to convince them that no bodily harm was intended.

Pitcairn was especially active in that diplomatic work, but insisting all the time that their doors must be unlocked that the soldiers might search their premises. Many would not submit peaceably to such an indignity, and one of those old men of Concord had the courage to strike Maj. John Pitcairn in the presence of the King's soldiers.[2] We can imagine this incident happened before that doughty officer entered Wright Tavern and called for liquor, into which he plunged his finger to stir the sweetening. Some of the precious fluid slopped over, which he likened to the way Yankee blood should spill ere nightfall, — a remark possibly inspired by his overwrought feelings at the affront.

[1] Frederic Hudson in Harper's Magazine, May, 1875.
[2] Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Report.

Wright Tavern, Concord. Still standing.

The aged Concord patriot was not punished, however.

Capt. Lawrence Parsons of the 10th Regiment, with six light companies, was immediately despatched for the North Bridge, distant three-quarters of a mile. There he left Capt. Walter Sloane Lawrie of the 43d Regiment with three of the companies for guard duty, while he proceeded with the other three companies, guided by Ensign De Bernicre, over the bridge and up the left bank of the Concord River and its northerly branch, the Assabet River, to the home of Colonel Barrett,[1] almost two miles from the Bridge.[2]

Captain Lawrie, arriving near the Bridge, assigned one company of the 43d Regiment to the Bridge itself, one of the 10th Regiment to a near-by hill, and one of the 4th or King's Own Regiment to another hill a quarter of a mile farther away,[3] so arranged as to be within supporting distance of each other.[4]

After the six companies under Parsons had departed, Lieutenant Colonel Smith sent Captain Mundy Pole of the 10th Regiment with a force toward the South Bridge, incidentally for guard duty there, and in particular to destroy such military stores as they might find.[4] The distance from the village to the Bridge is almost a mile.[5] They went

[1] De Bernicre and Editor's Note to Diary of a British Officer.

[2] $1\frac{7}{8}$ miles, to be exact.

[3] Editor's Note in A British Officer in Boston in 1775, and deposition of Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould, British officer present.

[4] De Bernicre.

[5] $\frac{83}{88}$ mile, to be exact.

a little beyond, to the homes of Amos and Ephraim Wood, in the vicinity of Lee's Hill,[1] its older name, but now known as Nashawtuck.

Within the village the British were very active in their search for the military supplies. Public buildings, stores, and private dwellings were alike examined. At the malt house of Ebenezer Hubbard a considerable quantity of flour was discovered, and the end boards of the building were pulled off, that the barrels might the easier and faster be rolled out into the road, where they were broken open and the contents mixed with the dust.[2] At the storehouse of Timothy Wheeler another lot of flour was found, which the miller, by a little artifice, saved. It was indeed public property, but Wheeler, placing his hand upon the bags of meal, one after another, and which stood with the flour, assured the soldiers that he was a miller, and that they were his.

They were considerate enough to spare his personal property, and included the flour.[3]

At the neighboring grist mill several barrels were seized and rolled to or into the mill pond, but part was subsequently saved, as it hardly reached the water.[4]

Deacon Thomas Barrett, brother of Colonel Barrett, was a resident of the village. He was an aged man, and remained quietly in or near his home

[1] Frederic Hudson, in Harper's Magazine, May, 1875.

[2] Rev. Ezra Ripley. History of the Fight at Concord.

[3] Ripley.

[4] The old mill pond occupied a goodly portion of the land bounded by Lexington Road, Heywood, Walden, and Main streets, the northerly corner almost reaching Wright Tavern. Subsequently it was filled in, and now stores and dwellings occupy its entire area.

while the soldiers were busy in looting and destroying. He was a man of gentle demeanor and unarmed, but they seized him, called him rebel, and even threatened to take his life. He pleaded with them to dispense with that trouble, for his extreme age meant that he should soon die, anyway. They permitted him to go in peace. In his building was a gun factory carried on by his son, Samuel Barrett.[1]

Battle at North Bridge in Concord.

In the meantime large numbers of Americans were gathering on the hills to the northward beyond the river. The commander of the British at the North Bridge and vicinity was not unmindful of that, and deemed it wise to concentrate his little army of three companies at the Bridge itself, as that seemed to be the threatened point of attack. Consequently the two remoter companies were marched down from the hills and joined the third, and then all three marched to the easterly or nearer end of the Bridge.

About a quarter of a mile beyond the North Bridge, and in a westerly direction from it, is a little hill about forty feet higher than the river.[2] To reach it by road from the Bridge meant traveling over two sides of an irregular triangle, and going nearly half a mile.[3] The crest of the elevation commands a beautiful view up and down the river,

[1] Ripley.

[2] United States Geological Survey, 1886.

[3] The road forming one side of the triangle and leading from the Bridge has been discontinued, and now appears only as a part of the river meadow.

with the North Bridge in the middle foreground and the village nearly a mile away to the southward.

The Americans moved forward from Punkatasset Hill to this, their fourth position, at about 9 o'clock, as their reinforcements had augmented sufficiently to induce a growing feeling of aggressiveness. Here were assembling the sturdy men of Concord and of Acton, of Bedford, Lincoln, and Carlisle, and of other neighboring towns. Joseph Hosmer acted as adjutant, forming the soldiers as they arrived, — the minute companies on the right and the militia on the left, facing the Bridge.[1]

Col. James Barrett summoned his subordinate officers for a council of war, the first one of the American Revolution, and while they were so engaged, Capt. Isaac Davis and his company of Minute Men from Acton arrived and marched to a position on the left of the line, as they had been accustomed to on training days. After halting his little command Captain Davis joined his brother officers in their council of war.

There were then assembled on that little hill four Concord companies, commanded, respectively, by Capt. David Brown, 52 men; Capt. Charles Miles, 52 men; Capt. George Minot, number of men unknown; and Capt. Nathan Barrett, number of men also unknown.[2] From Acton there were three companies, one under Capt. Isaac Davis, 38 men; one under Capt. Joseph Robins, number of men un-

[1] Lemuel Shattuck as quoted by Josiah Adams, page 27.

[2] See deposition of Captain Barrett and fifteen others in Journals of Each Provincial Congress in Massachusetts, page 672. Probably the sixteen were of that company.

known; and one under Capt. Simon Hunt,[1] number of men also unknown. There were two companies from Bedford, one being under Capt. John Moore, 51 men; and the other under Capt. Jonathan Willson, 28 men. A little later Captain Willson was killed and his command fell to Lieut. Moses Abbott. Lincoln was represented by Capt. William Smith with 62 men.[2]

In addition to these regular organized soldiers there were many individuals present, exempts and others, who undoubtedly took a patriotic part in the subsequent events.

These men looked down on the hostile troops at the Bridge, and beyond the river to the village, where huge volumes of smoke were rising from the bonfires of military stores, which seemed to them to be the burning of their homes. Inspired by that fear, and by their knowledge of the bloodshed at Lexington, they were ready to follow where their officers should lead. Their council could only decide in one way: "*To march into the middle of the town for its defence, or die in the attempt.*"[3]

Colonel Barrett then gave the order to Maj. John Buttrick to lead an advance over the Bridge and to the center of the town. And his instructions were like those of Captain Parker a few hours before, — not to fire unless fired upon.

It was then between 9 and 10 o'clock.[4] Colonel

[1] Statement of Aaron Jones, a member, in Adams's Address, page 21.

[2] Affidavit of Amos Baker, a member.

[3] Survivors testified that both Major Buttrick and Captain Davis used these words. See Ripley's History of the Concord Fight.

[4] Journal of Capt. David Brown, commander of one of the Concord companies, as quoted by Adams, page 32.

Barrett retired to the rear on higher ground,[1] and Major Buttrick hastened to execute his order. His choice for a company to lead was naturally one from Concord, but the captain of that one replied that he would rather not.[2] We wonder at the reason, for Concord seemed to be the most deeply concerned just at that hour. However, it could not have been for lack of courage, for the Concord companies were a part of that advance. Then Buttrick turned to Captain Davis, and asked him if he was afraid to go. Davis promptly responded, "No, I am not; and there isn't a man in my company who is."[3]

He immediately gave the command to march, and the men of Acton wheeled from the left of the line to the right, and were the first to march upon the invaders.

Maj. John Buttrick of Concord led in person this little army down the slope toward the river, but not until he had offered the command to a superior officer who happened to be present, but without a command, — Lieut. Col. John Robinson of Prescott's regiment. Robinson lived in Westford and had responded to the alarm. Magnanimously he refused the honor to lead, but with characteristic bravery begged that he might march by Buttrick's side, which the latter acceded to. These were the two men in front of all the American host to first march against the soldiers of their King.

Then came Capt. Isaac Davis and his company of thirty-seven men from Acton. Then next, a Con-

[1] Ripley.
[2] Deposition of Bradley Stone.
[3] Depositions of Bradley Stone and Solomon Smith.

cord company under Charles Miles. Then two more Concord companies under Capt. David Brown and Capt. Nathan Barrett.[1] Another company from Acton then fell into line, the one commanded by Capt. Simon Hunt. They were just turning the corner of the main road when the firing at the Bridge took place.[2] By order of Colonel Barrett the companies from Bedford and Lincoln next fell into line. The march was by twos, and to the tune of "The White Cockade," played by two young fifers, Luther Blanchard of Davis's Acton company, and John Buttrick of Brown's Concord company.[3]

Down the road, now discontinued, they marched [4] in a southerly direction to the point of the triangle, then back toward the Bridge in an easterly direction, in all, about a quarter of a mile. The British watched the advance keenly, and when the southerly point of the triangle was reached, and the columns wheeled to the left toward the Bridge, they commenced to pull up the planks. Major Buttrick in a loud voice ordered them to desist, whereupon they left the Bridge and hastily formed for action in the road just beyond the easterly end. Then came the report of the first hostile gun in the Battle of Concord, fired from the British ranks. Solomon Smith,[5] a member of Davis's Acton company, saw where the ball struck the river on his right, which

[1] Corp. Amos Barrett of Brown's company indicates Davis's as first and his own company as third. The exact order of the other participating companies I am unable to give.

[2] Statement of Aaron Jones, a member, to Mr. Adams. See Adams's Address, page 21.

[3] Frederic Hudson.

[4] Doolittle picture. Adams, 1835. Frothingham, 1851.

[5] Deposition of Solomon Smith.

then ran nearly parallel to the road. This was quickly followed by two others, but they were not thought by the Americans to be aimed at them.

Still onward marched Major Buttrick and his little band. They soon came nearly to the Bridge, when a sudden volley from the British indicated their serious intention to check the American advance. Luther Blanchard, the fifer from Acton, was slightly wounded.[1]

Major Buttrick heard his cry of anguish, and almost jumping into the air, exclaimed, "Fire! For God's sake, fire!"

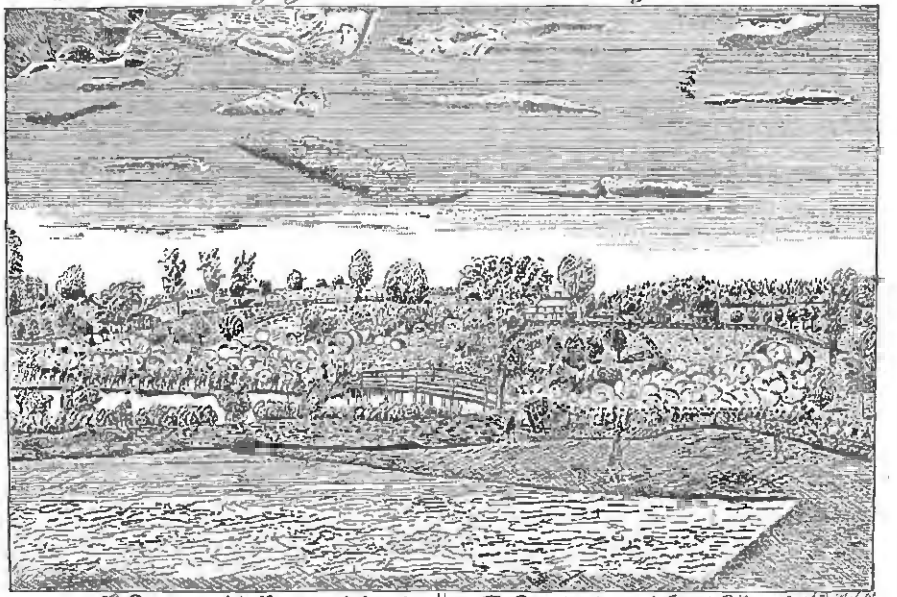
The order was obeyed. The British responded, killing Captain Davis and one of his privates, Abner Hosmer. Davis, on realizing that Blanchard was wounded, had taken a firmer position on a flat stepping-stone, and while aiming his gun received a bullet through his heart. Hosmer was killed by a bullet through his head.[2] Ezekiel Davis, brother of the Captain, and a private in his company, was wounded, as was also Joshua Brooks of Lincoln, whose forehead was slightly cut by a bullet, which continued through his hat.[3]

The opening volley of the Americans was also effective, killing one private and wounding Lieutenant Hull of the 43d Regiment; Lieutenant Gould of the 4th; Lieutenant Kelly of the 10th; Lieutenant Sutherland of the 38th; and a number of the rank and file.

The Americans, under Major Buttrick, advanced,

[1] Deposition of Solomon Smith.
[2] Frederic Hudson.
[3] Deposition of Amos Baker.

Plate III. The Engagement at the North Bridge in Concord.



1 The Detachment of the Regulars who first fired on the Provincials at the Bridge. 2 The Provincials headed by Colonel Robinson & Major Buttrick & the Bridge.

The Elisha Jones house, Concord. Still standing.

and the three British companies, under Lawrie, gave way and retreated toward Concord village. They were met on the road by reinforcements consisting of two or three companies headed by Lieutenant Colonel Smith himself, who was responding to a very urgent request for assistance from Captain Lawrie, sent just before the engagement began. Smith being a "very fat, heavy man," according to the testimony of one of his officers, who has left an interesting diary for our perusal,[1] instead of reaching Lawrie at the Bridge met him but a little way out of the village.

From the moment of that heroic advance of the Americans over the Bridge military discipline among them ceased.[2] They rushed after the retreating British but a few rods, then proceeded to an eminence on the east side of the road back of Elisha Jones's house, taking position there behind a stone wall, and perhaps an eighth of a mile from where the British halted when they were met by their reinforcements.[3] Why the Americans turned aside instead of pursuing their enemies into Concord village as they had resolved to do can only be surmised. Why they gave no heed to the small force

[1] A British Officer in Boston in 1775. See also Rev. Mr. Emerson's account who speaks of the "marches and counter-marches for half an hour," and their "great fickleness and inconstancy of mind." Smith can hardly be blamed for nervousness at that moment, with part of his eight hundred men at Colonel Barrett's, five hundred Americans between, and another part of his force at the South Bridge.

[2] "Our company and most of the others pursued, but in great disorder." Deposition of Thomas Thorp of the Acton company. "The loss of our Captain was the cause of much of the confusion that followed." Deposition of Solomon Smith of the Acton company.

[3] Deposition of Solomon Smith.

still behind them up the river, engaged in destroying American property at Colonel Barrett's, excites our wonder too. Not lack of personal courage, surely, but rather of military experience.

While these scenes were being enacted at the North Bridge the British force above alluded to, and consisting of three companies under Captain Parsons, had gone up the river to the home of Colonel Barrett, nearly two miles from the Bridge. They were under the direct guidance of the spy, Ensign De Bernicre, who had previously gone over the road and made himself familiar with its topography, and particularly with the hiding of military stores among the homes along the way. He knew thoroughly well of those at Colonel Barrett's, and that place above all others was the principal objective.

Early that morning the men in the Barrett family had busied themselves in securing the Colonial stores. They had plowed a tract of land about thirty feet square south of the old barn and later used as a kitchen garden. One guided a yoke of oxen in turning over the furrows into which others dropped the muskets that had been stored in the house. Succeeding furrows covered them nicely. Musket balls were carried to the attic and put into the bottoms of barrels which were then filled with feathers.[1] Other munitions were hidden in the adjoining woods.[2]

When the soldiers reached there they found the

[1] Margaret Sidney. Old Concord, Her Highways and Byways.
[2] Rev. Mr. Emerson's Narrative.

Home of Col. James Barrett, Concord. Still standing.

homestead in care of the venerable wife of Colonel Barrett. Captain Parsons explained his mission, and assured her it was his aim to destroy public property only, and to capture Colonel Barrett.[1] They commenced their search, but did not find as much as expected.[2] Nor did they capture the commander of the Minute Men.

While this work was in progress, Colonel Barrett's son Stephen, a young man of about twenty-five years, returned from his mission up the river road to Price Plain, to intercept Minute Men expected from Stow, Harvard, and other towns in that vicinity. He wished to inform them of the danger surrounding his own home, that they might travel by some other road into Concord.

Reaching the kitchen door of his own home he was met by a British officer, who, thinking he might be Colonel Barrett, placed him under arrest. Upon learning from Mrs. Barrett, however, of his mistake, that he was her son, the young man was released.[3] Another son, James, Jr., being lame and inactive, did not attract any hostile attention.[4]

So successfully had Colonel Barrett and his numerous assistants secreted the large amount of provincial property left in his charge that Captain Parsons found but little to confiscate or destroy. He seized and burned a few gun carriages in the road near the house.[5]

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[1] Sidney.

[2] De Bernicre.

[3] Sidney, page 23.

[4] Frederic Hudson. The Concord Fight in Harper's New Monthly Magazine. May, 1875.

[5] Ripley.

This was the remotest point of the British invasion. The three companies at Colonel Barrett's had by far the longest route of any, by several miles. After a night without sleep and so long a march they were hungry and thirsty, and Mrs. Barrett was requested to supply their wants. She was in no position to refuse. Some, if not all, were willing to pay for what they had, but the good lady refused, saying, "We are commanded to feed our enemy if he hunger."

Some, however, insisted, and on leaving tossed their money into her lap. She could only exclaim, "It is the price of blood!"[1]

The object of their mission being accomplished so far as within their power, they set out for a return march to the village by the same roundabout route over the North Bridge, as they came. When at Widow Brown's Tavern at the cross roads, within about a mile of the Bridge, they halted, and three or four officers entered the house for drink. The soldiers sat at the roadside and drink was carried out to them. Pay was offered to Mrs. Brown by the officers, but she declined to receive it. Charles Handley, a youth in his thirteenth year, and a native of Concord, was living there, and has left his sworn statement that he then heard the guns at the Bridge, but that the British did not appear to notice them. It was then generally understood that they knew nothing of the engagement until their arrival at the scene, and saw the British slain.[2] There were two,

[1] Frederic Hudson.

[2] Charles Handley's deposition.

one having been killed instantly, and the other, at first wounded, while helpless was despatched with a savage cut in the head with a hatchet. It seems that after the British had been driven from the Bridge, and the Americans had also passed in pursuit, a young man employed by Rev. William Emerson at the Old Manse (still standing, 1921) came forth to view the field of strife. He saw the wounded Briton attempting to arise, and in a thoughtless moment conceived it his patriotic duty to kill him. He did so as the soldier was on his knees in a futile attempt to stand. The hatchet sank deep into his skull, and the blood gushed forth and covered the top of his head as he fell back to Concord battle ground. A little later the British force under Captain Parsons passed him on their way to the village. They could only shudder, and bear away the impression, which was subsequently published, that the Americans had scalped and cut off the ears of their enemies.[1] The young man who did the deed lived many years, and often confessed that his conscience had been sorely troubled.[2]

The men under Captain Parsons were thus permitted to join the main body of British, very much to their surprise, which was forcibly expressed by Ensign De Bernicre in his account of the battle.[3]

[1] Deposition of Zechariah Brown and Thomas Davis, Jr., who buried the two soldiers in a common grave near where they fell. A memorial stone marks the spot.

[2] I have his name, but do not think it best to insert it in this narrative. Revenge was deeply impressed on his mind by the bitterness of public feeling against the mother country. He was too young to exercise proper judgment in separating the soldier from his King.

[3] See De Bernicre's Account.

As we have seen, the main body of the Americans halted on the high ground to the eastward of the Elisha Jones house. From that moment to the arrival of the British at Charlestown Neck no one seemed to be in command, and no discipline of any kind was attempted.

While military critics cannot endorse the kind of warfare employed by the Americans on that day, almost if not quite of a guerilla nature, yet it must be confessed that their death roll was much smaller and their success, in some respects, much greater than it would have been had they fought as an army, in the open, under some brave commander. The British, on the other hand, were ever in the highway, standing or marching in a solid formation. The Americans were never more than a dozen or a score, side by side, and usually not more than two or three. Their selected position was a sheltered one, — behind the walls, among the trees, even within the houses. Often the vigilant flank guard, which Lieutenant Colonel Smith counted upon so intelligently, came upon them unawares, and so added to the American death roll. Had they known the value of the flanking movements, and still fought as individuals, as they did from the North Bridge to Charlestown Neck, but few would have been slain.

As we have seen, the Americans halted on the high ground to the eastward of Elisha Jones's house. They felt that when the retreating British were reinforced they would return and renew the struggle. In their strong position behind the stone wall they

had no cause to fear an assault, for the advantage would be greatly with them. But Lieutenant Colonel Smith also realized as much and turned his troops back into Concord village.

Several of the Minute Men then returned to the North Bridge, and conveyed the bodies of Capt. Isaac Davis and private Abner Hosmer to the home of Major Buttrick, which stood near the spot from which they started on their fatal march.[1] Later in the day they were conveyed to Acton.

Such was the baptism of Concord soil with the blood of its brave defenders.

Capt. Mundy Pole of the 10th Regiment with one hundred men had been detailed by Lieutenant Colonel Smith for guard duty at the South Bridge. He was also instructed to destroy any public stores that he might find in that vicinity.

The Bridge is nearly a mile southerly from the village, and in an opposite direction from the North Bridge, the two being nearly two miles apart.

Captain Pole reached there about 8 o'clock, and promptly placed a guard at the Bridge to prevent any one passing into or out of the village. Then he foraged the immediate neighborhood for food and drink for his force, which was easily accomplished, as most of the able-bodied men were absent on patriotic duties.

They searched the houses of Ephraim Wood, Joseph Hosmer, and Amos Wood, but with slight success, for most of the stores once there had been secreted elsewhere. The Britons demeaned them-

[1] Deposition of Solomon Smith.

selves nicely in this neighborhood, and were generous enough to pay for what food they took. Each of the women at Amos Wood's house was presented with a guinea. In this home was one room pretty well filled with goods that were sought for. It was locked, but the gallant officer, believing that women were hiding within, issued orders that none of his soldiers should enter it.

Capt. Mundy Pole's little expedition to this part of Concord was not entirely without results, however. He succeeded in knocking off the trunnions of three iron twenty-four pounders, burning their carriages, destroying a small quantity of flour and several barrels of trenchers and wooden spoons.[1]

Some of his soldiers ascended Lee's Hill, now called Nashawtuck, about one hundred feet[2] higher than and overlooking the river down to North Bridge. From there they could plainly see the growing excitement, as evidenced by the moving about of the Minute Men, and the constant accessions to their numbers. Finally there came echoing up the valley the signal gun, then two more, then the volley; and they knew the scene on Lexington Common was being re-enacted.

They descended the hill and gathered with the others at the South Bridge, removed the planks therefrom to protect their retreat, and marched rapidly back to the main body in the village.[3]

Lieutenant Colonel Smith now commenced to realize his distance from Boston and the dangers

[1] De Bernicre.
[2] United States Geological Survey, 1886.
[3] Frederic Hudson.

that might lurk along the way. He had his entire force assembled in Concord village very soon after 10 o'clock, but his many wounded soldiers required attention before he could begin his return march. Some of them were attended by Dr. Cumings and Dr. Minot of the village.[1] As no provision had been made by the British commander for the transportation of his disabled soldiers, the people of Concord were called upon to supply the deficiency. A chaise was confiscated from Reuben Brown, and another from John Beaton. Bedding from near-by houses was added for the comfort of the riders. Several horses were taken, among them one belonging to Captain Smith of the Lincoln Company, which he had, for some reason, left at Wright Tavern before he marched for North Bridge. Lieutenant Hayward of Concord recaptured Reuben Brown's chaise from the Regulars in Arlington, and with it a horse, bedquilt, pillow, etc., for the owners of which he advertised in the Essex Gazette of Aug. 10, 1775.[1]

Besides his wounded, Lieutenant Colonel Smith had his able-bodied men to consider also. They had been without sleep since the time of starting from Boston Common, at half past 10 o'clock the evening before, and possibly back to the night before that. They had already marched over seventeen miles to Concord village, and those who had gone to Colonel Barrett's and to the North and South Bridges, so much farther yet. They had passed through the exciting scenes of bloodshed at Lexington Common and North Bridge, which

[1] Frederic Hudson.

must have added agitated minds to weary bodies. His soldiers needed rest and Smith knew it, and was justified in granting the two hours that he did.

Aside from those reasons Smith had another good one for not starting at once. It will be remembered that when he had reached Arlington (Menotomy), realizing his march had aroused the entire community, he had sent back an urgent request to General Gage for strong reinforcements. He could reasonably expect them to reach any place that he had, within three hours at least of his time. But unfortunately for Smith the forces under Percy had not started until 9 o'clock that morning, and were then less than five miles on the way, and coming over a longer route than he had taken.[1]

The destruction of the public military stores, according to the report of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, hardly balanced his loss of prestige even, to say nothing of the British lives that had been and would be given up in the cause. He gives his men credit for knocking the trunnions off of three field pieces of iron ordnance; destroying by fire some new gun carriages and a great number of carriage wheels; and throwing into the river considerable flour, some powder, musket balls and other small articles. De Bernicre in his account adds to the list by mentioning barrels of trenchers and spoons of wood destroyed by Captain Pole.

[1] In the Diary of A British Officer in Boston in 1775, who was with Smith in the Concord expedition, he writes of the return to Lexington and the expected reinforcements: "We had been flatter'd ever since the morning with the expectation of the Brigade coming out, but at this time had given up all hope of it, as it was so late."

While the bonfire was consuming the cannon wheels, it was discovered that the Court House, facing the Green, was on fire. It was noticed by Mrs. Martha Moulton, an elderly widow who lived close by and who had not fled with the younger part of the population as the enemy approached. She felt that her years, seventy-one, would be her protection, as indeed they were. She has left an interesting statement of the events of those few hours, — how her home was invaded by the soldiers for food and water; how Pitcairn and other officers sat before her door, watching the soldiers in their destructive work; how she discovered the Court House on fire, and how earnestly she pleaded with them to put it out, even bringing water for them to do so. At first they were indifferent, but finally yielded and extinguished the flames. Thus was the Court House saved, and possibly some of the adjoining homes, by Martha Moulton.[1]

The Provincial Congress, in their published account of the damages sustained in Concord, aside from the public stores, set the value at £274, 16s., 7d., of which £3, 6s was for broken locks in His Majesty's Jail.[2]

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Retreat through Concord.

It was about 12 o'clock when Lieutenant Colonel Smith gave the order to march. As the neighboring

[1] Petition of Martha Moulton, Concord, Feb. 4, 1776, to the Honorable Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay for recognition of her services on that occasion.

[2] Journals of Each Provincial Congress, of Massachusetts, page 686.

hills were covered with provincials,[1] he ordered out even larger bodies of flankers, and farther away from the main body in the highway. The march along the Lexington Road for a little more than a mile to Meriam's Corner was uneventful, but at that place the struggle was renewed. There the men of Concord, Acton, Lincoln, and Bedford came within rifle shot of the highway. They had passed along the Great Meadow, so called, northerly from the range of hills near the highway, and reached Meriam's Corner at about the same time that Smith did.

New American forces joined the contest here also. Billerica sent Lieutenant Crosby with 12 men; Capt. Edward Farmer, 35 men; and Capt. Jonathan Stickney, 54 men. Chelmsford sent Capt. Oliver Barron, 61 men, and Acting Captain, Col. Moses Parker, 43 men. Framingham sent Capt. Simon Edget, 76 men; Capt. Jesse Emes, 24 men; Capt. Micajah Gleason, 49 men. Reading sent Capt. John Bacheller, 61 men; Capt. Thomas Eaton, 63 men; Capt. John Flint, 79 men, and Capt. John Walton, 89 men. Some of the Reading companies at least, marched from home under Major, afterwards Governor, John Brooks. Rev. Edmund Foster accompanied Captain Bacheller's company as a volunteer, and has left an interesting narrative of what he saw. Sudbury sent Capt. Nathaniel Cudworth, 40 men; Capt. Aaron Haynes, 39 men; Capt. Isaac Locker, 30 men; Capt. John Nixon, 54 men; Capt. Joseph Smith, 49 men; and Capt.

[1] De Berniere thought there could not have been less than 5,000 rebels on the hills about Concord. His anxiety greatly multiplied the real number.

Moses Stone, 35 men. Woburn sent Capt. Samuel Belknap, 66 men; Capt. Jonathan Fox, 72 men; and Capt. Joshua Walker, 117 men.

The American reinforcements coming in at Meriam's Corner numbered 1,147, making a total of 1,534 enrolled men in the ranks of the Provincials, if all at the North Bridge still remained in the fight.

There were many other Minute Men anxious to be in the first struggle but who lived too far away. Stow sent a company of militia belonging to Colonel Prescott's regiment, commanded by Capt. William Whitcom, numbering eighty-one men. They did not reach North Bridge until about noon, too late to be in the action there, but in time to be close in the pursuit. We are told that another company from Stow under Captain Hapgood also joined, but I find no returns in the Massachusetts State Archives.

Three companies from Westford reached the North Bridge too late, but were active afterward. They were, respectively, under the command of Capt. Oliver Bates, 36 men; Capt. Jonathan Minot, 36 men; and Capt. Timothy Underwood, 58 men.

As the Reading men came along the road from Bedford and neared Meriam's Corner they discovered the flank guard of the British just descending the ridge of hills. There were from eighty to one hundred Red Coats, and they were marching slowly and deliberately down the hill, without music and without words. The Americans were but a little over three hundred feet away. They

halted and remained in silence watching their foes. The British flankers soon gained the main road at the Corner, and passed along a few hundred feet toward Lincoln and Lexington, over the little bridge that spans Mill Brook. The Americans gathered around the Meriam house. As the British passed the Bridge they wheeled suddenly and fired in volley, but too high, so no one was struck. Then the Americans returned the fire with better aim, and two Britons fell on the easterly side of the little stream, while several were wounded, among them Ensign Lester of the 10th Regiment.[1]

Less than half a mile along that road from Meriam's Corner is the northerly corner of the town of Lincoln. Along on the edge of Lincoln the highway continues, still in an easterly direction, for less than another half mile, this stretch being on rather higher ground, the northerly side of the road in Concord, the southerly side in Lincoln. On the Lincoln side is the Brooks Tavern (still standing, 1921). This little elevation is called Hardy's Hill, and is about sixty feet higher than Concord village.[2] Along the summit the skirmishing was actively renewed, and continued down its easterly slope into Lincoln.

This ended the struggle in Concord, but her sons and the others were not mindful of the boundary line. To them it was more than the Battle of Concord — it was the Battle of April Nineteenth.

The patriots who died in Concord were Capt. Isaac Davis, and private Abner Hosmer, both of

[1] Rev. Edmund Foster and Ensign De Bernicre.

[2] United States Geological Survey, 1886.

Acton. The wounded were Luther Blanchard and Ezekiel Davis, also of Acton; Jonas Brown of Concord and Joshua Brooks of Lincoln. These were all at the North Bridge. Abel Prescott, Jr., of Concord was wounded while in the village. The British killed were two privates at North Bridge and two at Meriam's Corner bridge. Their wounded were Lieutenant Gould of the 4th Regiment, Lieutenant Kelly of the 10th Regiment, Lieutenant Sutherland of the 38th, and Lieutenant Hull of the 43d, and a number of privates, all at the North Bridge. At the little bridge near Meriam's Corner Ensign Lester of the 10th Regiment and several privates were wounded.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Retreat through Lincoln.

At the foot of the easterly slope of Hardy's Hill is a little stream crossing the road in a northerly direction. It is in Lincoln, and on most maps is put down as Mill Brook, the same that curves around and crosses the road near Meriam's Corner, rather more than a mile back. At Hardy's Hill it has sometimes been called Tanner's Brook.[1]

The British had now reached this point, and were marching rapidly, keeping their flankers out parallel to the highway.

Over the bridge and up another slight rise and then the road turns at a sharp angle to the left, northeasterly, to still higher ground about eighty

[1] Frothingham's Siege of Boston. Rev. Mr. Foster's Account.

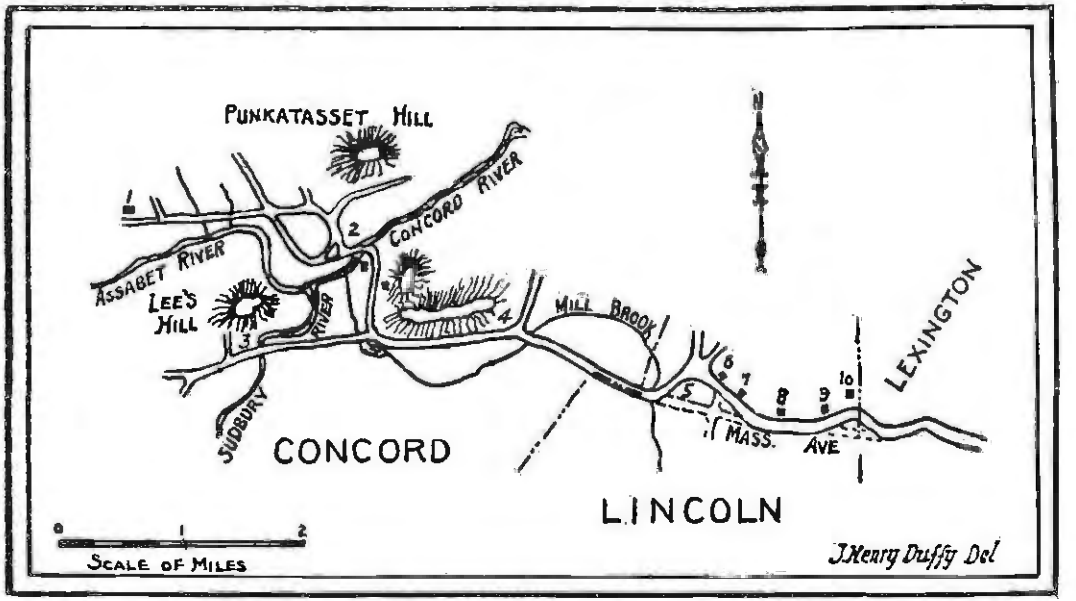
feet higher than Concord village. On the northwesterly side of that road was a heavy growth of trees, and on the opposite side a younger growth. On each side of the road, in those two forest growths, many American Minute Men were posted.[1] They had anticipated the passing of the British by hurrying across the Great Fields, so called, from the Bedford Road near Meriam's Corner. Among these were the Bedford company under Captain Willson. This forest-lined road was only about half a mile in extent before it turned again to the eastward.

When the foremost British reached this location the Americans poured in a deadly volley that killed eight and wounded many others.

The contest was by no means one-sided. The attention of the Americans here, as all along the line to Charlestown, was too firmly fixed on the ranks of the enemy marching in the road. The British flankers were unnoticed and unthought of. Silently and rapidly they swung along, on their parallel lines, and very often closed in on those little tell-tale puffs of smoke that arose behind the trees and walls, and among the bowlders. Thus were many Americans surprised and slain — more, probably twice or thrice over, than were killed by the soldiers in the highway.

It was at this Bloody Angle of Battle Road that Capt. Jonathan Willson of Bedford met his death. And so did Nathaniel Wyman, a native of Billerica, but a member of Captain Parker's company. Daniel Thompson of Woburn was also killed here. Another

[1] Foster's Account.



BATTLE ROAD THROUGH CONCORD AND LINCOLN.

1. Colonel Barrett. 2. North Bridge. 3. South Bridge. 4. Meriam's Corner. 5. Bloody Angle. 6. Sergt. John Hartwell. 7. Sergt. Samuel Hartwell. 8. Revere captured. 9. Nelson. 10. Hastings.

son of Bedford, Job Lane, was severely wounded and disabled for life.[1]

The next day five of the British killed were removed to the little cemetery near Lincoln village several miles away for burial. Not many years ago the town of Lincoln caused to be placed over their common grave a neat and appropriately lettered memorial stone.

After the northeasterly angle the road turns again easterly toward Lexington. Half or three-quarters of a mile along are the two Hartwell houses, still standing (1921), on the northerly side of the road and but a few hundred feet apart.

In the westerly, or first one, lived Sergt. John Hartwell, and in the easterly one, Sergt. Samuel Hartwell, both members of Captain Smith's Lincoln company. Both were absent on duty then, but the wife of Samuel was at home. She has furnished a vivid narrative of what she saw and experienced that afternoon and the following morning. Her first alarm of the coming Britons was reports of musketry, seemingly in the vicinity of the Brooks Tavern, then nearer and nearer to the Bloody Angle. Then the hurrying Red Coats themselves, anxious and wild in their demeanor as they hurried along past her house. One, in his insane anger fired into their garret, though he could see no foeman there.[2]

For another mile along the Lincoln Road the British must have had some relief, for the country is comparatively level, the fields extending away

[1] Jonathan F. Stearns, Bedford Sesqui-Centennial, page 26. Ripley, page 21, seems to think that Lane was wounded a little farther along at the Hartwell barn.

[2] Beneath Old Roof Trees, by Abram English Brown, page 221.

Home of Sergt. John Hartwell, Lincoln. Still standing.

smoothly on either side. It was not a complete lull in the battle, however, for an American bullet terminated the life of one Briton at least. The remains were uncovered a few years ago when the road builders were widening and grading anew the highway. He was reinterred over the bordering wall in the field to the southwest of the highway, a short distance westerly from Folly Pond.[1]

Then comes an easterly bend in the road, though still continuing nearly level and for about a quarter of a mile to the Nelson house.[2] Here lived Josiah Nelson, the Lincoln patriot, who, as we have written, alarmed his neighbors in Bedford the night before. Around it were many picturesque bowlders, large enough to shelter venturesome Minute Men. And they were there. William Thorning, one of Captain Smith's Lincoln company, had fired on the British from some hiding place in this neighborhood, and they had returned his fire and chased him into the woods. As he was thus escaping the main body he met the ever vigilant flank guard, and but narrowly escaped them also. Later as they passed along he advanced to one of the Nelson bowlders and fired again at the British, probably with fatal effect. Across the road from the house is a little knoll which is called "The Soldiers' Graves"[3] even to this day, for therein sleep two British soldiers whose

[1] Statement of Mr. George Nelson, near-by resident, who saw the remains and pointed out to me in 1890 the locations of the old and new graves.

[2] Standing until a few years ago, although in a shattered condition. It had been abandoned as a habitation for many years. A conflagration completed its destruction, and now only the scar of its cellar hole and a pile of bricks that formed its mammoth chimney and hospitable hearth mark where it stood.

[3] Statement to me in 1890 of Mr. Nelson, owner of the old ruins with the surrounding fields, and who pointed out "The Soldiers' Graves."

summons undoubtedly came from behind the Nelson bowlders.

About a sixth of a mile yet farther along stood the home of Samuel Hastings, near the Lexington boundary line yet within the town of Lincoln. Hastings was a member of Captain Parker's Lexington company,[1] and was present and in line for action when Pitcairn gave that first order to fire. As the British column swept along, one of the soldiers left the ranks and entered the house for plunder, unmindful of the dangers lurking in the adjoining woods and fields. As he emerged and stood on the doorstone an American bullet met him, and he sank seriously wounded. There he lay until the family returned later in the afternoon and found him. Tenderly they carried him into the house and ministered to his wants as best they could, but his wound was fatal. After his death they found some of their silver spoons in his pocket. He was buried a short distance westerly from the house.[2]

It was in Lincoln that most of Captain Parker's Lexington company, numbering in all 144 men before any were killed, again went into the action, probably not far from the Nelson and Hastings homes; and also the Cambridge company, under Captain Samuel Thatcher, 77 men, joined the pursuit from there.[3]

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[1] See his deposition in Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, but I do not find his name in any other place as a member.

[2] I am indebted to the great-grandchildren of Samuel Hastings, Cornelius and Charles A. Wellington, for this statement. They were residents of Lexington, but since both have died.

[3] See Massachusetts State Archives where twenty-eight miles is the distance charged for by most of his men.

Home of Sergt. Samuel Hartwell, Lincoln. Still standing.

The American fatalities in Lincoln, as we have seen, were Capt. Jonathan Willson of Bedford; Nathaniel Wyman of Billerica, who was a member of Captain Parker's Lexington company; and Daniel Thompson of Woburn. Job Lane of Bedford was slightly wounded.

The exact British loss in Lincoln cannot be stated. It is known that eight were killed at the Bloody Angle, and at least four more along the road from there to the Hastings house. Many were wounded, but no statement or estimate has ever been given. The distance across that part of the town is about two miles, and the fighting severe for more than half the way.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Retreat to Lexington Village.

As the British forces again invaded Lexington soil undoubtedly they looked for vengeance from the hands of the little band that stood before them in the early morning. If they did anticipate as much they were not disappointed, for, as we have stated, Captain Parker and his men had come out into the edge of Lincoln to meet them.

Just over the line into Lexington and a few rods north of the road the land rises about fifty feet rather abruptly and with a ledgy face. This little summit commands a grand view up and down the road for quite a distance, and therefore was an ideal location for the Minute Men. Many were there awaiting the passing of the British, and when they were opposite poured down on them a volley. At least

one fell, an officer, for a few years ago a sword was taken up from the depth of about four feet, evidently from his grave. It was almost consumed with rust, but enough remained to identify it as of British make and of that period. The reports of muskets and little puffs of blue smoke betrayed the location of the marksmen, and the British at once returned the fire. Their aim was without effect. One of their bullets flattened against the ledge was also found by the present owner of the land buried in the decayed leaves and refuse at the base of the ledge.[1]

Not more than a quarter of a mile farther along the road stood Bull's Tavern,[2] in later times known as Viles Tavern. Nothing now remains of it but the cellar hole, and that is not so deep as once. The soldiers ransacked the house for food and drink, but left no recompense. A few rods more the road turns northeasterly around a bluff twenty feet high, perhaps. The struggle was renewed there furiously, for the British flankers could not manœuvre to protect the main column so well, and they suffered severely for half a mile or more toward Fiske Hill. Lieutenant Colonel Smith was wounded by a bullet passing through his leg.[3] Major Pitcairn's horse, becoming unmanageable through fright, threw him

[1] The sword and bullet were found by Mr. John Lannon about 1895, from whom I obtained them. He was then as now owner of the farm. In removing a bowlder from his garden it was necessary to dig around it and on one side to a depth of about four feet. There he found the sword and a little of its rust-eaten scabbard, quite likely in the grave by the side of its wearer. The bullet once round, now not half that, had struck the ledge rather than the American on its summit, and fell harmlessly at the base.

[2] Rev. Mr. Foster called it Benjamin's Tavern.

[3] De Berniere's Account.

FOOT OF FISKE HILL, LEXINGTON.

Where Lieutenant Colonel Smith was wounded and where Maj. John Pitcairn lost his horse and pistols.

to the ground and escaped into the American lines, where he was captured, together with equipments, including the Major's beautiful brace of pistols.[1]

Many British were wounded and many killed along this part of Battle Road. A little way from the bluff, over the wall on the opposite side of the road and in a southerly direction, are graves of two. No memorial stone marks the exact spot, and even the mounds, too, have long since dissolved away.[2]

The contending forces were now climbing Fiske Hill, about sixty feet higher than the bluff.[3] The road at that time passed higher up than at present, and near the summit fighting was more severe again. One Briton at least fell there and was buried in the little strip of ground between the old and new road. A heap of small stones once marked the spot, but they have disappeared.[4]

Down the easterly slope of Fiske Hill stood a

[1] The accoutrements were taken to Concord and later sold by auction. Capt. Nathan Barrett bought the pistols, beautiful ones, with elaborately chased silver mountings, with Pitcairn's name engraved thereon. Captain Barrett offered them to General Washington, who declined them, and then to General Putnam, who carried them through the war. They were brought to Lexington on Centennial Day, April 19, 1875, for exhibition by Rev. S. I. Prime, D.D., on behalf of the owner, a widow of John P. Putnam of Cambridge, N. Y., who was the grandson of General Putnam and to whom they descended. Later Mrs. Putnam gave them to the town of Lexington, and they are now on exhibition by the Lexington Historical Society. (See Handbook of Lexington, 1891.) Rev. William Emerson of Concord requested of the Third Provincial Congress June 1, 1775, the use of a horse, probably Pitcairn's, which they granted, specifying one captured from a Regular by Isaac Kittredge of Tewksbury, Capt. Nathan Barrett, and Henry Flint of Concord, Mr. Emerson to pay a reasonable price for its keeping up to that time.

[2] Statement to me by the late Rev. Carlton A. Staples.

[3] U. S. Geological Survey, 1886.

[4] Statement of H. M. Houghton to the Rev. Carlton A. Staples, who so informed me. Mr. Houghton lived in that vicinity during his boyhood and furnished a roughly sketched plan to Mr. Staples.

modest little farmhouse on the southerly side of the road. It was then the home of Benjamin Fiske. The entire family had fled, and the stragglers from the British columns entered for pillage. One in his greed stayed too long. Brave James Hayward of Acton, willing to fight though exempt from military service because of a partially dismembered foot, met him at the door, laden with booty. The Briton recognized in Hayward an enemy, and raising his gun exclaimed, "You are a dead man!"

"And so are you," responded Hayward as he raised his gun also. Both fired — both fell, the Briton instantly killed and Hayward mortally wounded, the ball piercing his powder horn and entering his side. He lived eight hours and was conscious to the last. Calling for his powder horn and bullet pouch he remarked that he started with one pound of powder and forty bullets. A very little powder and two or three balls were all that were left.

"You see what I have been about," he exclaimed, calling attention to the slight remainder. "I am not sorry. I die willingly for my country."[1] And so Concord and Lexington, too, reverently treasure the memory of brave Acton men, whose life blood stained the soil of each.

Up the westerly slope of Concord Hill, in Lexington, an elevation named after her sister town, marched the British. Their ranks were broken and disordered. Many had been wounded, many had been killed, and many had fallen exhausted by the wayside. It was then about half past 1 o'clock, and

[1] James Fletcher's History of Acton, in Hurd's History of Middlesex County.

they had marched rather more than twenty-three miles. At that time their ammunition began to give out, which added to their discomfiture. Their enemies seemed to be countless and everywhere. De Bernicre, the spy who was with them, has left a vivid word picture of how anxious they were getting to be. "There could not be less than 5,000," he says in his account, "so they kept the road always lined, and a very hot fire on us without intermission. . . . We began to run rather than retreat in order." Lieutenant Colonel Smith says in his report that the firing on his troops, which began in Concord, "increased to a very great degree and continued without the intermission of five minutes, altogether for I believe upwards of eighteen miles."

Such was the impression on the minds of Smith and his weary soldiers as they hurried along down Fiske Hill and up Concord Hill. If he entertained any idea of surrendering, though I have no evidence that he did, he must have realized the hopelessness of that, for no one seemed to be commanding the multitude before him, beside him, and behind him. They constituted a large circle of individuals, but made no attempt to stay his march or guide it in any way. They just followed along, seemingly intent only on hunting down the King's soldiers. Had some master mind been in charge of the patriot army, Smith's entire force could easily have been taken prisoners. But this was the first day of the war, and was only a contest between soldiers and citizens, and so Smith was allowed to march along.

Near the foot of the westerly slope of Concord

Hill stood the home of Thaddeus Reed.[1] He was one of Captain Parker's company. After the British passed along the Americans picked up three severely wounded soldiers and carried them into the house, where they all died. They were buried not far away, a few feet westerly of Wood Street, on the northerly side of a stone wall still standing, and but a few rods from Battle Road. Their graves are unmarked and almost unknown.[2]

The British flankers were now so thoroughly tired out that they could hardly act in that capacity, and were of but little use as protectors of the main body. The severely wounded were abandoned to some extent. Many of the slightly wounded were carried along somehow, but they greatly impeded the march. Hopes of reinforcements were practically abandoned.[3]

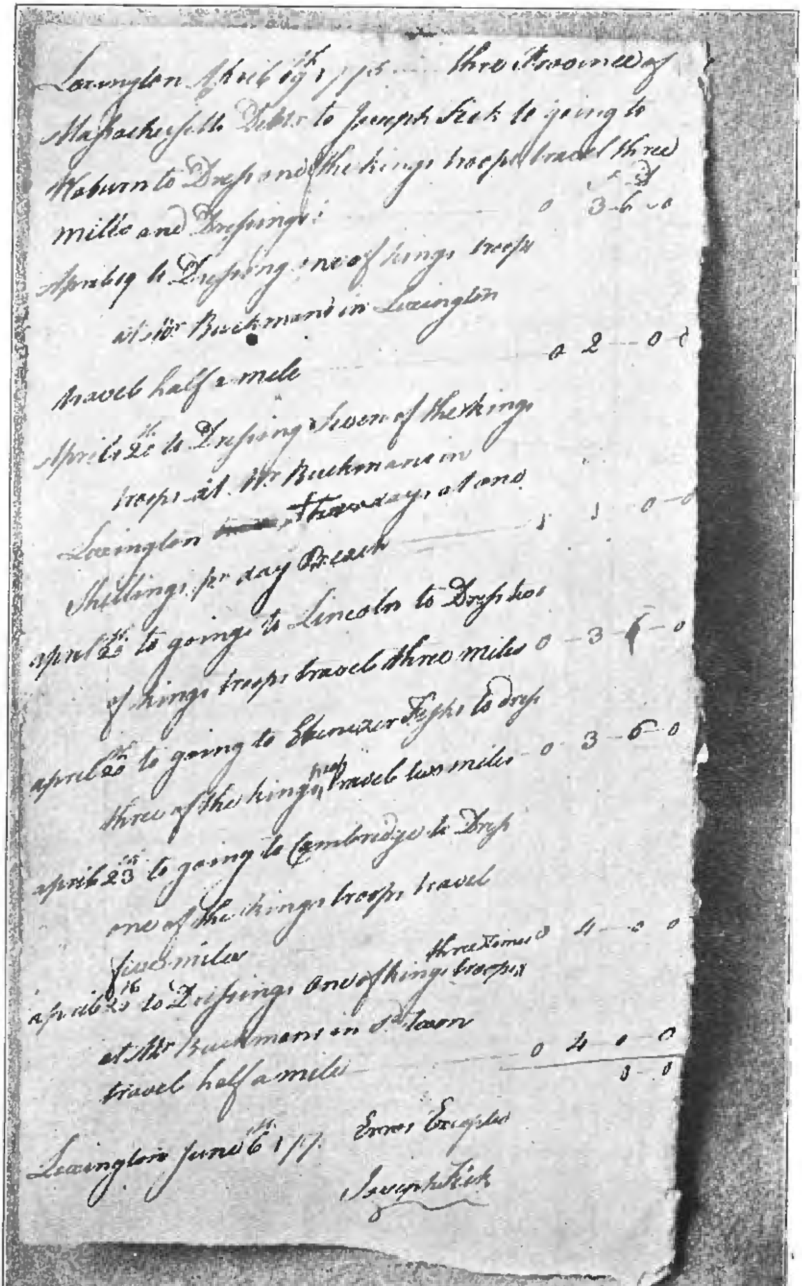
And so they proceeded up the hill, the summit of which is fully forty feet higher than Fiske Hill, and at least eighty feet higher than Lexington Common,[4] now in view less than a mile away. They must have been anxious to reach and pass that little field. Down the easterly slope of Concord Hill they almost ran in more or less confusion and intense excitement. The Americans were actively keeping up their firing, and so more Britons were killed and wounded, three of the latter so severely that they were abandoned

[1] See Foster's Narrative.

[2] The exact spot was pointed out to me by the late Rev. Carlton A. Staples Sept. 11, 1900, who received his information, accompanied by a plan, from H. M. Houghton.

[3] Diary of a British Officer in Boston in 1775, who was a member of the expedition.

[4] United States Geological Surveys, 1898, 1900.


Lexington April 19th 1775 ... the Province of
Massachusetts Debtor to Joseph Fisk to going to
Woburn to Dress and the kings troops travel three
miles and Dressings ... 0 3-6-0
April 19 to Dressing one of kings troops
at Mr Buckmans in Lexington
travel half a mile ... 0 2-0-0
April 20th to Dressing seven of the kings
troops at Mr Buckmans in
Lexington three days at one
Shillings pr day Breach ... 1 1 0-0
april 20th to going to Lincoln to Dress two
of kings troops travel three miles 0-3-6-0
april 20th to going to Ebenezer Fesks to dress
three of the kings troop travel two miles 0 3-6-0
april 23rd to going to Cambridge to Dress
one of the kings troops travel
five miles three times 0 4-0-0
april 26th to Dressings one of kings troops
at Mr Buckmans in Lexington
travel half a mile ... 0 4-0-0
8-0
Errors Excepted
Lexington June 6th 1775
Joseph Fisk

Dr. Fiske's Bill for Attending the Wounded British

by their fellow soldiers, fell into the hands of the Americans, and were taken into Buckman Tavern.[1] One subsequently died and was buried with the British slain in the old cemetery near by. Their graves are unmarked.[2]

The British did not stop to disperse any rebels on Lexington Common, for none were there to oppose their retreat, but passed off the southeasterly end, as the Americans came promptly after them on the northwesterly corner. It was between 2 and 3 o'clock when they reached the site of the present Lexington High School, a trifle more than half a mile from the Common. There they met the long-wished for reinforcements, under Lord Percy, who opened his ranks and enclosed them in his protecting care. Many sank immediately into the road where they halted, for their physical condition was pitiful in the extreme. One of the contemporary English historians, an officer in the British Army in America, has described them as lying prone on the ground, like dogs, with protruding tongues.[3]

Percy then quickly wheeled about his two field pieces[4] and opened fire up the road toward the Common, where he could see the Americans were gathered. It was not fatal in its effect, but served to scatter them and do considerable damage to the meeting house, one ball passing through it. Col. Loammi Baldwin of Woburn was one who had been

[1] Foster's Account. E. P. Bliss gives the number as two in Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. I, page 75.

[2] E. P. Bliss in Lexington Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. I, page 75.

[3] C. Stedman. History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War. London, 1794.

[4] Percy's Report to General Gage.

standing in sight of the British, but he sought shelter behind the sacred edifice when he realized the enemy had opened fire with artillery. When a ball passed through the meeting house and came out near his head he retreated northwesterly to the meadow.[1]

Not many of the Americans had been killed thus far in the retreat of the British through Lexington. We have spoken of James Hayward of Acton, killed on the easterly side of Fiske Hill, and must add the name of Deacon Josiah Haynes of Captain Nixon's Sudbury company, who met his death somewhere along the road from Fiske Hill to Lexington Common.[2] He was a venerable man, in his seventy-ninth year,[3] and had marched from his home down to Concord village, up through Lincoln, and into Lexington. He was thoroughly in earnest in his work of driving the British back to Boston, and in an unguarded moment exposed himself to one of the King's soldiers.

On the Lexington part of Battle Road many British were killed and many wounded. Among the latter were Lieutenant Hawkshaw, Lieutenant Cox, and Lieutenant Baker, all of the 5th Regiment; Ensign Baldwin and Lieutenant McCloud of the 47th Regiment; and Captain Souter and Lieutenant Potter of the marines.[4] I have previously mentioned the wounding of the commander, Lieutenant Colonel Smith, on the westerly slope of Fiske Hill.

[1] The damage to the meeting house by the cannon ball cost the town of Lexington to repair, £1, 1s. Rev. C. A. Staples in Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. I, page 21.

[2] Ripley.

[3] Hudson's History of Sudbury.

[4] De Berniere.

Lexington Common in 1921.

After the British had departed from Lexington immediate attention was given to the Lexington patriot dead who were slain on the Common in the early morning. From the field of battle they had been borne to the meeting house, and there a simple service was held over them, consisting of a prayer by Rev. Jonas Clarke; then they were carried to the little churchyard, where one broad grave received them all. It had been a day of terror in Lexington, and some fear was felt that the enemy might return and wreak yet further vengeance, even, upon the dead. So the grave was made in a remote part of the yard, near the woods, and the fresh mound of earth itself hidden beneath branches cut from the neighboring trees.[1] And not forgotten threescore years later, their grateful fellow townsmen removed their remains to the field where they died, and erected a monument to their memory.[2]

[1] "Father sent Jonas down to Grandfather Cook's to see who was killed and what their condition was and, in the afternoon, Father, Mother with me and the Baby went to the Meeting House, there was the eight men that was killed, seven of them my Father's parishoners, one from Woburn, all in Boxes made of four large Boards Nailed up and, after Pa had prayed, they were put into two horse carts and took into the grave yard where your Grandfather and some of the Neighbors had made a large trench, as near the Woods as possible and there we followed the bodies of those *first slain*, *Father*, *Mother*, I and the Baby, there I stood and there I saw them let down into the ground, it was a little rainey but we waited to see them covered up with the Clods and then for fear the British should find them, my Father thought some of the men had best Cut some pine or oak bows and spread them on their place of burial so that it looked like a heap of Brush."

I am indebted to the Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. IV, page 92, for the above extract from a letter written by Miss Elizabeth Clarke, daughter of Rev. Jonas Clarke. It is dated from Lexington, April 19, 1841, and written to her niece, Mrs. Lucy Ware Allen, whose mother was Mary, another daughter of Rev. Mr. Clarke. The writer, Miss Elizabeth, was then in her seventy-eighth year.

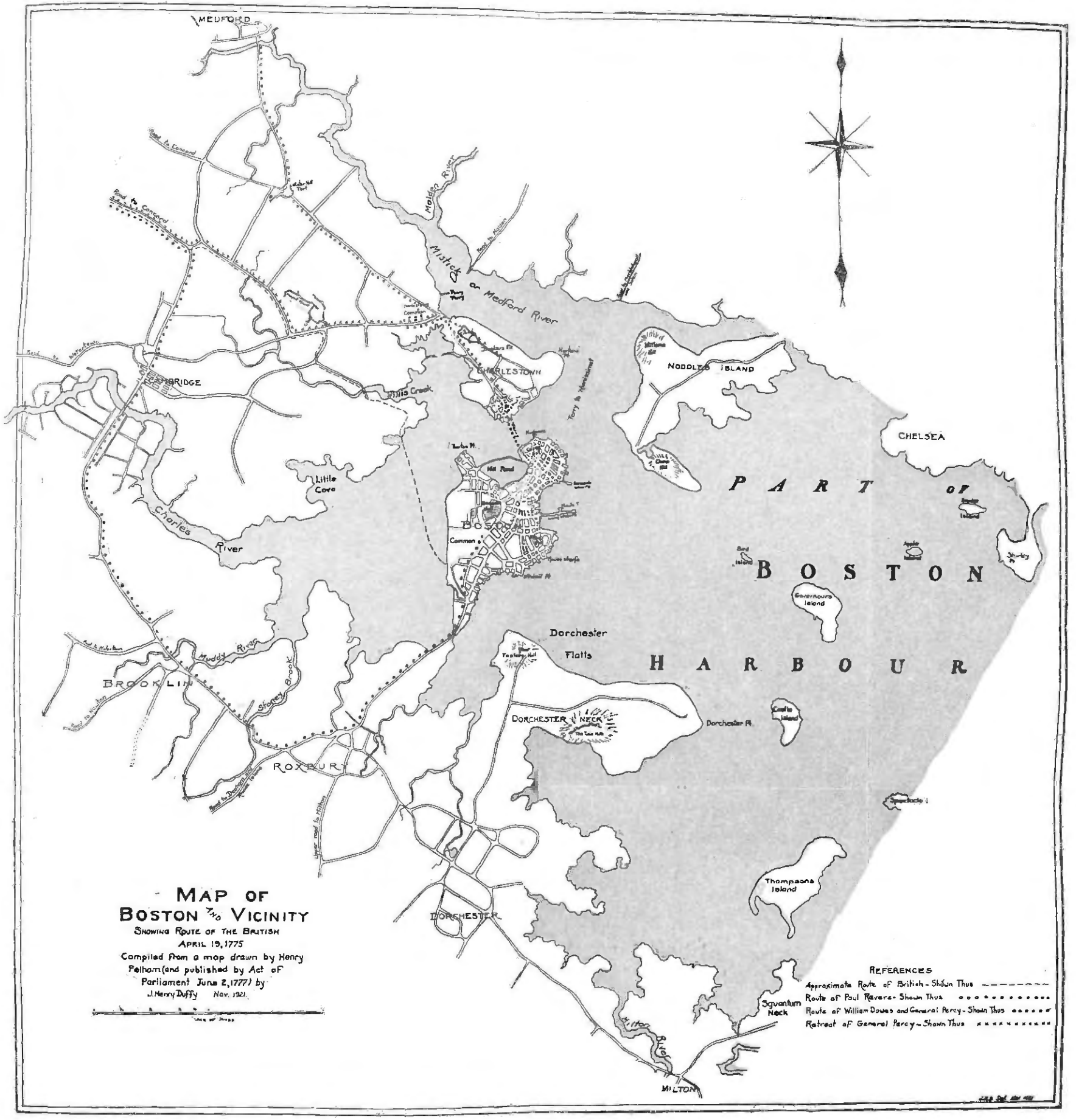
[2] But Asahel Porter, the Woburn member of Captain Parker's company, was buried in his own town. He had not been in action. See page 69.

Earl Percy marches to reinforce Lieutenant Colonel Smith.

As the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith will now rest for a brief period, let us go back to Boston and start with Earl Percy, on his mission to reinforce the former, and consider his delays and difficulties, and why he got no farther than Lexington.

As we have seen, it was between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning when Smith reached Arlington, and becoming alarmed at the increasing attention his soldiers were attracting — attention that seemed to him hostile — he despatched back to General Gage an urgent request for reinforcements. His messenger should easily have reached Gage within two hours, for to retrace the march was less than six miles by land with an additional half mile or little more by boat across the Charles River. Thus General Gage should have had Smith's message by 5 o'clock. He acted promptly by ordering under arms the 1st Brigade, consisting of eight companies of the 4th, 23d, and 47th Regiments, and to these were added two detachments of the Royal Marines to be under Maj. John Pitcairn. Two pieces of artillery, six-pounders, were also added to the force, and the whole placed under the command of Lord Percy, with the title, for the occasion, of acting brigadier general. His little army numbered about 1,000 men.

It was about 7 o'clock when the eight companies



MAP OF BOSTON AND VICINITY

SHOWING ROUTE OF THE BRITISH
APRIL 19, 1775

Compiled from a map drawn by Henry Pelham (and published by Act of Parliament June 2, 1777) by
J. Henry Duffy Nov. 1921.

REFERENCES

Approximate Route of British - Shown Thus ———————

Route of Paul Revere - Shown Thus • • • • • • • • • • •

Route of William Dawes and General Percy - Shown Thus • • • • • •

Retreat of General Percy - Shown Thus × × × × × × × × ×

assembled on Tremont Street, and the line extended from Scollay Square to the lower part of the Common. There they waited for Pitcairn and his marines, nearly two hours. Finally it dawned upon the mind of General Gage that his orders to that worthy officer might still be lying on his desk unopened, for he had been granted permission to accompany Lieutenant Colonel Smith as a volunteer, and perhaps had gone. Such proved to be the case, and the two hours were lost. Then another commander for them was selected, and they were in line at 9 o'clock.[1] Those two hours would have brought Percy's forces almost into Concord instead of into Lexington village, and would have made great difference in the results of the day's fighting.

Percy, mounted on a beautiful white horse, headed the column, and they proceeded over Boston Neck, through the present Washington Street, to Roxbury, up the hill to the meeting house, then to the right, where the old Parting Stone then stood, even as it does to-day. In Roxbury his soldiers excited the attention of a very young patriot, who laughed derisively as the musicians played "Yankee Doodle." Lord Percy noticed him and asked the reason of his mirth. The boy responded: "To think how you will dance by-and-by to Chevy Chase."

The British commander felt uncomfortable the rest of the day because of the suggestive and prophetic reply.[2] He continued into Brighton and to

[1] Frothingham's History of the Siege of Boston.

[2] William Gordon's History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America. New York, 1794, Vol. I, page 312.

the westerly bank of the Charles River, opposite Harvard Square in Cambridge, his route being through Harvard Avenue, Franklin Square, Franklin Street, Boylston Street and over the Larz Anderson Bridge, these being the modern names of various parts of the old highway from Brookline village. Near Harvard Square the river was narrow and easily bridged, and over it was then the only way into Boston by road from the upper towns in Middlesex County.

The Americans, anticipating Percy's movements, had taken up the planks of the bridge, but did not continue the good work thoroughly, for they piled them handily on the Cambridge side. It was a simple matter for Percy's engineers to cross over on the stringers and relay enough of them for his soldiers to pass into Cambridge. Had the planks been farther removed Percy was prepared to replace them, for he had brought with him material for the purpose, and carpenters to do the work. He anticipated the partial destruction of the bridge, at least, and prepared his remedy accordingly, and must have been surprised at the point where the Americans concluded their labors. He carried his planks along about a mile and a half, and then sent them back, as they were only an encumbrance. He had no use for them on his return, for he had another plan, as we shall see later on.[1]

It was at the bridge that Percy marched ahead and left his wagon train of supplies to follow on as

[1] Rev. Isaac Mansfield, Jr., chaplain of General Thomas's regiment, in a Thanksgiving sermon in camp at Roxbury Nov. 23, 1775. See Thornton's Pulpit of the American Revolution, page 236.

soon as they could safely cross. The delay to them was considerable, and so the main army soon passed out of sight.

The roundabout route the British had taken to reach Harvard Square was necessary, at that time, because, as we have stated, no bridge crossed the river lower down. Could he have crossed as we do to-day, the distance would have been but a little over three miles, whereas it was eight miles as he marched, or nearly two hours more time. He could not cross in boats as did Lieutenant Colonel Smith for two reasons, — first, his soldiers were too many, and secondly, the boats were even then moored on the Cambridge side awaiting Smith's return.

When Percy reached Cambridge he was somewhat puzzled to know just which way to start for Lexington. In his official report he declares the houses were all shut up and there was not a single inhabitant to give him any information about the force under Smith. He did find one man, Isaac Smith, a tutor in Harvard College, who directed him along the right highway. When his fellow citizens of Cambridge learned of this free intelligence a little later on, they were indignant, and Isaac Smith, feeling reproved, shortly afterwards left the country for awhile. It does not appear that he intended to aid and abet the enemy, but granted the little courtesy without thinking of its value. It was regretted that Percy was not sent down toward or into the marshes bordering Willis Creek, and so delayed an hour or more.[1]

[1] Edward Everett Hale in Memorial History of Boston, Vol. 3.

The British marched rapidly on leaving Harvard Square and were soon quite a distance ahead of the baggage train, deeming it safe to leave it to follow under the guidance of a sergeant's guard of twelve men. It was no small task to get it safely over the dismantled bridge, and the delay there was considerable. Vigilant Americans watched the proceedings and realized the opportunity to seize it. They hurried on to Arlington to formulate their plans for its capture. As Cambridge seemed to be generally deserted, the sergeant and his men evidently felt no uneasiness at their delay. In due time, however, they were on the march again, headed for Lexington.[1]

Not long after they passed the Charlestown road, the Beech Street of to-day, Dr. Joseph Warren and his friend Dr. Thomas Welsh came into Cambridge. Warren lived in Boston, and left his home that morning and crossed the ferry into Charlestown. There he met Welsh and many other citizens, and communicated to them the news he had received by special messenger from Lexington. It was then about 10 o'clock.[2] A little after, he and Dr. Welsh, on horseback, were on their way to Cambridge, where they arrived only to find the road ahead occupied by the baggage train. They endeavored to pass, but were not permitted to do so. The sergeant inquired of Dr. Warren if he knew where the British troops then were, but the doctor could only give a negative reply. There seemed to be quite

[1] West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775; an address by Samuel Abbot Smith, Boston, 1864, page 27.

[2] Frothingham's Siege of Boston.

a little uneasiness in the minds of the British, as they evidently feared they were too widely separated from the main body and might be captured.[1] A guard of twelve men is not a large force to conduct a baggage train through a hostile country. Percy's first and most serious mistake had been committed. It was then noontime, or a little after.

In the meantime about a dozen of the elderly men of Menotomy, exempts mostly, assembled near the center of the village and awaited the arrival of the baggage train. Among them were Jason Belknap, Joe Belknap, James Budge, Israel Mead, Ammi Cutter, and David Lamson, a half Indian. Some of them had served in the French War. Rev. Phillips Payson, A.M., of Chelsea was also present and took an active part.[2] They chose Lamson to be leader, and took a position behind a stone wall on the northerly side of the road nearly opposite the First Parish Meeting House. As the baggage train appeared nearly opposite, Lamson ordered his men to rest and aim at the horses, at the same time calling out to the sergeant to surrender. He made no reply, and his driver whipped up the horses to escape. It was too late, for American bullets easily stopped them, killed two British soldiers and wounded several others.[3] The soldiers then abandoned their charge and ran southerly along the westerly shore of Spy Pond, as far as Spring Valley, where they came upon an elderly lady of Menotomy, known as Mother Bathericke,

[1] Edward Everett Hale in Memorial History of Boston. Vol. 3.
[2] Brown's Beneath Old Roof Trees.
[3] Smith's Address.

engaged in digging dandelions. They begged her assistance and protection; consequently she conducted them to the house of Capt. Ephraim Frost, where they were detained as prisoners,[1] probably to their mental relief. They were thoughtful enough not to include their guns in the surrender, for some were thrown into Spy Pond, and one was ruined by striking it heavily over a stone wall and bending it hopelessly out of shape.

The captured wagons were drawn down into the hollow, still to be seen a little northeasterly of the present Arlington railroad station, where the contents were distributed freely to all comers. The remaining horses were driven off to Medford, and the bodies of the dead ones, in accordance with the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Cook, who feared exciting the anger of the returning British, were dragged away to the field near Spring Valley, westerly of Spy Pond, and there for many years their bones bleached in the sun.[2]

All other marks of the contest were obliterated from the highway, that Percy might not trace what had happened to his baggage wagons and wreak vengeance upon the townspeople.

General Percy[3] marched less than two miles beyond Arlington Centre, when he distinctly heard the firing in Lexington. He was not far from the

[1] Smith's Address. Some of the opposition newspapers in England were quite merry and some quite sarcastic over the surrender of six lusty soldiers to one old woman, and inquired, on that basis how many British troops would it take to conquer America?

[2] Smith's Address.

[3] He signed his official report to General Gage, "Percy, Acting Brig. Gen." So that was his title for April Nineteenth.

boundary line between Arlington and Lexington, and the time was, as he has written, between 1 and 2 o'clock.[1] At about that time he met Lieutenant Gould of the 4th or King's Own Regiment, who, as we have written, was wounded at the North Bridge and was then returning in a borrowed Concord chaise, drawn by a borrowed Concord horse. From him Percy learned the details of Lieutenant Colonel Smith's march, and of his present urgent need of assistance. He hurried along toward Lexington and Lieutenant Gould continued his retreat toward Boston, but was captured as he reached Arlington village. The exact spot was on the present Massachusetts Avenue, near Mill Street, and his captors were some of the old men who had destroyed the baggage wagons. Gould was first taken to Ammi Cutter's and then to Medford,[2] and his own deposition shows that he was kindly treated.

At last, after a march of nearly sixteen miles,[3] Percy met the returning force under Lieutenant Colonel Smith, who had passed Lexington Common, the scene of his engagement in the morning, and was down the road toward Boston half a mile. The place of meeting was opposite the present Lexington High School, and the time between 2 and 3 o'clock. Percy being the ranking officer immediately took command of the united forces. It did not take him long to realize the terrible condition that Smith's troops were in, and to minister to their wants. As

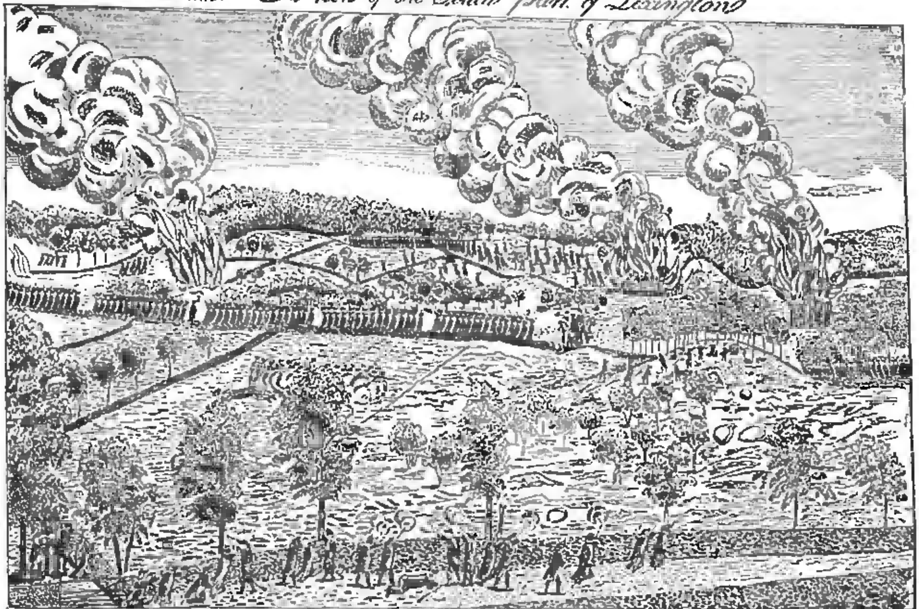
[1] See the rough or preliminary draft of his report to Gage.

[2] Smith's Address, pages 31, 32.

[3] To be exact, for I have measured the route over which he marched, it was 15⅓ miles.

they halted in the road his own ranks opened to receive them, and there they sank to the ground utterly exhausted. Such as could eat or drink were supplied from his own stores, while the wounded were taken still farther down the road, less than a quarter of a mile, to the Munroe Tavern, which he proceeded to establish as his headquarters and for use as a hospital. Near the place of meeting, coming in from the eastward, was then and is now the Woburn Road, the bordering walls of which sheltered plenty of American Minute Men. Back a little to the southward rose the modest elevation now sometimes called Mt. Vernon. Americans were there also, for it was high enough for them to look down on the highway very nicely if permitted to do so. Percy's flankers, however, were directed to clear all surrounding locations of enemies to the King, and Mt. Vernon and the Woburn Road were soon under the British flag again, or nearly so. But occasionally from some obscure or neglected corner rose a puff of blue smoke, and then the wearer of that brilliant red uniform would tumble over in the road, wounded or dying or dead. Little bodies of Minute Men, unorganized always, were seen dodging back and forth around the meeting house on the Common. Other little groups, and many singly, were noticed climbing over walls, emerging from and disappearing again behind clumps of bushes and trees and houses — hardly ever in sight long enough to shoot at. Percy, thinking to awe them, wheeled his two six-pounders into position and opened his first cannonade on the meeting house

Plate IV A View of the South part of Lexington



1 Col. Smith's Brigade retreating before the Provincials
2 Earl Percy's Brigade meeting them
3 & 4. Earl Percy & Col. Smith. 5 Provincials.
6 & 7 The Flankguards of Percy's Brigade
8 A Fieldpiece pointed at the Lexington Meetinghouse.
9 The Burning of the Houses in Lexington

A. Doolittle Sculp.

on Lexington Common. It was likewise the first cannon fired in the American Revolution. No American was killed or even wounded, but the house of God in Lexington suffered, and it cost the town some money to repair it. The cannon ball crashing through the meeting house did have the effect to drive the Americans farther back, and probably out of musket range for awhile.

Percy, having thus scattered his near-by enemies, then moved one of his six-pounders a few rods down the road near the present Bloomfield Street, then up the little elevation to the southward, now called Mt. Vernon. The precise spot was probably about opposite the northerly end of the present Warren Street. He strongly supported it with a part of his brigade.[1] This location was an excellent one for artillery, as it commanded the highway for fully a mile to Lexington Common and beyond. As before, his gunner could find no American long enough in one place to aim at. So there were no fatalities.

While Smith's soldiers were resting, some of those under Percy as reinforcements wandered about that part of the village bent on mischief and pillage not the kind usually indulged in by the average rowdy element of an army, but on a much larger and grander scale. Houses and outlying buildings were looted and burned. The first ones were owned by Deacon Joseph Loring, non-combatant, seventy-three years of age and were situated close by the meeting place of the two detachments, on the

[1] In his report he states that he "drew up the Brigade on a height." Only Mt. Vernon was easily accessible for such a movement. See also Doolittle's A View of the South Part of Lexington, for confirmation.

westerly side of the road. This group of buildings consisted of a mansion house, a barn seventy-five feet long, and a corn house. All were completely destroyed, together with such of their contents as could not be carried away. About two hundred rods of Loring's stone walls were also pushed over, emphasizing strongly the feeling of hostility existing among the British soldiers for their American cousins. His loss was £720.[1] This wanton and needless destruction of property must have been by the express command of Percy, for he was but a few rods away.

On the easterly side of the road, nearly opposite the Loring house, standing on the site of the present Russell House, was the home of Matthew Mead. That, too, was within a few rods of where Percy sat on his white horse, but it was ransacked by his soldiers, and Mead's loss was £101.[2]

Another plundered Lexington home in that neighborhood belonged to Benjamin Merriam, one of Parker's company, and of course absent. His house was not burned, but damaged to the extent of £6. His loss of personal property amounted to £217, 4s.[2] The building is still in existence, but has been moved easterly into Woburn Street across the railroad tracks. Its original location was on the westerly side of Massachusetts Avenue, a few rods north of Winthrop Road, and easily within sight of the British commander, Lord Percy.

And let us not forget that from that time on Percy was in supreme command of the united British forces, amounting to nearly 1,800 men.

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1775, page 686.
[2] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1775, page 688.

HUGH, *EARL* PERCY.

Published, Sep.r 30th 1783, by John Fielding, Pater-Noster-Row.

His loss in killed and wounded was surprisingly small considering the number of Americans in pursuit. To him belongs the blame for the burned homes of inoffensive non-combatants; for the killing of such helpless old men as Raymond; for the summary removal of Hannah Adams and her infant from child-bed; for the killing of feeble-minded William Marcy; for the killing of fourteen-year-old Edward Barber. His entire march back to Charlestown was thickly dotted with just such incidents, unrelieved by any conspicuous merciful action or by any deed of bravery. In some respects it was a skilful retreat, and in more respects it was a brutal one too. Happily for the American patriots in succeeding contests no other British commander seemed inspired by such revengeful instincts. Happily for the British historian he has no other such brutal events to apologize or blush for. Percy occupies his one page in history, uniquely, at least.

His services in America terminated soon thereafter at his own request, for some reason which we know not of. Possibly he was satisfied with the fame, such as it was, which he had won on that glorious day.[1]

[1] A majority of the voters of Lexington in town meeting assembled have renamed a near-by street "Percy Road," in commemoration of his visit on that Nineteenth of April. Almost any other foeman's name would have been better, if it is thus necessary to mark a growing feeling of respect and kindliness between two nations of kindred blood. Its older name was Mt. Vernon Street.

Lexington has many street names in memory of that battle day, such as Adams, Clarke, Hancock, Muzzey, Revere. Percy Road starts from near the old Munroe Tavern. What better name could there be for this thoroughfare than Munroe Avenue, in memory of Sergt. William Munroe, or of his grandson, James S. Munroe, who has generously bequeathed the Tavern to be forever open for public inspection? The Lexington Historical Society now has possession of it for that purpose, and they have placed therein a great number of interesting and valuable historical mementoes.

The next Lexington home to be destroyed by the incendiary belonged to the Widow Lydia Mulliken and her son. It stood not far from Loring's, on the main road to Boston, nearly opposite the present Munroe School. The clock shop connected with the same estate was also burned. As in the previous cases such personal effects as were desired by the soldiers were first removed and subsequently carried away. The works of a valuable musical clock were found in the knapsack of a wounded Briton when he was subsequently captured.[1] The Mulliken loss was £431.[2]

John Mulliken, cabinet maker, son of the widow, and living in Concord, joined in the pursuit and came as far as Lexington. There he saw his mother's house in flames, which affected him so deeply that he could proceed no farther.[3]

A modest little home and shop belonging to Joshua Bond, standing northwesterly from Munroe Tavern, and very near the present beginning of "Percy Road," so called, were first looted and then burned. His loss was £189, 16s., 7d.

The greater part of these happenings were within that first half hour after Percy took command of the united British forces, and before he began his retreat. This energetic destroyer of American homes had selected Munroe Tavern as his temporary headquarters, and ordered his wounded conveyed there also. While their wounds were being dressed, his

[1] Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. III, page 135.

[2] See Doolittle's A View of the South Part of Lexington, for an idea of those burning Lexington homes.

[3] Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. III, page 135.

men demanded such refreshments as the place could provide, and, unlike Smith's subordinates in Concord, were not considerate enough to pay for them. So Landlord William Munroe's loss was £203, 11s., 9d., of which £90 was in the "retail shop," presumably of a liquid nature. As he was orderly sergeant in Captain Parker's company, he was naturally absent on duty, and left a lame man, John Raymond, in charge, who waited upon the unbidden guests because he was compelled to. His last service was to mix a glass of punch for one of the Red Coats, after which he essayed to escape through the garden. He was not alert enough, for two soldiers fired, and one of their bullets readily overtook him as he hobbled away.[1] Thus one more was added to the list of American dead, one of the easiest victims, of course, for he was simply an unarmed cripple. This probably happened at the rear of the Tavern.

A few rods from the Tavern, down the road toward Boston, were two more Lexington homes on opposite sides of the street and quite near to each other. They are still standing (1921). In the one on the westerly side lived Samuel Sanderson, a member of Captain Parker's company. He was not at home, so they killed his cow instead, not for food, but for the pure pleasure of killing something. Evidently Landlord Munroe's liquor was having some effect, if not in making men braver, then in making them more brutal. Sanderson did not

[1] A carefully written newspaper clipping, evidently from a Boston periodical, dated April 19, 1858, preserved in a scrapbook once belonging to the Thomas Waterman collection of American History.

report the amount of his loss to the Legislature. On the easterly side of the road lived John Mason and family. All were absent so the soldiers permitted themselves to carry away property to the value of £14, 13s. 4d.[1]

Many other homes in Lexington were ransacked, mostly during Percy's halt. The total loss, as reported to the Legislature in 1783, amounted to £1,761, 1s., 5d. Undoubtedly many minor losses were not reported at all.

While these events were happening, the American Minute Men were not idle. From Mt. Vernon to the westward, and from the Munroe meadows to the eastward, came many leaden messengers, some of them effective. Among the British officers wounded, and probably most of them during the halt, were Lieutenant Hawkshaw, Lieutenant Cox, and Lieutenant Baker of the 5th; Ensign Baldwin and Lieutenant McCloud of the 47th; and Captain Souter and Lieutenant Potter of the marines. Many privates were killed and wounded.[2]

Shortly after the meeting of Percy and Smith, Gen. William Heath of Roxbury arrived in Lexington and endeavored to effect the organization of the American forces into the semblance of an army. Dr. Joseph Warren arrived on the scene at the same time. Heath's efforts were hardly successful, as the patriots chose to fight as they had from the beginning, — singly and self-commanded. It appears that Heath had first gone to Cambridge to meet

[1] Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1775.
[2] De Berniere's Report.

Gen. William Heath.

the Committee of Safety, and from there intended to go to Lexington, but fearing the British were in possession of the road in that direction had taken one across to Watertown. Finding there some of the militia of the town awaiting orders, he directed them to Cambridge to take up the planks of the Boston bridge, barricade its southerly end and dispute the passage of the retreating British on their way home to Boston. Then he proceeded to Lexington, and upon his arrival there was generally recognized as the commanding officer of the American forces. He found the people there aroused to great excitement, caused by the bombardment of the meeting house and the burning of so many homes.[1]

It must have been half past 3, or perhaps nearly 4 o'clock, when Percy gave the order to march. He realized the distance to Boston and the dangers along the way. "As it now began to grow pretty late," he says in his official report, "and we had 15 miles[2] to retire, and only our 36 rounds, I ordered the Grenadiers and Light Infantry to move off first,[3] and covered them with my Brigade, sending out very strong flanking parties."

The imposing display and the vigilant flankers had the desired effect of keeping the Americans at a comparatively safe distance, and so Percy and his little army marched down through East Lexington in safety.

[1] Heath's Memoirs, page 201.

[2] Then he had in mind to return by way of Roxbury, a longer march than to Charlestown.

[3] De Berniere says the Light Infantry was in front, then the Grenadiers.

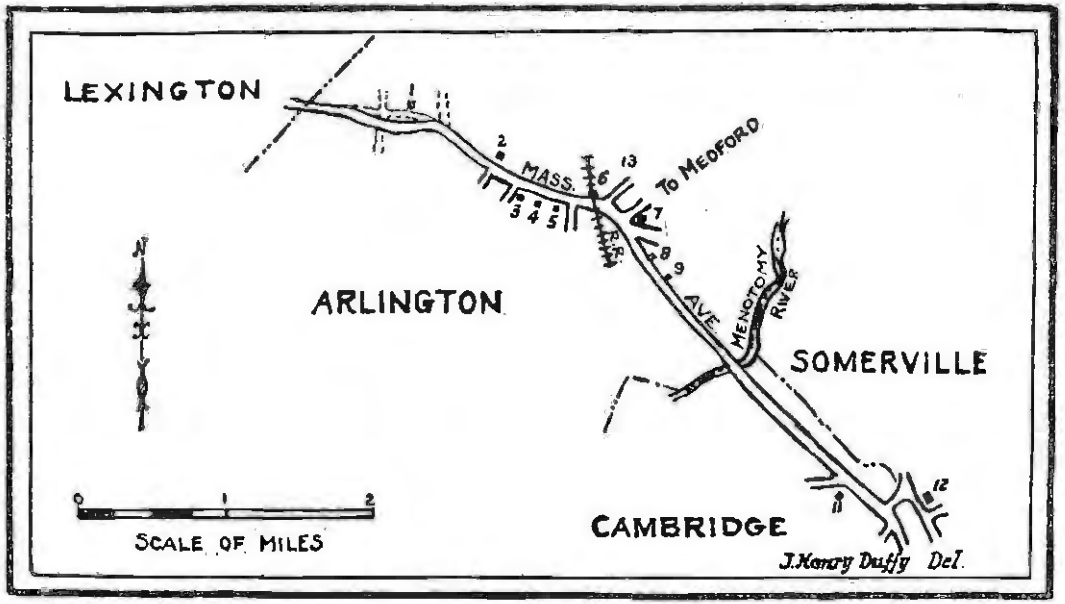
The looting section picked up considerable plunder from the abandoned homes along the way, evidently without protest from the commander. The march was a slow one, for Smith's weary and wounded soldiers had to be considered. Many of them were on the verge of collapse, and quite a few dropped out of the ranks for good. De Bernicre in his account places the "missing" at 26. One of those, a German, was discovered by the roadside in East Lexington soon after Percy had passed out of sight. He was well treated by the Americans, and made his home among them for many years.[1]

The Americans killed in Lexington during the afternoon were Jedediah Munroe and John Raymond. The British loss was much greater, for the Americans were being reinforced constantly by Minute Men from the remote towns. Three companies from Newton entered the battle at Lexington, under the command, respectively, of Capt., Lieutenant John Marean, 37 men; Capt. Amariah Fuller, 105 men; and Capt. Jeremiah Wiswell, 76 men. Together these numbered 218 men, making the total enrolment of the Americans in pursuit of Percy as he passed out of Lexington, 1,954 men.

Percy's Retreat through Arlington.

It was not far from half past 4 when the British crossed the Lexington line and entered into Arlington. Their retreating march in Lexington meas-

[1] Told to me by the venerable Charles Brown, living in 1911 in East Lexington. His grandfather, Capt. Edmund Munroe, was an active participant in the events of April 19.



BATTLE ROAD THROUGH ARLINGTON AND CAMBRIDGE.

1. Capt. Benj. Locke. 2. Tufts Tavern. 3. Adams. 4. Russell. 5. Percy's baggage wagon captured. 6. Adams. 7. Cooper Tavern. 8. Lieut. Solomon Bowman. 9. Black Horse Tavern. 11. Watson. 12. Tufts. 13. Whittemore wounded.

ured about two and one-quarter miles. Along the road they had striven to kill in honorable battle. They had succeeded but slightly, and paid an unusual price with a much larger number of their own dead and wounded. Percy's aim seemed to have been to terrorize his opponents at whatever cost. The life of Raymond was not taken in battle, nor can rapine and incendiarism add glory to Percy's military renown. Lexington's highway to Arlington ran between pillaged and burning homes, and his soldiers staggered along under heavy burdens of property stolen from those whose King was his King. Concord and Lincoln, fortunately, have none of Percy's deeds related in their chronicles, but Lexington and Arlington and Cambridge and Somerville have good reason to remember his terrible conception of warfare.

Gen. William Heath, as the commanding officer of the Americans, endeavored to organize his forces into something like an army. He did not greatly succeed, but re-formed some of the forces that had been scattered by Percy's cannonade directed toward the meeting house on Lexington Common.[1]

Descending the high lands in the upper part of Arlington by the road now known as Appleton Street, which skirts along near the base of Arlington Heights and drops to the "Foot of the Rocks," the Americans pressed in greater numbers and greater courage on Percy's rear guard. The bravery of individuals at this point became conspicuous and often foolishly hazardous. Percy, in his report,

[1] Heath's Memoirs.

speaks of some concealed in houses by the wayside, who would emerge therefrom and approach within ten yards to fire at him and his officers, though sure of a fatal fire in return. He seemed surprised at their enthusiasm, as he called it, evidently forgetting how much he had excited their anger. It is almost beyond belief that he could have escaped through such a gauntlet, mounted as he was, on that beautiful white horse, a conspicuous mark from the hillsides along the way. But he did, for such is occasionally the fortune of war.

The forces of the Americans were greatly augmented during the pursuit through Arlington. Minute Men from the near-by Middlesex towns, and from Essex and Norfolk counties, arrived at that time and disposed themselves along a line parallel to the highway, as their individual fancies dictated, and independent of any commander-in-chief. They were posted along the hillside to the south, behind the walls, and even within buildings adjacent to the road, singly and in squads, and among them were many unerring marksmen, who added greatly to the British loss in killed and wounded. Percy would have been dismayed had he known the number of reinforcements he must then contend with, but they were not paraded for his inspection. His own army at the highest had not numbered over 1,800 men, but now considerably depleted by his losses along the way, it is doubtful if it would equal 1,600 really effective soldiers.

The Americans entering the contest at Arlington were from Brookline, Capt. Thomas White and 95

men, and possibly two other companies under Col. Thos. Aspinwall and Maj. Isaac Gardner, number of men unknown;[1] Watertown, Capt. Samuel Barnard, 134 men; Medford, Capt. Isaac Hall, 59 men; Malden, Capt. Benjamin Blaney, 75 men; Roxbury, Capt. Lemuel Child, 35 men, Capt. William Draper, 50 men, Capt. Moses Whiting, 55 men; Dedham, Capt. Eben Battle, 66 men, Capt. Wm. Bullard, 59 men, Capt. Daniel Draper, 24 men, Capt. William Ellis, 31 men, Capt. David Fairbanks, 14 men, Capt. Aaron Fuller, 67 men, Capt. George Gould, 17 men, Capt. Joseph Guild, 59 men; Needham, Capt. Aaron Smith, 70 men, Capt. Robert Smith, 75 men, Capt. Caleb Kingsbery, 40 men; Lynn, Capt. Nathaniel Bancroft, 38 men, Capt. William Farrington, 52 men, Capt. Rufus Mansfield, 46 men, Capt. Ezra Newhall, 49 men, Capt. David Parker, 63 men; Beverly, Capt. Caleb Dodge, 32 men, Capt. Larkin Thorndike, 48 men, Lieut. Peter Shaw, 42 men; Danvers, Capt. Samuel Epes, 82 men, Capt. Samuel Flint, 45 men, Capt. Israel Hutchinson, 53 men, Capt. Caleb Lowe, 23 men, Capt. Jeremiah Page, 39 men, Capt. Asa Prince, 37 men, Capt. Edm. Putnam, 17 men, Capt. John Putnam, 35 men; Menotomy, Capt. Benjamin Locke, 53 men. Undoubtedly some of Locke's men were engaged earlier in the day, particularly those who lived in Arlington, for 26 of them assembled on the Common at daybreak, and must have gone up to Lexington, at least. Of the other members, 11

[1] Bolton's Brookline. White's was the only company to file claim for pay, however. See Massachusetts State Archives.

were from Charlestown, 7 from Boston, 3 from Stoneham, 2 from Lexington, 1 from Newton, and 1 whose residence is unknown. Together these reinforcements at Arlington numbered 1,779 men.

Under the combined efforts of General Heath and Dr. Warren the Minute Men were encouraged to rally and draw nearer the rear guard of Percy's column, to harass and destroy them. The two British field pieces were often turned on the Americans, but were too cumbersome for effective use against the elusive Minute Men. The cannon balls went tearing up the road, smashing trees and shrubs, toppling over stone walls, pushing jagged holes through buildings, striking terror into the hearts of women and children and presumably many of the men, who were unused to war.

This renewal of activities commenced in Arlington where the road comes in from Lexington and skirts along the northerly base of Peirce's Hill, now called Arlington Heights. The descent from there to the plain is by a steep grade, and the lower end of that part of the highway was then, and is now, known as "Foot of the Rocks." This skirting, curved road around Peirce's Hill still exists. Its easterly end is now called Appleton Street, and its westerly end, Paul Revere Road. Since that time a straighter road with gentler grade has been made to connect the two ends of that part of Battle Road, and forms a part of the new Massachusetts Avenue from Boston to the Concord line.

It was at the "Foot of the Rocks" that Dr. Warren, brave even to recklessness, exposed himself to

some vigilant British marksman, who could not fail to notice his enthusiasm and influence. The bullet came dangerously near the Doctor's head, so near, in fact, as to strike a pin from his earlock.[1] Here, also, Dr. Downer of Roxbury engaged in single combat with a British soldier, whom he slew with a bayonet thrust.[1]

Toward the summit of Peirce's Hill was the Robbins home. The family had fled. Percy's flank guard ransacked the house, built a fire on the kitchen floor, which burned off a line full of wet clothes hanging over it, letting them fall into the flames which were thereby extinguished.[2]

Down this road a little farther stood the Tufts Tavern, once occupied by Mr. Cutler, the rich farmer and butcher, but at that time by John Tufts, previously of Medford, whose wife was Rebecca, a daughter of Mr. Cutler. It will be recalled that Tufts had been aroused in the early morning by the British, and when they returned the family had fled. Soldiers broke into the upper end of it, loaded themselves with such plunder as they could carry away, and maliciously destroyed some that they were obliged to leave behind. One thrust his bayonet through the best mirror, the frame of which was long preserved,[3] while others, thinking to serve their King, opened the taps of the casks containing molasses and spirits, allowing them to escape. Then

[1] Heath's Memoirs.

[2] Mrs. Lydia Peirce's statement in Smith's Address, page 33.

[3] Mrs. Almira T. Whittemore in Parker's Arlington, page 194. The tavern is still standing, or part of it, numbered 965 Massachusetts Avenue, opposite Mt. Vernon Street.

they set fire to the building, and left in haste to rejoin their retreating companions. A faithful colored slave of Mr. Cutler's, watching from a distance, entered soon after their departure and extinguished the fire.

Richer plunder awaited the looters at the home of Joseph Adams, a venerable deacon of the Second Precinct Church. He had remained at home with his family until Percy's troops came into sight up the road. Then fearing that his outspoken views, strongly antagonistic to the British ministry, might subject him to abuse by Percy and his soldiers, he determined to make his way across the fields to the Rev. Mr. Cook's barn. He was seen, and a volley of bullets followed, but he reached the barn and hid in the hay. Some of the soldiers followed, even into the barn, and pierced the hay with their bayonets, but he was not exactly there. Some of them burst open the door of his home, and three broke into the chamber where lay his wife and their infant child, but a few days old. The mother was too ill to even arise. One of the soldiers opened the bed curtains, and with fixed bayonet pointing to her breast seemed about to slay her. She begged him not to kill her, but he only angrily replied, "Damn you!"

Another soldier, with a more humane heart, interceded, and said, "We will not kill the woman if she will go out of the house, but we will surely burn it."

Inspired by the threat, Mrs. Adams then arose, drew a blanket about herself and little infant,[1] and painfully made her way to the corn house close by.

[1] This little child lived into womanhood and became the wife of James Hill.

It was the first journey since her illness, as far as her chamber door even. Other children were left within the house, as she was too weak to be of any assistance to them. They had hidden under a bed, but curiosity getting the better of Joel, aged nine years, the little folks were all discovered, but not harmed. They saw the sheets stripped from the beds and household valuables dumped into them, even including the works of an old clock, an heir-loom in the family. Most valuable of all the booty was the silver tankard belonging to the communion service given to the church in 1769, by Jonathan Butterfield. It was subsequently pawned by the thief to a Boston silversmith, Austin by name, who read the engraved inscription thereon and notified Deacon Adams. After the evacuation of Boston by the British the two deacons redeemed the tankard at their own expense, and returned it to the church, where it is still in use.

The soldiers of Lord Percy then emptied a basket of chips on the floor, set them on fire with a brand from the hearth, and went on their way. The Adams children put out the blaze with a quantity of home-brewed beer, but not until the floor was badly burned, the ceiling smoked, and a quantity of pewter plates on the dresser melted.[1]

A little farther along, on the westerly side of the road, lived Jason Russell, aged fifty-eight years.[2]

[1] Mrs. Adams's deposition and Smith's Address, wherein he quotes Mrs. Thos. Hall, granddaughter of Mrs. Adams, Rev. Mr. Brown's Sermon on James Hill, and S. G. Damon's article in The Christian Register, Oct. 28, 1854.

[2] Born Jan. 25, 1717. Paige's History of Cambridge. The old gravestone in the cemetery at Arlington calls him fifty-nine years old.

The Jason Russell House, on Jason Street, Arlington. Still standing.

Somewhat helpless because lame, he had started with his family at noontime for refuge at George Prentiss's on the hill. After going a little way he felt impelled to return and look after the safety of his home. He barricaded his gate with bundles of shingles and from behind them took his position to fire upon the enemy as they should come along and pass by in the road a rod away. Rather a feeble fortress from any military standpoint, and one that proved to be a death trap for its builder. Northerly across the road and across the brook lived Ammi Cutter, a kindly neighbor, who came and pleaded with Russell to abandon his dooryard for a place of greater safety. Russell replied that "An Englishman's house is his castle." Cutter remained by his side until the advancing British were seen up the road, and then started on the run across the road, over the wall and through the fields toward his home. Reaching the old mill yard, and still running, he stumbled and fell between two logs, and the enemy's bullets scattered bark over him as he lay. They thought him dead because he fell as they fired, and so they left him. But he was entirely uninjured.

Back of the Russell House in a southerly direction the land slopes gently upward for a little way, and then rises to a considerable height. Near the foot of this hill a goodly number of Americans were posted, among them the men from Danvers. Approaching along the slope of the hill, and parallel to the highway, was a strong British flanking party driving all before it. The Americans at that point

were too few to openly resist, so retreated and entered the Russell House. Down the road came the main body under Percy, who, perceiving the Minute Men, advanced and opened fire. Russell being lame, was the last to reach the doorway, where two bullets felled him. The soldiers rushed in and pierced him, as he lay, with eleven bayonet thrusts. Then they entered the house, and within that little home enacted the bloodiest tragedy of the day. Here the seven men from Danvers were killed. The other Americans retreated to the cellar, and from the foot of the stairs threatened death to any Briton who should come down. One attempted to, and died on the way. Another died in the struggle overhead. Then the house was plundered in accordance with Percy's method of warfare.

After the British had passed, the Americans gathered at the home of Jason Russell. The dead from the yard and within the house were laid, side by side, in the little south room. There were twelve of them, and the blood from their wounds mingled in one common pool upon the floor.[1]

The highway from Jason Russell's house to the center of Arlington village proved to be the bloodiest half mile of all the Battle Road. Within this little stretch were killed twenty or more Americans, and as many or more Britons. And here, on the northerly side of the road, not far from where the British convoy was captured in the forenoon, stood another Adams home. It was punctured with bullets, and

[1] King's Address and Smith's Address. The old home is still standing, though removed a few rods back from its original location.

it was stained with blood, for the dead and dying and wounded were carried there after the combatants had passed on.[1]

One of the most unequal duels of any war was fought near here, between the venerable Samuel Whittemore, aged eighty years, and a number of British soldiers, acting as a flanking party, on the easterly side of the road.

Whittemore lived with a son and grandchildren near Menotomy River, and had been aroused early in the morning by the passing of Smith's forces on their way to Concord. Mrs. Whittemore then commenced her preparations for flight to another son's house, near Mystic River, toward Medford. She supposed that her husband intended to accompany her, but was surprised to find him engaged in the warlike occupation of oiling his musket and pistols and sharpening his sword. In his younger days he had been an officer in the militia. She urged him to accompany her and the children. He refused, with the excuse that he was going "up town," as he expressed it. He did so, arriving there before the British had returned. When they reached the neighborhood of the present railroad crossing they halted, some of them opposite Mystic Street. Whittemore had posted himself behind a stone wall, down Mystic Street about four hundred and fifty feet, near the corner of the present Chestnut Street. The distance seemed an easy range for him, and he

[1] It stood easterly of the old Town Hall. When the railroad went through, part of the house blocked the way and therefore the whole had to be demolished. The grand old elm that shaded the yard was destroyed in a gale, and a smaller one now takes its place.

opened fire, killing the soldier he aimed at. They must have discovered his hiding place from the smoke-puff, and hastened to close in on him. With one pistol he killed the second Briton, and with his other fatally wounded a third one. In the meantime the ever vigilant flank guard were attracted to the contest, and a ball from one of their muskets struck his head and rendered him unconscious. They rushed to the spot, and clubbed him with their muskets and pierced him with their bayonets until they felt sure that he was dead. Soon after they left him he was found by the Americans, and as he seemed to still live they bore him to the Cooper Tavern. Dr. Tufts of Medford was summoned, but declared it useless to dress so many wounds, as the aged man could not possibly survive. However, he was persuaded to try, and Whittemore lived eighteen more years, dying in 1793 at the age of ninety-eight. When he was recovering, his wife could not forbear asking him if he did not regret he had not remained with the rest of the family from the first. But the old hero, still suffering from his many wounds, replied, "No! I would run the same chance again."[1]

Four hundred feet farther along, at the corner of the Medford road, now Medford Street, stood the Cooper Tavern, Benjamin Cooper, landlord. He and his wife Rachel were mixing flip at the bar. Two of their guests, and possibly those two were all at the time, were Jason Winship, about forty-five years old, and his brother-in-law, Jabez Wyman, in

[1] Statement of F. H. Whittemore. Smith's Address, pages 43, 44.

his fortieth year.[1] Evidently they were non-combatants, and as such expected to remain unmolested. But the soldiers were lashed to a fury by the reception they had met along the road, particularly that of the last half mile. So many houses along the way had concealed Minute Men that about all were freely riddled with bullets, then ransacked, and then set on fire. Cooper Tavern was not considered by them as a privileged exception. More than a hundred bullets were fired into it through the doors and windows. Then the soldiers entered for their finishing strokes. Mr. and Mrs. Cooper escaped to the cellar, but Wyman and Winship, both unarmed, were stabbed in many places, their heads mauled until their skulls were broken and brains scattered about on the floor and walls.[2]

The death of these two unarmed men formed the climax of Arlington's part of the battle, for Percy's troops passed through the rest of the town and crossed Menotomy River into Cambridge without farther bloody incident.

The Americans who were killed in Arlington were Jason Russell, Jason Winship, and Jabez Wyman of Arlington; Reuben Kennison of Beverly; Samuel Cook, Benjamin Daland, Ebenezer Goldthwait, Henry Jacobs, Perley Putnam, George Southwick, and Jotham Webb of Danvers; Elias Haven of Dedham; William Flint, Thomas Hadley, Abednego Ramsdell, and Daniel Townsend of Lynn; William Polly and Henry Putnam of Medford; Lieut. John Bacon, Nathaniel Chamberlain,

[1] Cutter's Arlington and Paige's Cambridge.
[2] Deposition of Rachel Cooper.

Amos Mills, Sergt. Elisha Mills, and Jonathan Parker of Needham; Benjamin Peirce of Salem; and Jacob Coolidge of Watertown. These numbered twenty-five, and constituted half of all the Americans killed during the day.

The wounded in Arlington were Samuel Whittemore of Arlington; Nathaniel Cleaves, Samuel Woodbury, and William Dodge, 3d, of Beverly; Nathan Putnam and Dennison Wallace of Danvers; Israel Everett of Dedham; Eleazer Kingsbury, and a son of Dr. Tolman, of Needham. They numbered nine out of the thirty-nine Americans wounded during the day.

The British killed in Arlington were at least forty, more than half of all their loss during the day.

The patriot dead of old Menotomy and her sister towns were gathered, and twelve of them placed on a sled and drawn by a yoke of oxen to the little village churchyard. There they were laid away in one large grave, side by side, in the same bloody garments they wore when they fell. One monument marks the place. In the meeting house close by friends and relatives met on the following Sabbath, and we are told that among them were Anna, infant granddaughter of Jason Russell, born on the day of the battle, and the little son of Jason Winship, who was brought to the altar for baptism. It must have been a sacred and patriotic consecration for all.[1] Some of the other slain from distant towns were borne by their comrades back to their own homes.[2]

In Arlington, then, as the casualties show, the

[1] Smith's Address, page 52.

[2] King's Address, page 14.

battle reached its climax. The savage ferocity of the personal encounters show to what a maddening frenzy the King's troops had been wrought. As in Lexington, Percy attempted the wholesale destruction of the American homes by the torch, but so closely had he been followed by the ever-increasing Minute Men that his efforts were futile. His soldiers had the time to start the fires, but not the time to fan them into conflagrations, and thus old Menotomy escaped the fate of Lexington.

Percy continued his march through the town of Arlington, crossing Menotomy River into Cambridge between 5 and 6 o'clock. The Minute Men hovered dangerously near his rear guard, so that he paused often long enough to wheel his two six-pounders about and prevent them from coming too near. They were entirely without fatal effect, but inspired at all times a wholesome respect, and kept the Americans farther away.

Percy's Retreat through Cambridge.

Occasionally the contest narrowed down to personal encounters between two or more. It was near the Menotomy River, on the Cambridge side, that Lieutenant Bowman of Arlington overtook a straggler from the British ranks and engaged him in single combat. Both had guns, but neither one was loaded. The Briton rushed at Bowman with fixed bayonet, but the latter warded it off, and with his musket clubbed his antagonist to the ground. Then he took him prisoner.[1]

[1] Dr. B. Cutter's Statement in Smith's Address. Page 47.

Cambridge was the home of Capt. Samuel Thatcher's company of 77 men, but it is probable that Smith had encountered them as far back as Lincoln, for the muster roll in the Massachusetts Archives states that most of them marched twenty-eight miles, which would mean up into Lincoln and return, and to Charlestown Neck and return.

Percy's march through Cambridge, from Menotomy River to the Somerville line, measured nearly a mile and a quarter. The Provincials expected that he would return to Boston by the route he came out; that is, through Harvard Square over Charles River bridge into Brighton, thence through Roxbury, and along Boston Neck and into Boston. Anticipating as much, it was ordered that the bridge should be made impassable. But Percy deemed it wise to hurry on to Charlestown, trusting that General Gage would have an ample force there to receive and protect him. It was several miles nearer, and with no possibility of dismantled bridges to reconstruct for his troops to pass over. Nor should it be forgotten that Percy's original plan was to remain that night, at least, in Harvard Square, but he had not counted on such intense hostility from so large an army of Minute Men in open rebellion. He deemed it wiser, therefore, to move constantly forward toward the main army.

This mile and a quarter in Cambridge proved to be one of continual battle also. The Americans were ever on the alert, growing more and more active as they realized more and more the real meaning of the invasion. The sight of many of

The Watson House, Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge. Demolished in 1921.

the British soldiers loaded down with plunder; the curling smoke and flames from American dwellings; the dying and the dead, some of them horribly mutilated, scattered all along the highway, were at last inspiring an intense feeling of hatred and a longing for a satisfying vengeance. Percy's army experienced practically the same sensations. Trained as soldiers to the usages of open warfare, they deemed the frontier method of fighting as unfair and cowardly. They held in contempt the man who should remain concealed in safety and shoot down one who was compelled to remain in the open. Undoubtedly, too, the memory of a comrade, lying at the North Bridge, with that ugly hatchet death-wound in the head, aroused the most savage instincts that seemed to cry for brutal retaliation. Whittemore and Wyman and Winship seem to have been victims of vengeance rather than of war.

The Americans did not profit much by the lessons which they had received earlier in the day, for they again fell victims to the British flankers. Quite a number had gathered near the home of Jacob Watson, situated on the southerly side of the highway near the present Rindge Avenue. Their fragile security was a pile of empty casks, not far from the road, from behind which they awaited the oncoming of the British. But the flank guard came up in their rear, unobserved, and completely surprised them, killing Maj. Isaac Gardner of Brookline, a favorite son of that town, and the first graduate of Harvard College to fall in the war, and two Cambridge men, — John Hicks, nearly fifty years old,

and Moses Richardson, fifty-three years old; also near the same place another Cambridge man, William Marcy, as tradition says,[1] of feeble intellect and a non-combatant. He was sitting on the fence evidently enjoying the military spectacle, and perhaps good-naturedly cheering on the marching Red Coats. His friendly demonstrations were entirely mistaken for shouts of derision. In the midst of his simple pleasure some Briton esteemed it his duty to kill him as an enemy of the King. The British loss at this place was but one killed.

On they marched, wheeling to the left, into Beech Street, a thoroughfare about seven hundred feet long, and thence out of Cambridge and into Somerville.

Soon after this the wife of John Hicks, whose home is still standing (1921) at the corner of Dunster and Winthrop streets, fearing for his safety, sent her son, fourteen years of age, to look for him. He had been absent since morning, and undoubtedly the noise of battle, a mile and a quarter away, coming across the fields, bore a sad burden of prophecy. Her misgivings were well founded, for the son found his father by the roadside where he fell, and near him the others.

The body of Isaac Gardner was taken to Brookline and there buried the next day. The remains of John Hicks, Moses Richardson, and William Marcy were immediately taken to the little churchyard near the Common, a mile from where they fell. They were buried in one grave, without coffins or shrouds even. A son of Moses Richardson, standing by, realizing that the earth was to fall directly on their faces,

[1] Paige's History of Cambridge, page 414.

jumped down into the grave and arranged the cape of his father's coat, that it might shield him somewhat from the falling earth.

We may wonder now at that hasty burial, without much, if any, ceremony; but let us associate with it the trail of the invading army, and of what seemed possible for the morrow, if that army should return, greatly reinforced, for vengeance. Boston was not far away, and General Gage even then might be preparing to move on Cambridge with a force sufficiently large for its subjection. The Americans did not fully realize their own power or their own courage, not even as well as General Gage did, who wisely decreed to remain in Boston and Charlestown, and decide later whether to pursue an aggressive or a defensive campaign. The spontaneous rousing of the country was an impressive one for the British commander.

It had evidently been Percy's plan to camp on Cambridge Common that night, and while awaiting expected reinforcements, or upon their arrival, lay the buildings of Harvard College, and others, in ruins. Such a course would have been in harmony with his warfare in Lexington and Arlington, and serve, as he thought, as a practical lesson for those in rebellion, of the disposition and readiness of their King to wreak a swift and terrible vengeance upon his enemies.[1] But Percy's plans were rudely disarranged, and he commenced to realize that he was really being driven back to Boston.

[1] See Thanksgiving Sermon in the Camp at Roxbury Nov. 23, 1775, by Rev. Isaac Mansfield, Jr., chaplain to General Thomas's regiment. Mr. Mansfield fully believed such plans to have been made, and states that his information came so direct that he could not hesitate to accept it, but did not feel at liberty to publish the name of his informer.

Percy's Retreat through Somerville.

It was about half past 6 o'clock when Percy left Cambridge and entered the present city of Somerville, crossing the line at the corner of Beech and Elm streets. Just about at the Somerville line the battle was hotly renewed. Near the corner of Beech Street, and on the easterly side of Elm Street, stood the house of Timothy Tufts. Here Percy halted his army while his two field pieces were dragged up the hill back of the Tufts house and discharged toward his pursuers, with the usual result of his cannonading, — none killed. From out a grove a little way up the road came a scattering fire of American sharpshooters, and in consequence quite a number of Britons were killed. They fell in the road, just in front of the Tufts house, and a tablet there marks where they were buried.

Along Elm Street to Oak Street, and then continuing in Somerville Avenue, was their route when the march was resumed. At the foot of Laurel Street on Somerville Avenue was then a little pond. Into that many weary Britons threw themselves, some for the refreshing plunge, others to quench their thirst.[1]

Their march was continued rapidly now, and in consequence the fatalities on the American side were slight, if any, on the road from the Tufts house through Bow Street, for that was a part of Battle Road then, to Union Square. From the latter place they continued through Washington Street,

[1] Booth, in Somerville Journal, April, 1875.

where the American sharpshooters had a grand opportunity to renew their havoc. Washington Street skirts along the westerly foot of Prospect Hill, the summit of which commands easily a stretch of highway for more than half a mile. Many were killed and wounded, some of the latter of whom were taken into the house then standing at the corner of Washington and Prospect streets. Here Percy paused long enough to train his two field pieces up the road, and again with his usual lack of fatal results. But he checked the Americans.

A little way farther along on the northerly side of the road stood the home of Samuel Shed. Percy's troops halted there for the few moments necessary to turn his field pieces on his pursuers again. While there, one of the Britons, ambitious for plunder, entered the Shed home, and, finding a bureau or highboy filled with household effects, commenced the work of selecting what he desired. It took him too long, for his companions passed on and left him still too busy to notice their departure or the coming of the Americans. Bullets came through the window, one of which killed him, and three riddled the old bureau, spattering his blood over it and on the floor.[1]

A few rods farther the grassy slope of Prospect Hill descended in a southerly direction to Washington Street, then called the Cambridge Road. James Miller, about sixty-six years old, stood there awaiting the British. With him was a companion, and

[1] The old highboy was in existence in 1910, and treasured by a Somerville man, Francis Tufts, to whom it descended. I have seen it, with its blood stains and three bullet holes.

both fired with deadly effect, again and again, as the British marched by in the road below. They were discovered finally, and Miller's companion urged him to retreat.

"Come, Miller, we've got to go."

"I'm too old to run," replied Miller, and he remained, only to be pierced with a volley of thirteen bullets.[1] His home was but a short distance down the road, and is still standing, next to the house on the easterly corner of Washington and Franklin streets.

Miller was the only American killed in Somerville, as the British were in too full retreat to act very much on the aggressive. Their loss was considerable, however, along the entire Battle Road, for the Minute Men were exceedingly active in the rear and on the northerly side of the road, particularly.

The policy of property destruction was continued by Percy through Somerville. The limited time at his command did not allow of very thorough work, but he accomplished something. The estate of James Miller, whom they killed on the slope of Prospect Hill, was damaged to the extent of £4, 12s. Ebenezer Shed lost his house, barn, and another building valued at £140, and the damage to his crop, fences, etc., he estimated at £279, 3s., 2d. The widow of Abigal Shed suffered to some extent in the same way.[2]

[1] E. C. Booth in an article on Somerville, in Drake's History of Middlesex County, Vol. 2, page 312.

[2] J. F. Hunnewell, A Century of Town Life, page 153.

Home of James Miller, Washington Street, near Franklin Street, Somerville. Still standing.

Percy's Arrival in Charlestown.

The sun set at 7 o'clock on that nineteenth day of April, in 1775.[1] It never rose again on Middlesex County under kingly rule. Percy must have been in the vicinity of Union Square, Somerville, at that particular moment. The pauses for his artillery demonstration; the destruction of the few buildings; the killing of Miller; and the hurried march to the Charlestown line did not occupy more than half an hour. It was just dark enough for the musket flashes to be seen across the marshes and across the waters of the Charles River to the Boston shore, where were grouped anxious watchers awaiting the news of battle.

Percy's thirty-six rounds for each of his soldiers had been about all expended. He describes the fire all around his marching column as "incessant," coming from behind stone walls, and from houses which he at first supposed had been evacuated.[2]

Charlestown Common, now Sullivan Square, was soon reached, and his column gladly wheeled to the right and marched up Bunker Hill. As they did so, a mile away, on top of Winter Hill, in Somerville, were just then arriving three hundred more Americans, who had marched from Salem under Col. Timothy Pickering. They were half an hour late to be particularly effective. No blame can be attached to them for that, for there were thousands of other Minute Men from distant towns who were also

[1] Low's Almanack, Boston, 1775.
[2] See his report to General Gage.

late for April 19, but who were in ample time to join the besieging army on April 20.

Opposite Charlestown Common, now Sullivan Square, on the corner of the road to the Penny Ferry which crossed the Mystic River to Everett,[1] stood the home of William Barber, sea captain. His family consisted of his wife, Anne Hay, and their thirteen children. One of them, Edward, fourteen years old, sat at the window looking out upon the brilliant pageant of marching soldiers in the road. Many of the soldiers must have seen him, for he was not in hiding. One did, at all events, and with that thirst for killing some one, even though but a boy, shot him and saw him fall back into the room dead. Thus Edward Barber became Charlestown's martyr of April 19, and the last of the slain on that day.

While Charlestown did not officially contribute to the organized Minute Men who were pursuing Percy, yet many individuals must have been in the American ranks, for in the afternoon General Gage wrote to James Russell of Charlestown that he had been informed people of that town had gone out armed to oppose His Majesty's troops, and that if a single man more went out armed, the most disagreeable consequences might be expected. The people of Charlestown indeed had reason to be in terror, surrounded as they were by the soldiers, frenzied by their disastrous retreat from Lexington. The selectmen arranged with Percy an armistice, agreeing that the troops should not be attacked, and that

[1] Everett was then a part of Malden.

assistance should be given in getting them across the ferry to Boston, provided they would not attack the citizens or destroy their homes. This agreement seems to have been kept in good faith by both parties.[1] British officers walked up and down the streets, directing the women to keep within doors.

Percy's force remained on Bunker Hill until arrangements were completed for their trip across the Charles River to Boston. The wounded were sent over first, being conveyed by the boats of the "Somerset" man-of-war, which still lay there, as it did when Revere crossed, the night before.

General Gage sent pickets from Boston, selected from the 10th and 64th Regiments, to do guard duty in Charlestown.[2]

Gen. William Heath, as commander of the American forces, assembled the officers of the Minute Men at the foot of Prospect Hill, in Somerville, for a council of war. Then he ordered the formation of a guard to be posted near, and sentinels along the road now known as Washington Street in Somerville, and Cambridge Street in Charlestown, to Charlestown Neck. The remainder of the force was ordered back to Cambridge,[3] which place was to be for a while the headquarters of the American Army.

[1] De Berniere's Report.
[2] De Berniere, and Diary of a British Officer in Boston in 1775.
[3] Heath's Memoirs.

AMERICANS KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING.

Acton. — Killed: Capt. Isaac Davis, James Hayward, Abner Hosmer. Wounded: Luther Blanchard and Ezekiel Davis.

Arlington. — Killed: Jason Russell, Jason Winship, Jabez Wyman. Wounded: Samuel Whittemore.

Bedford. — Killed: Captain Jonathan Willson. Wounded: Job Lane.

Beverly. — Killed: Reuben Kennison. Wounded: Nathaniel Cleaves, William Dodge, 3d, Samuel Woodbury.

Billerica. — Wounded: Timothy Blanchard, John Nichols.

Brookline. — Killed: Maj. Isaac Gardner.

Cambridge. — Killed: John Hicks, William Marcy, Moses Richardson. Missing: Samuel Frost, Seth Russell.

Concord. — Wounded: Capt. Nathan Barrett, Jonas Brown, Capt. Charles Miles, Capt. George Minot, Abel Prescott, Jr.

Charlestown. — Killed: Edward Barber.

Chelmsford. — Wounded: Oliver Barron, Aaron Chamberlain.

Danvers. — Killed: Samuel Cook, Benjamin Daland, Ebenezer Goldthwait, Henry Jacobs, Perley Putnam, George Southwick, Jotham Webb. Wounded: Nathan Putnam, Dennison Wallis. Missing: Joseph Bell.

Dedham. — Killed: Elias Haven. Wounded: Israel Everett.

Framingham. — Wounded: Daniel Hemenway.

Lexington. — Killed: John Brown, Samuel Hadley, Caleb Harrington, Jonathan Harrington, Jr., Jedediah Munroe, Robert Munroe, Isaac Muzzy, Jonas Parker, John Raymond, Nathaniel Wyman. Wounded: Francis Brown, Joseph Comee, Prince Estabrook, Nathaniel Farmer, Ebenezer Munroe, Jr., Jedediah Munroe (killed later), Timothy Munroe,[1] Solomon Pierce, John Robbins, John Tidd, Thomas Winship.

Lincoln. — Wounded: Joshua Brooks.

Lynn. — Killed: William Flint, Thomas Hadley, Abednego Ramsdell, Daniel Townsend. Wounded: Joshua Felt, Timothy Monroe. Missing: Josiah Breed.

Medford. — Killed: William Polly, Henry Putnam.

Needham. — Killed: Lieut. John Bacon, Nathaniel Chamberlain, Amos Mills, Sergt. Elisha Mills, Jonathan Parker. Wounded: Eleazer Kingsbury, —— Tolman (son of Dr. Tolman).

Newton. — Wounded: Noah Wiswell.

Roxbury. — Missing: Elijah Seaver.

Salem. — Killed: Benjamin Pierce.

Somerville. — Killed: James Miller.

Sudbury. — Killed: Josiah Haynes, Asahel Reed. Wounded: Joshua Haynes, Jr.

Stow. — Wounded: Daniel Conant.

Watertown. — Killed: Joseph Coolidge.

Woburn. — Killed: Asahel Porter, Daniel Thompson. Wounded: Jacob Bacon, —— Johnson, George Reed.

Total number killed, 49; wounded, 42; missing, 5; total loss, 96.

[1] See Hudson's History of Lexington, revised edition. Vol. II. page 466.

British Killed, Wounded, Prisoners and Missing.[1]

Return of the Commission, Non-Commission Officers, Drummers, Rank and File, killed and wounded, prisoners and missing, on the 19th of April, 1775.

4th or King's Own Regiment, Lieutenant Knight, killed. Lieutenant Gould, wounded and prisoner. 3 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, wounded. 7 Rank and File killed, 21 wounded, 8 missing.

5th Regiment, Lieutenant Thomas Baker, Lieutenant William Cox, Lieutenant Thomas Hawkshaw, wounded. 5 Rank and File killed. 15 wounded, 1 missing.

10th Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith, Captain Lawrence Parsons, Lieutenant Wald. Kelly, Ensign Jeremiah Lester, wounded. 1 Rank and File killed, 13 wounded, 1 missing.

18th Regiment. 1 Rank and File killed, 4 wounded, 1 missing.

23rd Regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Bery Bernard, wounded. 4 Rank and File killed, 26 wounded, 6 missing.

38th Regiment. Lieutenant William Sutherland, wounded. 1 Sergeant wounded. 4 Rank and File killed, 11 wounded.

43rd Regiment. Lieutenant Hull, wounded and prisoner. 4 Rank and File killed, 5 wounded, 2 missing.

47th Regiment. Lieutenant Donald McCloud, Ensign Henry Baldwin, wounded. 1 Sergeant wounded. 5 Rank and File killed, 21 wounded.

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[1] I am under obligations to the Military Secretary of the English War Office for a copy of the official returns of General Gage of his losses on April 19, 1775, accompanied by the following: —

"WAR OFFICE

"The Military Secretary begs to inform Mr. Frank W. Coburn with reference to his letter of the 27th November last, addressed to the late Commander in Chief, that the only information available on the subject of the casualties sustained by the British Troops during the action at Lexington on 19th April, 1775, is contained in the Lords' Gazette of 6-10 June, 1775, an extract of which is enclosed.

"Mr. Frank W. Coburn,
"Lexington, Massachusetts."

"War Office,
"25th Sept., 1901."

52nd Regiment. 1 Sergeant missing. 3 Rank and File killed, 2 wounded.

59th Regiment. 3 Rank and File killed, 3 wounded.

Marines. Captain Souter, Second Lieutenant McDonald, wounded. Second Lieutenant Isaac Potter, missing. 1 Sergeant killed, 2 wounded, 1 missing. 1 Drummer killed. 25 Rank and File killed, 36 wounded, 5 missing.

Total. 1 Lieutenant killed. 2 Lieutenant Colonels wounded. 2 Captains wounded. 9 Lieutenants wounded. 1 Lieutenant missing. 2 Ensigns wounded. 1 Sergeant killed, 7 wounded, 2 missing. 1 Drummer killed, 1 wounded. 62 Rank and File killed, 157 wounded, 24 missing.

N. B. Lieutenant Isaac Potter reported to be wounded and taken prisoner.

Signed

THO. GAGE.

Lieutenant Hull of the 43d Regiment, wounded traveling in a chaise, fell behind the troops, again wounded, and carried into the house of Samuel Butterfield in Arlington, where he died two weeks later.[1]

The forces participating were about 1,800 British, well organized and well commanded, opposed by about thirty-seven hundred and thirty-three Americans, without effective organization and without a real commanding officer.[2]

DISTANCES MARCHED BY THE BRITISH SOLDIERS.

I have measured the routes of the various detachments and am enabled to give them as follows, in each case of Smith's force from the shore of Charles River in Cambridge, out to Concord and back to

[1] Smith's West Cambridge Address.

[2] In some muster rolls the names of the slain are omitted, which, if counted here, would increase this total a little.

the shore of Charles River in Charlestown. The route of Percy's force was from School Street, Boston, out through Roxbury, etc., to the high school in Lexington, and return to the shore of Charles River, in Charlestown. My cyclometer is divided into eighty-eight fractions of a mile, each one of sixty feet.

Three companies under Capt. Lawrence Parsons to the home of Colonel Barrett, beyond North Bridge, Concord, and return, $39\frac{71}{88}$ miles.

Three companies under Capt. Walter Sloane Lawrie to the North Bridge, Concord, and return, $36\frac{11}{88}$ miles.

Force of about one hundred men under Capt. Mundy Pole to the South Bridge, Concord, and return, $36\frac{40}{88}$ miles.

Main division under Lieutenant Colonel Smith to Concord village, and return, $34\frac{55}{88}$ miles.

Earl Percy's reinforcement to the high school in Lexington, and return, $25\frac{70\frac{1}{2}}{88}$ miles.

That of his baggage train captured and destroyed in Arlington, $11\frac{39\frac{1}{2}}{88}$ miles.

English Friends after the Battle.

As in the beginning of this little history we gratefully chronicled the warm and sympathetic friendship for America that permeated the British Nation, and particularly the councils of Parliament, so as we close we may glance across the ocean again to see if that same friendship can survive the shock of rebellion against the King. In quarrels of a family

nature one does not feel unpatriotic if he happens to espouse the cause of the minority. So it was with John Horne Tooke.[1] His intense friendship for this part of the British Kingdom was evident at the start, and reached a decided climax after the battle. He was a member of the Constitutional Society, and during an adjournment or recess of a meeting held June 7 proposed that a subscription should be immediately entered into "for raising the sum of one hundred pounds, to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents, of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the King's troops at or near Lexington and Concord." The money was raised and placed at the disposal of Benjamin Franklin, to distribute in accordance with its purpose. The resolution was forwarded to several newspapers, and its publication naturally aroused considerable surprise and painful comment.

Mr. Horne was arrested and tried for "a false, wicked, malicious, scandalous and seditious libel of, and concerning, his said Majesty's government, and the employment of his troops," etc.[2] He was found guilty and sentenced to a fine of £200; to be imprisoned for twelve months; and that he find securities in £800 for his good behavior for three years.[3]

[1] At that time his name was simply John Horne.

[2] "The Battle of Lexington as looked at in London before Chief Justice Mansfield and a jury in the Trial of John Horne, Esq. By John Winslow."

[3] See Memoirs of John Horne Tooke, by Alexander Stephens, London, 1813; Vol. I, pages 431, and following.

I have not read of any other Briton punished to that extent at that time for friendship for his fellow subjects on this side of the ocean. There were many as sincere and devoted to the cause of the colonists as Horne, and perhaps as openly, too, but he happened to be the one selected to bear the heavy burden of his King's displeasure.

On a much larger and more impressive scale was the petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled. It was presented in October, and recited how that body had "taken into the most serious consideration the present distressed situation of our fellow subjects in America," and concluded with the prayer that the House would be "pleased to adopt such measures for the healing of the present unhappy disputes between the mother country and the colonies, as may be speedy, permanent and honourable."

But the wise counsels of the great city did not prevail in the House of Parliament, for that body simply ordered their petition to "lie upon the table."[1]

So was fought the opening battle of the American Revolution, the beginning of that long struggle which rent in twain the great English Nation and gave birth to these United States.

[1] Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XVIII, col. 698.

APPENDICES

Appendix No. 1.

Lexington Men.

As no claim for services on April 19 was filed with the Commonwealth, I have no official Roll. Hudson, in his "History of Lexington," gives the names of 120 as constituting the company, and in the genealogical department of the same work gives several others. In the depositions of participants published in the "Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 1774–5," are quite a number who named themselves as of Parker's company, one of them being Phillip Russell; and Moses Harrington, in the same, places "Jr." after his name. In this company I have also included the two Woburn men, Robert Douglass and Sylvanus Wood, who joined Parker on the Common at break of day, and accepted his invitation to become members for that occasion.

Complete Roster of Captain John Parker's Company of 144 Men.

ONLY 77 OF THESE WERE IN THE MORNING ENGAGEMENT.[1]

Officers.

Captain, John Parker
Lieutenant, William Tidd
Ensign, Robert Munroe
Ensign, Joseph Simonds
Clerk, Daniel Harrington
Orderly Sergt., William Munroe
Sergeant, Francis Brown
Sergeant, Ebenezer White
Corporal, Joel Viles
Corporal, Samuel Sanderson
Corporal, John Munroe
Corporal, Ebenezer Parker
Drummer, William Diamond
Fifer, Jonathan Harrington (son of Jonathan)

Privates.

Isaac Blodgett
Ebenezer Bowman
Francis Bowman
John Bridge, Jr.
Joseph Bridge
James Brown
John Brown
Solomon Brown
John Buckman
Eli Burdoo
John Chandler
John Chandler, Jr.
Abijah Child
Joseph Comee
Thomas Cutler
Robert Douglass of Captain Belknap's Woburn company. (In Captain Parker's company, April 19.)
Isaac Durant
Prince Estabrook
Nathaniel Farmer
Nathan Fessenden
Thomas Fessenden
Dr. Joseph Fisk
Isaac Green
William Grimes
Caleb Harrington
Jeremiah Harrington
John Harrington
Jonathan Harrington, then called "Jr.," but son of Henry.
Jonathan Harrington, 3d
Moses Harrington
Moses Harrington, 3d
Moses Harrington, Jr.
Thaddeus Harrington
Thomas Harrington
William Harrington

[1] See Special Roll, facing p. 60.

Isaac Hastings
Samuel Hastings
Samuel Hastings, Jr.
Benjamin Hadley
Ebenezer Hadley
Samuel Hadley
Thomas Hadley, Jr.
John Hosmer
Micah Hagar
Amos Lock
Benjamin Lock
Ebenezer Lock
Reuben Lock
Joseph Loring
Jonathan Loring
Amos Marrett
Daniel Mason
Joseph Mason
Abner Mead
Benjamin Merriam
William Merriam
Asa Munroe
Ebenezer Munroe, son of Robert.
Ebenezer Munroe, then called "Jr.," but son of Jonas.
Edmund Munroe
George Munroe
Jedediah Munroe
John Munroe, Jr.
John Munroe, 2d
Nathan Munroe
Philemon Munroe
Stephen Munroe
William Munroe, Jr.
William Munroe, 3d
Nathaniel Mulliken
Amos Muzzy
Isaac Muzzy
John Muzzy
Thaddeus Muzzy
Jonas Parker
Jonas Parker, Jr.
Thaddeus Parker
John Parkhurst
Nathaniel Parkhurst
Solomon Pierce
Asahel Porter
Israel Porter
John Raymond
Hammond Reed
Joshua Reed
Joshua Reed, Jr.
Josiah Reed
Nathan Reed
Robert Reed
Thaddeus Reed
William Reed
John Robbins
Thomas Robbins
Joseph Robinson
Phillip Russell
Benjamin Sampson
Elijah Sanderson
Ebenezer Simonds
Joshua Simonds
Abraham Smith
David Smith
Ebenezer Smith
Jesse Smith
John Smith
Jonathan Smith
Josiah Smith
Joseph Smith
Phineas Smith
Samuel Smith

Thaddeus Smith
William Smith
Simeon Snow
Asahel Stearns
Phineas Stearns
Jonas Stone
Jonas Stone, Jr.
Benjamin Tidd
John Tidd
Samuel Tidd
Joseph Underwood
Benjamin Wellington
Enoch Wellington
Timothy Wellington
John Williams
John Winship
Samuel Winship
Thomas Winship
Sylvanus Wood of Captain Walker's Woburn company. (In Captain Parker's company, April 19.)
James Wyman
Nathan Wyman

APPENDIX NO. 2.

CONCORD MEN.

In the vicinity of Concord were two regiments, one of militia under Colonel James Barrett of Concord, with Ezekiel How of Sudbury as lieutenant colonel, and one of Minute Men under Colonel Abijah Pierce of Lincoln, with Thomas Nixon of Framingham as lieutenant colonel, and John Buttrick of Concord as major. These two regiments did not appear as such at the North Bridge, the entire force there at the opening being under the command of Barrett, who directed the advance to be led by Major Buttrick. Quite a number of the companies of each were in line, but not in regimental formation.

Colonel, James Barrett of Concord
Lieut. Colonel, Ezekiel How of Sudbury
Captain, Nathan Barrett of Concord
Captain, George Minot of Concord
Captain, Joseph Robins of Acton
Captain, John Moore of Bedford
Captain, Samuel Farrar of Lincoln
Captain, Moses Stone of Sudbury
Captain, Aaron Haynes of Sudbury
Colonel, Abjiah Pierce of Lincoln
Lieut. Colonel, Thomas Nixon of Framingham
Major, John Buttrick of Concord

Second Major, Jacob Miller of Holliston
Adjutant, Thomas Hurd of East Sudbury
Captain, David Brown of Concord
Captain, Charles Miles of Concord
Captain, Isaac Davis of Acton
Captain, William Smith of Lincoln
Captain, Jonathan Willson of Bedford
Captain, John Nixon of Sudbury
Captain, George Minot
Captain, Nathan Barrett

There were four Concord companies present, commanded, respectively, by Captains Brown, Miles, Minot, and Barrett. No claims for service were filed with the Commonwealth in their behalf, therefore I can present no official Rolls. I found in Tolman's "Concord Minute Men" a roster of Brown's company, and for those constituting Miles's company I am indebted to the rare original manuscript belonging to the late Dr. Charles E. Clark of Lynn, and which was sold at auction by C. F. Libbie & Co., in Boston, Jan. 15, 1901, for $275.

Captain David Brown's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

Captain, David Brown
Lieutenant, David Wheeler
Lieutenant, Silas Man
Sergeant, Abishai Brown
Sergeant, Emerson Cogswell
Sergeant, Amos Wood
Corporal, Amos Barrett
Corporal, Stephen Barrett
Corporal, Reuben Hunt
Corporal, Stephen Jones
Fifer, John Buttrick, Jr.
Phineas Alin
Humphrey Barrett, Jr.
Elias Barron
Jonas Bateman
John Brown, Jr.
Jonas Brown
Purchase Brown
Abiel Buttrick
Daniel Buttrick
Oliver Buttrick
Tilly Buttrick

Willard Buttrick
William Buttrick
Daniel Cray
Amos Davis
Abraham Davis
Joseph Davis, Jr.
Joseph Dudley
Charles Flint
Edward Flint
Edward Flint, Jr.
Nathan Flint
Ezekiel Hagar
Isaac Hoar
David Hubbare
John Laughton
David Melvin, Jr.
William Mercer
John Minot, Jr.
Thomas Prescott
Bradbury Robinson
Ebenezer Stowe
Nathan Stowe
Thomas Thurston
Jotham Wheeler
Peter Wheeler
Zachary Wheeler
Ammi White
John White
Jonas Whitney
Aaron Wright

Captain Charles Miles's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

Captain, Charles Miles
Lieutenant, Jonathan Farrar
Lieutenant, Francis Wheeler
Sergeant, David Hartwell
Sergeant, Amos Hosmer
Sergeant, Silas Walker
Sergeant, Edward Richardson
Drummer, Daniel Brown
Fifer, Samuel Darby
Corporal, Simeon Hayward
Corporal, Nathan Peirce
Corporal, James Cogswell
Joseph Cleasby
Simeon Buridge
Israel Barratt
Daniel Hore
Ephraim Brooks
William Buridge
Joseph Stratton
Stephan Brooks
Simon Wheeler
Ebenezer Johnson
Stephan Starns
William Brown
Jeremiah Clark
Jacob Ames
Benjamin Hosmer
Joel Hosmer
Samuel Wheeler
Warham Wheeler
Oliver Wheeler
Jesse Hosmer
Amos Darby
John Corneall
Levi Hosmer
Solomon Rice
Thaddeas Bancraft
Amos Melven

Samuel Melven
Nathan Dudley
Oliver Parlin
John Flagg
Samuel Emery
John Cole
Daniel Cole
Barnabas Davis
Major Raley
Edward Wilkens
Daniel Farrar
Oliver Harris
Samuel Jewet
Daniel Wheat

Captain George Minot's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

Names and number of men unknown.

Captain Nathan Barrett's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

Names and number of men unknown.

Appendix No. 3.

Acton Men.

Captain Isaac Davis's Company.

Entered the Contest at Concord North Bridge.

Davis was killed and the command fell to his lieutenant, John Hayward, who became captain. The following official Roll does not include Acton's slain: —

A list of the names of a minute-Company under the Command of Captain John Hayward in Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment, who entered the Service nineteenth of April One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Five. — *Lexington Alarms, XII, 116*

(*Captain*, Isaac Davis, killed)
(*Succeeding*) *Captain*, John Hayward
Lieutenant, John Heald
Second Lieutenant, David Forbush
Sergeant, William Macksfield
Sergeant, Oliver Emerson
Corporal, John Davis
Corporal, David Davis
Corporal, John Barker
Thomas Darby
John Harris
Ebenezer Heald
James Davis
Phillip Piper
Reuben Low
Benjn Hayward
Simon Hunt, Jur.
Elijah Davice
Ephraim Forbush
Abraham Hapgood
Ezekiel Davis
Ebenezer Edwards
John Robbins
Joseph Barker
William Johnson
Reuben Davis
Joseph Reed
Stephen Shepherd

Thomas Thorp
Solomon Smith
Jonas Hunt
Moses Wood
Ephraim Billings
Joseph Chaffin
Samuel Tempel
Abraham Young
Francis Barker, *Drummer*
Luther Blanchard, *Fifer*

Acting Captain Lieutenant Simon Hunt's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

Names and number of men unknown.

Captain Joseph Robin's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

Names and number of men unknown.

Captain, Joseph Robins
(*Officer*) Israel Heald
(*Officer*) Robert Chaffin
Acting Captain, Simon Hunt
Ensign, Thomas Noyes

APPENDIX NO. 4.

BEDFORD MEN.

Captain John Moore's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

The Account of Capt. John Moore, Commander of the Military Company, in Bedford, for himself & those of his Company numbered in the following Roll for time & Travel Spent in the Service & Defence of the Colony, on & Directly after the alarm on the Nineteenth Day of April last: Exhibiting, in Destinct Columns against Each mans name, the number of miles he Travelled, The allowance thereof, The number of Days he was in the Service, and the wages thereof; with the Sum total of the Whole; agreeable to the Resolve of the Honl Court published in the news-papers and a vacant Column for Deductions, if any shall be made. — *Lexington Alarms, XIII, 9.*

Captain, John Moore
First Lieutenant, John Meriam
Second Lieutenant, Eleazĕr Davis
Sergeant, Joseph Convars
Sergeant, James Wright
Sergeant, Jeremiah Fitch, Jnr.
Fifer, David Lane
James Lane, 3rd
Oliver Reed, Junr.
Samuel Lane
Israel Putnam, Jur.
Samuel Bacon
Samuel Davis
Ebenezer Page
Thaddeus Davis
Edward Stearns
Solomon Stearns
William Page
William Maxwell
Samuel Meeds
Josiah Upton
Samuel Meriam
Abel Bowman
David Fitch
Abijah Bacon
Joseph Hartwell
Thomas Bacon

John Fitch
Samuel Lane
John Lane, Junr.
Solomon Lane
Matthew Pollard
Ziba Lane
Stephen Lane
Samson Hardy
Job Lane, Junr.
Lemuel Blanchard
Oliver Pollard, Junr.
Edward Stevens
Jeremiah Blood
Josiah Davis
John Reed, Junr.
Reuben Bacon
Simon Parker
Ebenezer Johnson
Joseph Ross
Malachi Allen
Jabez Carter
Abraham Merriam
John Lane, 3rd
Timothy Page

Captain Jonathan Willson's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

Willson was killed and the command fell to his Lieutenant, Moses Abbott.

the Account of the Time that Eatch man who belonged to the minit men of the Town of Bedford Spent at Cambridge in defence of the County to gether with Nineteenth of April last & also of their travil Receoned from the middle of the town according to the mind of the Company. — *Lexington Alarms, XI, 192.*

(*Captain*, Jonathan Willson, killed)
First Lieutenant, Moses Abbott
Second Lieutenant, Timothy Jones
Sergeant, Christopher Page
Sergeant, Seth Saultmarsh
Sergeant, Ebenezer Fitch
Sergeant, Asa Fassett
Drummer, Olover Bacon
Fifer, Jonas Welch
Jabez Russell
Jonas Gleason
Nathan Bacon
Nathaniel Page, Jun.
Joseph Meeds, June
Ruben Duren
Elijah Bacon
Benjamin Bacon
Timothy Johnson
Moses Fitch
David Bacon
David Reed
Nathan Bomar (or Boman)
Ephram Smith
Asa Duren
Obediah Johnson
Benjamin Winship
Ruben Bacon
William Merriam

APPENDIX NO. 5.

LINCOLN MEN.

Captain William Smith's Company.

ENTERED THE CONTEST AT CONCORD NORTH BRIDGE.

A List of a Company of Minute Men, under the Command of Capt. William Smith in Colo. Abijah Pierces Regt. who entered the Service April ye 19th 1775. — *Lexington Alarms, XIII, 97.*

Captain William Smith
Lieutenant Samuel Farrar
Second Lieutenant, Samuel Hoar
Sergeant Saml Hartwell
Sergeant David Fisk
Sergeant John Hartwell
Sergeant Jonas Mason
Corporal Abijah Mead
Corporal Elijah Willington
Corporal Ebenezer Brown
Corporal Joseph Abbot
Fifer Joseph Mason
Fifer Elijah Mason
Drummer Danl Brown
Nehemiah Abbot
Daniel Child
Abel Adams
Daniel Hosmer
Abijah Munroe
Joseph Peirce
Abra Peirce
Artemas Reed
Jesse Smith
Nathan Tidd
Willm Thorning
Solomon Whitney
Jonathan Gage
Isaac Gage
John Parks
Ebenezer Parks
Jonas Parks
Aaron Parks
Nathan Billings
Timothy Billings
Nathl. Baker
James Baker
Nathan Brown, Jr.
Saml Dakin, Jr.
Humphry Farrar
James Parks
Jona. Smith

John Wesson, Junr.
Enos Wheeler
Jacob Baker, Jr.
John Garfield
Joel Adams
Joshua Brooks, Jr.
Benja. Brooks
Thomas Blodget
Joshua Child, Junr.
Jacob Foster
Nathl. Gove
Daniel Harrington
Isaac Hartwell
Gregory Stone, Jr.
John Thorning
John Wesson
Joseph Wheet
Danl Billings
William Parks
Willard Parks
Willm. Hosmer

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INDEX.

[Not including names in the muster rolls.]

Presented to Roger W.
Reynolds by his
father August 23d 1923
at Lexington, Mass, on
the occasion when he,
with his sister, Josephine
and father visited that
historic spot.
(Daddie)