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**Col. James Barrett Farm**  
**HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT**

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**APPENDIX**

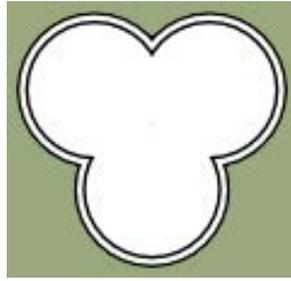


For Save Our Heritage  
Concord, Massachusetts

By

New England Landmarks  
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**July 25, 2007**  
**Revision A – February 14, 2008**



Architectural Trefoil (also a Christian symbol)

## Trefoil Architecture

Trefoil (from Latin *trifolium*, three-leaved plant, French *trèfle*, German *Dreiblatt* and *Dreiblattbogen*) is a term in Gothic architecture given to the ornamental foliation or cusping introduced in the heads of window-lights, tracery, panellings, etc., in which the center takes the form of a three-lobed leaf (formed from three partially-overlapping circles). One of the earliest examples is in the plate tracery at Winchester (1222 - 1235). The four-fold version of an architectural trefoil is a quatrefoil. A trefoil combined with an equilateral triangle was also a moderately common symbol of the Christian Trinity during the late middle ages in some parts of Europe.

<http://www.answers.com/library/Wikipedia-cid-800781118>



Col. James Barrett Muster Room Trefoil

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## 8 Appendices

### 8.1 Background Research

#### 8.1.1 Barrett Farm Ownership Chronology

(Includes children born in house)

##### 8.1.1.1 Research – Primary - Probate and Deeds

###### **Benjamin (1681-1728) and Lydia Minott Barrett Period ca. 1705-1728**

(Family tradition states Col. James Barrett born in the house in 1710.)

Benjamin Barrett m. Lydia Minott, 1705, d. Oct 25, 1728 aged 47. They had eight children:

- 1) Benjamin died in Concord Oct 23, 1738
- 2) Deacon Thomas who m. Mary Jones
- 3) **Col. James Barrett (1710-1779) m. Rebecca Hubbard**
- 4) Lydia who m. Samuel Farrar
- 5) Timothy of Paxton
- 6) Mary
- 7) Stephen of Paxton
- 8) Rebecca

###### **Col. James (1710-1779) & Rebecca Hubbard (d.1813) Barrett Period ca. 1729 -1779**

(According to grandson Prescott, Col. Barrett rebuilt the house ca. 1768.)

Children:

- 1) James Barrett Jr. Esq. (d. 1799)
- 2) Nathan Barrett (d.1791) (gave Pitcairn pistols to Gen. Israel Putnam)
- 3) Lydia B. m. Melvin
- 4) Rebecca “my daughter Minott” (Col. James’ Will 1779) (b. 1742; d. 1775) –m. Deacon George Minot b. Oct 23, 1741; m. (1) Jan 17, 1765, **Rebecca Barrett, dau. of Col. James Barrett.**
- 5) Perses B. m. Potter
- 6) Stephen Barrett (nearly arrested by British in kitchen April 19, 1775)
- 7) **Peter Barrett “youngest son” m. Mary Prescott July 8, 1779**
- 8) Lucy “youngest daughter”

###### **Peter (1755-1808) and Mary Prescott (17 - 1846) Barrett Period 1780-1808**

Mary Prescott’s sister Rebecca married Roger Sherman of CT.

Mary Prescott Barrett (d. 1846) remained in west half of house after Peter’s death and told Shattuck in 1831 the story of events of April 19, 1775.

Peter and Mary’s children:

- 1) Polly b. 2 Aug. 1781 d. 1841 m. Jonathan Heywood 1802
- 2) Mercy b. 13 Sep. 1783 d. 1837, m. William Gibbs of Henry & Mary Prescott Gibbs
- 3) Rebecca b. 8 Jan. 1786 d. 1846 unmarried
- 4) **Prescott b. 27 Feb. 1788 m. Betsy Barrett of Dea. Samuel & Sarah Farrar Barrett, 1810...Betsy dies 1814 and Prescott remarries Olive Haywood of Westford 1818 and she dies 1873; Prescott dies 1861.**

- 5) Henry b. 17 Ju. 1790 d. 1815 unmarried
- 6) Sherman b. 18 Sep. 1793 d. 1863, m. Mary Hopper of Worthington; he was Col.
- 7) Benjamin b. 2 Feb. 1796 d. 1869 m. Mary Wright 1826; Harvard 1819,  
Cambridge Medical School, doctor, settled in Northampton

**Prescott Barrett (1788-1861, son of Peter) Period 1809-1861**

Prescott in 1848 told Benjamin Lossing Col. James Barrett "built the house about 80 years ago." **Prescott m. Betsy Barrett of Dea. Samuel & Sarah Farrar Barrett, 1810**

**Prescott has 2 children by Betsy Barrett:**

- 1) Henry
- 2) Jonathan Haywood.

**Prescott m. Olive Haywood, 1814 Prescott had 8 children by Olive Haywood :**

- 1) **Mary Elizabeth,**
- 2) **George Haywood** (a captain...last one for the Concord Light Infantry, did carpentry for A. B Alcott see ABA Journal.) On deed, did work on house, not adult resident.
- 3) William Gibbs,
- 4) **Martha Sherman** (twin)
- 5) **Augusta Haywood** (twin)
- 6) Charles Mason
- 7) Haywood
- 8) Frank

**George H. Barrett, Augusta Haywood B. and twin Martha Sherman B. Period 1862-1905**

Augusta H. Barrett told story of April 19th, 1775 to Margaret Sidney AKA Harriet Lothrop in 1888)

**McGrath Period 1905-2005 (Augusta Barrett remained in the house as tenant)**

**Thomas J. McGrath and Emily Fissette**

- 1) **Thomas W.**
- 2) **Emily**
- 3) **Frank**

**Thomas W. McGrath and Anne Root**

- 1) **Michael Root**
- 2) **Patrick Fissette**

**Michael McGrath**

**8.1.1.2 Genealogy – Occupants Lineage**

Barretts: Col. James to Peter to Prescott to George families, spouses

McGraths: Thomas J. to Thomas W. to Michael

## 8.1.2 Town of Concord Instructions, 1773

## Appendix F

Wheeler Ruth. *Concord, Climate for Freedom*, (Concord Museum, 1967/2000)

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*Instructions from the Concord Town Meeting to Captain James Barrett on January 11, 1773*

We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Inhabitants of Concord, in Town Meeting assembled this 11th day of January 1773 after expressing our most firm attachment to and ardent love for, our most gracious sovereign, King George, in the support and defence of whose person and dignity we are always ready not only to spend our fortunes, but lives, (while we are in the enjoyment of our invaluable privileges granted us by Royal Charter) but can not in this time of general concern throughout the Province, do otherwise than express our sentiments that some of our invaluable privileges are infringed upon by those heavy burthens, unconstitutionally as we think, already laid upon us, and that by some late laws and innovations other of our liberties and privileges equally dear to us are in danger of being affected and curtailed, as a report has of late prevailed that the Justices of the Superior Court of this Province have a salary appointed them by the Crown, thereby rendering them more dependent on the Crown than we think any Judge ought to be on the Crown or People, whereby a foundation is laid for our Courts of Justice, which always should be uninfluenced by any force but that of Law, being immediately under the influence of the Crown.

And whereas an act was passed in the last session of the British Parliament entitled "An Act for the Preserving of His Majesty's Dockyards, Magazines, Ships, Ammunition and Stores" by which act, we in this Country are exposed to the rage of some malicious persons, who out of complaisance to some court sycophant may accuse any person and thereby cause him to be hurried out of his Country and carried to some distant place from all his friends and acquaintance, and thereby deprived of the advantages of his common character, to be judged by strangers and perhaps by foreigners, and whether innocent or guilty is in danger of being ruined in person and estate, which we look upon as a great infringement of our rights and privileges and contrary to the true sense of MAGNA CARTA and Spirit of Law: we therefore think proper to instruct you, our Representative in the General Assembly of this Province, that you in a Constitutional manner endeavor to prevent those innovations we too sensibly feel and those we fear, by using your influence in the present sessions of the General Assembly for an humble remonstrance to His Majesty that all those violations of our rights and privileges which we are entitled to by the British Constitution and made over to us and our successors by the Royal Charter may be redressed—and also we would further advise you to use your best endeavors that an honorable and an adequate support be granted to the judges of the Superior Court

as a recompense for their important services in their exalted station, relying on your loyalty and respect for His Sacred Majesty, your love and affection for your Country, we trust that you will, in all matters that may come before you, conduct with that wisdom and prudence, that integrity and coolness, that circumspection and firmness which so well becomes the Senator and Patriot.

Mr. Joseph Lee  
Charles Prescott, Esq.  
John Cumming, Esq.

Deacon Thomas Barrett  
Capt. Stephen Hosmer  
Mr. John Flint  
Ephraim Wood, Jr.

### 8.1.3 Memo on General Gages Spy Reports and Orders 1775

- 1) Microfilm Reel source for original orders.
- 2) Transcription of final (not draft) orders for April 19th on a good Pitcairn website:  
<http://www.winthrop.dk/reports.html>
- 3) Jonathan Bell's "Behold the Guns Were Gone!" (and other emails) in which he quotes the draft orders from:

French, Allen, General Gages Informers (Ann Arbor Michigan: University of Mich. Press, 1932) - see p. 57-8 of copy attached - he'll want credit if we use his material).

Jonathan Bell may have a copy of the original Mss if you want to check with him, or I will. Note that his correct email is <[JnoLBell@earthlink.net](mailto:JnoLBell@earthlink.net)>, not the one on the paper header. It may take some time to dig out the original manuscript, but if we want a copy of the original MSS, we need to get it from William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

F.C. Detwiller June 2007

### 8.1.4 General Gage's Orders

British Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith received his orders from General Thomas Gage on the afternoon of April 18, 1775, with instructions not to open them until his troops were underway. When opened the instructions read:

Orders from General Thomas Gage  
to Lieut. Colonel Smith, 10th Regiment 'Foot

Boston, April 18, 1775

Lieut. Colonel Smith, 10th Regiment 'Foot,

Sir,

Having received intelligence, that a quantity of Ammunition, Provisions, Artillery, Tents and small Arms, have been collected at Concord, for the Avowed Purpose of raising and supporting a Rebellion against His Majesty, you will March with a Corps of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, put under your Command, with the utmost expedition and Secrecy to Concord, where you will seize and distroy all Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, Tents, Small Arms, and all Military Stores whatever. But you will take care that the Soldiers do not plunder the Inhabitants, or hurt private property.

You have a Draught of Concord, on which is marked the Houses, Barns, &c, which contain the above military Stores. You will order a Trunion to be knocked off each Gun, but if its found impracticable on any, they must be spiked, and the Carriages destroyed. The Powder and flower must be shook out of the Barrels into the River, the Tents burnt, Pork or Beef destroyed in the best way you can devise. And the Men may put Balls of lead in their pockets, throwing them by degrees into Ponds, Ditches &c., but no Quantity together, so that they may be recovered

afterwards. If you meet any Brass Artillery, you will order their muzzles to be beat in so as to render them useless.

You will observe by the Draught that it will be necessary to secure the two Bridges as soon as possible, you will therefore Order a party of the best Marchers, to go on with expedition for the purpose.

A small party of Horseback is ordered out to stop all advice of your March getting to Concord before you, and a small number of Artillery go out in Chaises to wait for you on the road, with Sledge Hammers, Spikes, &c.

You will open your business and return with the Troops, as soon as possible, with I must leave to your own Judgment and Discretion.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

Thos. Gage.

### **8.1.5 Behold the Guns were Gone, Bell**

An extract from a paper by J.L.Bell. pp 52 -59.

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# “Behold, the Guns Were Gone!”

Four Brass Cannon and the  
Start of the American Revolution

J. L. Bell

"Behold, the Guns Were Gone!"

J. L. Bell

### The General Looks West

Gen. Gage did not need to wait long after the Salem expedition to learn exactly where Boston's brass cannon were. In his intelligence files are two reports, dated 8 and 9 March and apparently in the same hand. The first is in English, the second in poor French, probably to minimize the number of people in rural Massachusetts who could read it. They conveyed nearly the same facts:

Four brass Cannon, & Two Cohorns or Mortars (so call'd by the Peasantry) Conceal'd at Mr: B[arrett], (Lately chose or appointed *Minute* Colo.) Suppos'd to be deposited in his Cellar.—The Calibre of these pieces of Ordnance is not exactly ascertained, but reported to be only Diminutive.

Concord's colonel, in charge of the new minutemen, was James Barrett, a 65-year-old farmer and delegate to the Provincial Congress.<sup>107</sup>

The Middlesex spy reported more artillery in Concord, plus a possible link to Mason's operation in Salem:

Two pieces of Iron Ordnance (Suppos'd to be 4 or 6 pounders) are mounted, (On carriages said to be very indifferent) in the Courthouse & watch'd at Night, hitherto by a Slender Guard of *Minute* men.—

Eight more pieces of Iron Ordnance were *this day* (Le 8 de Mois de Mars) convey'd to ~~Concord~~ from L[exington] (where they had been deposited a few days preceeding their Last removal;D)—Two of the Eight appear'd to be Smaller <than the rest> & about three or four pounders—These last mentioned were met at a small distance from C[oncord] in three Carts there were no appurtenances, but it was said that carriages were *made or making* at Salem <& soon to follow>.—

It is conjectured & reported that a Large quantity of Cartridges are now preparing at Ch[arlestow]n; of Different Sizes, & numbered in order to distribute & distinguish properly. . . .

This spy went on to report which Concord families were keeping gunpowder,

<sup>107</sup> Intelligence, 8 and 9 March 1775, Gage Papers. On Barrett, see Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World*, 25, 57-8, 62-3, 69.

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small arms, flour, and other food for the provincial military. Writing a French version the next day, the spy no longer had any doubt about "a military magazine, or laboratory, at Charlestown."<sup>108</sup>

The province was also training men to fire those guns. On 11 March, the Middlesex spy wrote to Gage that "A certain man named Popkins (a tailor) trained by Majr. Paddock (at least in the company of artillery) arrived days ago at Worcester to instruct a militia artillery company, which should be formed there in a few days." This was John Popkin, a 34-year-old tailor, perhaps recruited by Dr. Warren for the Committee of Safety. After describing gunpowder and "three iron cannon" in Worcester, Gage's informant continued: "The brass cannon, which formerly were in the hands of Mr. Paddick, never arrived there; and veritably are now at Concord."<sup>109</sup>

Having received this report, Gage ordered Capt. William Brown and Ens. Henry De Bernière to hike to Concord on 20 March and look around. Between their own observations and Loyalists' reports, the officers confirmed that the town "had fourteen pieces of cannon (ten iron and four brass) and two cohorns. . . . their iron cannon they kept in a house in town, their brass they had concealed in some place behind the town, in a wood."<sup>110</sup>

Local traditions imply many provincials had started to read any British excursion into the countryside as an attempt to find artillery. Brown and De

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<sup>108</sup> "Il-y-a des informations, (que L'on ne peut pas douter), d'un *Magazin Militaire*, ou Laboratoire, a Charlestown." Intelligence, 8 March 1775 and 9 March 1775, Gage Papers. French, *General Gage's Informers*, 11-2, prints much of the 9 March letter. Gage could have wrongly inferred that David Mason had concealed the Boston train's field-pieces in Salem during Leslie's expedition and then sent them on to Concord. His intelligence documents never mention Whiston or Robinson.

<sup>109</sup> "Un certain nommé *Popkins* (un Tailleur) élevé par Le Majr. Paddock (dans la *Compagnie d'artillerie* au moins;) est arrivé depuis quelques Jours à *Worcester*, pour instruire une *Compagnie d'artillerie Milicien*, qui doit être formée Là en peu des Jours. . . . Les canons de *Cuivre*, qui autrefois étoient entre Les mains de Monsr. Paddick; n'y sont Jamais arrivés; et *Vraisemblablement* sont presentement à Concord." Intelligence, 11 Mar 1775, Gage Papers. John Popkin would serve the entire war in the American artillery, rising to lieutenant-colonel; Bradford Adams Whittemore, *Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati* (Boston: Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, 1964), 489.

<sup>110</sup> Gage, *General Gage's Instructions*, 15-6.

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Bernière had been detected in Watertown during a mission in late February, and locals interpreted their goal as the town's cannon: "some British officers came to Watertown to search; but they searched in vain, the pieces being effectually concealed in a barn." On the morning of 30 March, Percy marched his brigade down Boston Neck, and the farmers of Roxbury remembered the event this way: "redcoats were at Jamaica Plain, searching for the missing cannon. This company was part of a battalion of five hundred men who were scattered in various directions for the same purpose."<sup>111</sup>

In fact, Percy's brigade did spot some provincial artillery, in plain sight. Lt. John Barker wrote that "at Watertown about 9 miles off, they got 2 pieces of Cannon to the Bridge and loaded 'em but nobody wou'd stay to fire them." Similarly, Lt. Frederick Mackenzie would later note that when "The 38th & 52ed Regiments marched once to Watertown,...Cannon were fired" for an alarm. These were probably the pair of "Great Guns" the town had finally mounted for its militia the month before.<sup>112</sup>

The British column did not try to seize those cannon. Gen. Gage hoped uneventful marches, which had been going on since December, would accustom the provincials to seeing troops. But lulling the countryside into complacency was only an intermediate goal. Gage continued to gather information on the weapons in Concord. In early April, his spy wrote that "Col. B—— and the engineer Mason" were overseeing the brass ordnance there. Mason's presence probably confirmed for Gage that he had found the Boston cannon.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Convers Francis, *An Historical Sketch of Watertown, in Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass.: E. W. Metcalf, 1830), 105. F. S. Drake, *Roxbury*, 73.

<sup>112</sup> Barker, *The British in Boston*, 27. Mackenzie, *A British Fusilier*, 70.

<sup>113</sup> Barker, *The British in Boston*, 11. "Le Coll. B—— et L'Engenieur Mason"; Intelligence, 6 April 1775, Gage Papers. Mason's notebook also indicates a link to "James Barrett of Concord"; "Notebook of Col. David Mason," Bryant-Mason-Smith Family Papers. The same page lists "Worcester Timothy Bigilow"; Gage's spy had reported that "Bigelow (*un grand Chef*)" was storing arms in Worcester;

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### **The General Makes Plans for Concord**

Provincial Congress delegates met in Concord in late March, amid the supplies that their committees had collected. Delegate James Warren wrote to his wife Mercy: "This Town is full of Cannon, ammuniton, stores, etc., and the Army long for them and they want nothing but strength to Induce an attempt on them. The people are ready and determine to defend this Country Inch by Inch." On 17 April, two days after the congress adjourned, the Committees of Safety and Supplies voted "that Col. Barrett be desired to raise an artillery company" to use some of those cannon. They also decided to invite Jabez Hatch to restart the Boston train of which he had been second-in-command; if he declined, they would invite Thomas Crafts, and after that they would resort to Robinson "as captain of the company in Dorchester."<sup>114</sup>

Meanwhile, on 14 April, Gen. Gage received orders from London. His superiors did not merely authorize him to take military action against the rebellion; they told him to. The Middlesex spy's last report in poor French was dated the same day. It said that Dr. Warren and Paul Revere had warned the Provincial Congress that a body of regulars would march to take possession of Concord. Local fears made the delegates "order Col. Barrett to immediately empty the town house of the twelve cannon and all the ammuniton." Medicine and powder barrels were sent to different houses, including Barrett's, "where the brass cannon are still hidden." The next day, Dr. Church sent Gage a report from the congress as it adjourned. That government was about to raise an army of 8,000 men, he said, and had authorized six companies of field artillery. All signs said it was time to act.<sup>115</sup>

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Intelligence, 11 March 1775, Gage Papers. On 8 April, Gage sent a small force to secure "all the Artillery and spare arms" in Fort Pownall in Penobscot Bay, now Maine; *NDAR*, 1:172-3, 186-7.

<sup>114</sup> James Warren to Mercy Warren, 6 April 1775, in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 72 (1917), 46. Lincoln, *Journals of Each Provincial Congress*, 515-6.

<sup>115</sup> French, *General Gage's Informers*, 23-4. "Samedi passé, Le 7 d'avril [sic—7 April 1775 was a Friday]

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In his 1944 study "Why the March to Concord?" John R. Alden linked Gage's order to march on 18 April to the instructions he had received from London. Those orders indeed explain "Why the March?" but leave the question of "Why to Concord?" The ministry specified that "the first & essential step...would be to arrest the principal actors and abettors in the Provincial Congress," even if that brought on hostilities. One of those men, Dr. Joseph Warren, was in Boston and easily taken. Others were in nearby towns, and even John Hancock and Samuel Adams were considerably closer to Gage than Barrett's farm. Both the Middlesex spy and Church sent Gage information on leaders coming and going during the Provincial Congress's mid-April session in Concord.<sup>116</sup>

Tactically it may have made sense to Gen. Gage to move against the provincial weaponry first. Arresting a few leaders would not pacify Massachusetts—it would exacerbate the widespread enmity to his government. And guns weighing hundreds of pounds are less mobile than people (though, as it turned out, it took less trouble to move field-pieces from Concord than to move Hancock from Lexington). Even the ministers in London changed their priorities after receiving Gage's winter reports and directed "That all Cannon, Small Arms, and other military Stores of every kind that may be either in any public Magazine, or secretly collected together for the purpose of aiding Rebellions, should also be seized and secured"—along

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P:— R— *vers Le Soir*, arrivé à Concord, portant une Lettre à ce qu'on disoit, de Monsr. W——n. Cette Lettre marque, qu'il-y-avait apparence, que dans peu des Jours, un Corps des troupes réglés, devait marche pour investir, et prendre possession de Concord—Cette Nouvelle allarma prodigieusement tous Les Mecontents—Le Congres s'assembla, ordonna au Colonel B—— d'évacuer immédiatement La Maison de Ville, Les douze Canons toute L'ammunition (C'est Là dire) Les Cartouches à fusil. . . . Les Medicines Et Les Barriques de poudre (qu'on etait alors de La Maison de Ville) suvent distribués parmi Les Differentes Maisons—capitales duVillage [sic] particulièrement chez Monsr. Barret, (où Les Canons de Cuivre Restent encore cachés)"; *Intelligence*, 14 April 1775, Gage Papers.

<sup>116</sup> John R. Alden, "Why the March to Concord?", *American Historical Review*, 49 (1944), 446-54. Gage already had the opinion of Britain's Attorney General and Solicitor General that Dr. Warren could be charged with treason; John Richard Alden, *General Gage in America* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969; reprint of Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948), 201, 241.

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with all traitors and rebels.<sup>117</sup>

That still does not fully explain why Gage focused on Concord. His scouts had reported that Concord was more accessible than Worcester—but the “military magazine, or laboratory,” in Charlestown was even closer. Gage’s officers had seen cannon in Watertown. What made Concord stand out from those other towns was the quantity of artillery stored there, including the field-pieces from Boston.

Searching Concord would be relatively easy since Gage had detailed intelligence about where to find weapons in that town—even house-by-house inventories. Nevertheless, it is significant that such information did not begin to arrive until March, after Gage had learned that the Provincial Congress would amass its ordnance in Concord and Worcester. That news seems to have prompted the general to recruit the informant in Middlesex County. That spy reported specifically on brass guns from the Boston train, which hints at the questions his or her contact asked. These detailed reports were thus a *result* of the general’s interest in the Concord guns rather than a cause.

Seizing those field-pieces would require a bold march deep into hostile territory: seventeen miles to Concord and another two across the North Bridge to Barrett’s farm. Each of those miles meant the troops would be more tired and more exposed to rebel attacks, as would every quarter-hour the men spent searching. But if the mission succeeded, it would erase the shame of having let those guns get away in the first place. How much those cannon weighed on Gen. Gage as he made his plans is speculative, of course. But when he listed what Lt.-Col. Francis Smith’s column should look for, the first items were “Four Brass Cannon and two Mortars or Cohorns...in the Cellar or out

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<sup>117</sup> Dartmouth to Gage, 15 April 1775, in Gage, *Correspondence*, 2:191.

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Houses of Mr. Barrett a little on the other side the Bridge."<sup>118</sup>

Sometime on 18 April, however, Gage received frustrating news: Barrett and his men were moving the weapons further away. Someone reported, "The military Stores are removed—The Field pieces ~~two~~ <four> Excepted which are now in Concord Town House are committed to the care of several Towns in the vicinity." Gage made notes of what he probably heard from another agent: outside town there were "Three Guns still mounted, the rest dismounted and carefully hid and even buried."<sup>119</sup> Most of the provincial cannon were now beyond his reach.

Why did Gage proceed with the Concord march after learning this news? Bureaucratic inertia might have taken over. The pressure from London to act was still strong. And another possible factor was the report that the provincials had moved their field-pieces, "four Excepted." Gage's informants in Concord had consistently described the four brass field-pieces being stored together. Might those be the four Barrett was keeping? The odds were not great, but the desire to recover those stolen cannon might have given Gage just enough motive to carry on.

The general revised his instructions for Lt-Col. Smith to be less specific about what the troops would find. He still had hope that they would find artillery, and brass guns in particular: "You will order a Trunion to be knocked off each Gun, but if it is found impracticable on any, they must be spiked, and the carriages destroyed. . . . If you meet with any Brass Artillery, you will order their muzzles to be beat in so as to render them useless."<sup>120</sup>

On the night of 18 April 1775, British soldiers rowed quietly out of

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<sup>118</sup> Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride*, 207, 317; French, *General Gage's Informers*, 29.

<sup>119</sup> "Intelligence, April 18th: 1775," Gage Papers.

<sup>120</sup> French, *General Gage's Informers*, 31-2.

"Behold, the Guns Were Gone!"

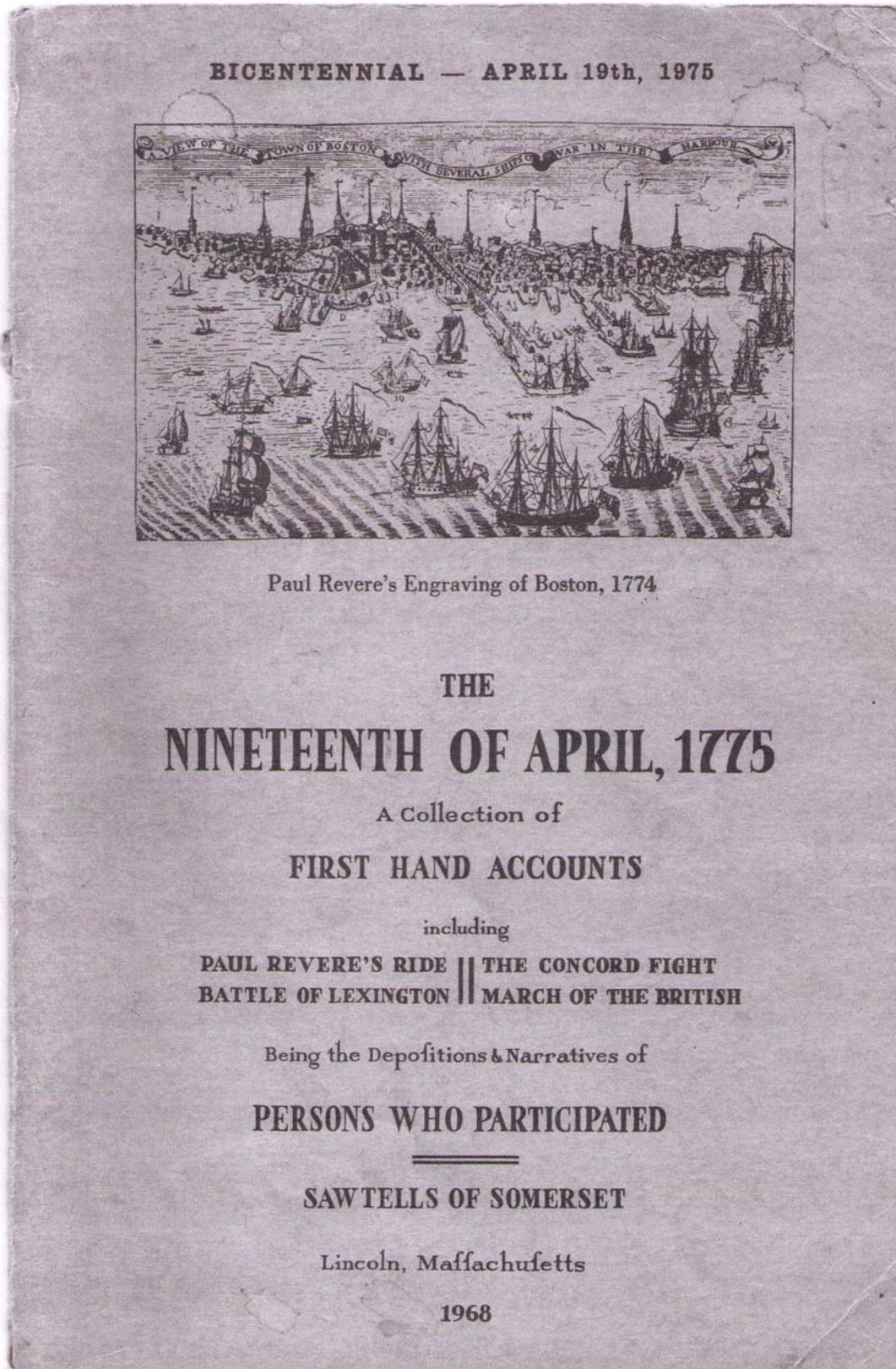
J. L. Bell

Boston, much as they had before the Powder Alarm. This time they numbered around 800, over three times the force sent to Charlestown. By the time the soldiers embarked, however, James Barrett had moved all the military wares on his farm, including the train's brass field-pieces, to neighboring towns. Dr. Joseph Warren had sent William Dawes riding out the Boston Neck with a warning for Hancock and Adams. Paul Revere was rowing across the Charles River with the same message. At dawn, Lemuel Robinson mustered the Dorchester minute men. Around seven-thirty, with a thousand more redcoats assembling on the Common and streets of Boston, Master Samuel Holbrook and his fellow teachers dismissed their scholars. In Salem, Richard Derby, Jr., was beginning a daylong argument with his militia colonel in favor of aggressively meeting the British column.<sup>121</sup> All these men had prepared for war. Now the war had arrived.

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<sup>121</sup> Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride*, 103-4, 146, 208, 313-6. By one local tradition, Barrett's men took "four Cannon" to Stow, where they were hidden in the woods north of the lower village, not far from the residence of [provincial treasurer] Henry Gardner"; Olivia S. Crowell, *Stow, Massachusetts, 1683-1933* (Stow, Mass.: Rev. and Mrs. Preston R. Crowell, 1933), 71. Jenks, *Catalogue of the Boston Latin School*, 1:37; Joseph T. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature: with Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Reminiscences*, 2 vols. (Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1850), 2:3. Gerard H. Clarfield, *Timothy Pickering and the American Republic* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), 31.

### 8.1.6 Col. Barrett's Deposition, April 1775



## 674 EXCURSION OF THE KING'S TROOPS. [April 19,

Concord, April 23d, 1775.

I, Timothy Minot, Jr., of Concord, on the nineteenth day of this instant April, after I had heard of the regular troops firing upon the Lexington men, and fearing that hostilities might be committed at Concord, thought it my incumbent duty to secure my family. After I had secured my family, sometime after that, returning towards my own dwelling, and finding that the bridge on the northern part of said Concord was guarded by regular troops, being a spectator of what had happened at said bridge, I declare that the regular troops stationed on the bridge, after they saw the men that were collected on the westerly side of said bridge marched towards said bridge, then the troops returned towards the easterly side of said bridge, and formed themselves, as I thought for a regular fight. After that, they fired one gun, then two or three more, before the men that were stationed on the westerly part of said bridge fired upon them.

TIMOTHY MINOT, JR.

MIDDLESEX, SS. APRIL 23D, 1775.

Doct. Timothy Minot, Jr. personally appeared, and after due caution to testify the truth, and nothing but the truth, made solemn oath to the truth of the above deposition by him subscribed: before us,

WILLIAM READ,	} <i>Justices of the Peace.</i>
JONATHAN HASTINGS,	
JOHN CUMMINGS,	
DUNCAN INGRAHAM,	

Lexington, April 23d, 1775.

I, James Barrett, of Concord, colonel of a regiment of militia in the county of Middlesex, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, about day break, I was informed of the approach of a number of the regular troops to the town of Concord, where were some magazines belonging to this province: when there were assembled some of the militia of this and the neighboring towns, then I ordered them to march to the north bridge, so called, which they had passed, and were taking up. I ordered said militia to march to said bridge, and pass the same, but not to fire on the king's troops unless they were first fired upon. We advanced near said bridge, when the said troops fired upon our militia, and killed two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others, which was the first firing of guns in Concord. My detachment then returned the fire, which killed and wounded several of the king's troops.

JAMES BARRETT.

MIDDLESEX, SS. APRIL 23D, 1775.

The above named James Barrett personally appeared, and after due caution to testify the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, made solemn oath to the truth of the above deposition by him subscribed: before us,

WILLIAM READ,	} <i>Justices of the Peace.</i>
JONATHAN HASTINGS,	
DUNCAN INGRAHAM,	

### 8.1.7 Transcription – Col. Barrett's Deposition

#### "The Nineteenth of April, 1775: A Collection of First Hand Accounts"

"Lexington, April 23d, 1775

" I, James Barrett of Concord, Colonel of a regiment of militia in the county of Middlesex, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, about day break, I was informed of the approach of a number of the regular troops to the town of Concord, where were some magazines belonging to this province: when there were assembled some of the militia of this and the neighboring towns, then I ordered them to march to the north bridge, so called, which they had passed, and were taking up. I ordered said militia to march to said bridge and pass the same, but not to fire upon the king's troops unless they were first fired upon. We advanced near said bridge, when said troops fired upon our militia, and killed two men dead upon the spot, and wounded several others, which was the first firing of guns in Concord. My detachment then returned the fire, which killed and wounded several of the king's troops.

JAMES BARRETT"

"Middlesex April 23d, 1775

"The above named James Barrett personally appeared, and after due caution to testify the whole truth and nothing but the truth, made solemn oath to the truth of the above deposition by him subscribed: before us,

WILLIAM READ,  
JONATHAN HASTINGS Justices of the Peace  
DUNCAN INGRAHAM "

See all the depositions at:

<http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/ma/middlesex/towns/concord/histchapp.txt>

See also Col. James Barrett in Lee Papers at Harvard

bMS Am 811-811.7

Lee, Arthur, 1740-1792. Papers: Guide.  
Houghton Library, Harvard College Library

**Series:** II. bMS Am 811.1

(37-48) [Depositions concerning the fighting at Lexington and **Concord**] 16 MS.s.; Lexington and **Concord**, 23-25 Apr 1775. 16s.(33p.)

Depositions of Thomas Rice Willard, Capt. John Parker, John Robbins, Benjamin Tidd, Joseph Abbot, Nathaniel Mulliken, Philip Russell, Moses Harrington, Jr., Thomas Harrington, Daniel Harrington, William Grimes, William Tidd, Isaac Hastings, Jonas Stone Jr., James Wyman, Thaddeus Harrington, John Chandler, Joshua Reed Jr., Joseph Simonds, Phinehas Smith, John

Chandler Jr., Reuben Lock, Joel Niles, Nathan Reed, Samuel Tidd, Benjamin Lock, Thomas Winship, Simeon Snow, John Smith, Moses Harrington 3d, Joshua Reed, Ebenezer Parker, John Harrington, Enoch Wellington, John Hosmer, Isaac Green, Phinehas Stearns, Isaac Durant, Thomas Headley Jr., Nathaniel Parkhurst, Jonas Parker, John Monro Jr., John Winship, Solomon Peirce, John Muzzy, Abner Mead, John Bridge Jr., Ebenezer Bowman, William Monro 3d, Mikah Hagar, Samuel Sanderson, Samuel Hastings, James Brown, Timothy Smith, Levi Harrington, Levi Mead, William Draper, Thomas Fessenden, John Hoar, John Whitehead Abram Gearfield, Benjamin Munroe, Isaac Parks, William Hosmer, John Adams, Gregory Stone, **Nathan Barrett**, Jonathan Farrar, Joseph Butler, Francis Wheeler, John Barrett, John Brown, Silas Walker, Ephraim Melven, Nathan Buttrick, Stephen Hosmer Jr., **Samuel Barrett**, Thomas Jones, Joseph Chandler, Peter Wheeler, Nathan Peirce, Edward Richardson, Timothy Minot Jr., **Col. James Barrett**, Bradbery Robinson, Samuel Spring, Thaddeus Bancroft, James Adams.

### 8.1.8 Col. Barrett Supplies Hidden for Committees of Supplies, Safety

(An excerpt from Lemuel Shattuck *History of Concord*, 1835)

p.97

1775.

Meantime the committees of correspondence, in conjunction with the citizens, were actively making the military preparations necessary for defence.

From a manuscript "account of the provincial stores sent to Colonel Barrett of Concord, partly in his own custody, and partly elsewhere, all under his care," found among his papers the following facts are obtained. These stores were principally brought here in March by the citizens of the town.

There were received from Mr. David Cheever of Charlestown, one of the committee of supplies: 20 loads of stores, containing about 20,000 pounds of musket-balls and cartridges, 50 reams of cartridge-paper, 206 tents, 113 iron spades, 51 wood axes, 201 bill-hooks, 19 sets of harness, 24 boxes of candles, 14 chests of medicine, 27 hogsheads of wooden ware, 1 hogshead of matches, cords, irons and balls, 20 bushels of oatmeal, 5 iron worms for cannon, rammers, etc.

These were stored at Captain Elnathan Jones's, Joshua Bond's Willoughby Prescott's, Jonas Heywood's, Colonel Barrett's & the town-house.

p.98

From Moses Gill of Boston, 11 loads, containing 150 tents, axes, pickaxes, hatchets, spades, wooden spoons and dishes, and canteens, stored at Captain Thomas Hubbard's, Ephraim Wheeler's, Willoughby Prescott's and Ephraim Potter's. Also received from R. Pierpont: 47 firkins and 2 barrels of butter, stored at Colonel James Barrett's and Mr. Humphrey Barrett's; and 55 barrels of beef, stored at Thomas and Elisha Jones's and 25 barrels at Daniel Cray's.

From Colonel Jeremiah Lee of Marblehead, 6 hogsheads, containing 35 half-barrels of powder, 6 of which were stored at Colonel Barrett's, 5 at James Chandler's, 6 at James Barrett Jr.'s; 6 at Ephraim Wood's, 6 at Joseph Hosmer's, and 6 at Jonas Heywood's.

This was received in December, 1775 and in the accompanying letter, Colonel Lee writes, "Don't so much as mention the name of powder, lest our enemies should take advantage of it."

Eight hogsheads more were soon received from Colonel Lee, 6 of which were sent the last of March to Leicester. He also sent to Concord another load, containing tents, poles, axes, and

hatchets, stored at Abishai Brown's; and also 318 barrels of flour, 68 of which were stored at Ebenezer Hubbard's (which was partly destroyed on April 19, 1775), 66 at Captain Timothy Wheeler's, 56 at Samuel Jones's, 23 at Isaac Hubbard's, 16 at Jonas Heywood's, 82 at Samuel Whitney's [Wayside] and 7 at Jonathan Heywood's.

From Elbridge Gerry of Marblehead, 7 loads of salt fish, containing about 17,000 pounds, stored at Elisha Jones's; 18 casks of wine, 20 casks of raisins and a quantity of oil, (which were carried to Stow); and 47 hogsheads and 50 barrels of salt, which were stored in 15 different places in town; 4 loads of tents, tow-cloth, and canteens, stored at Ephraim Potter's; 1 bundle of sheet-lead, several hogsheads of molasses and a quantity of linen.

From Salem 46 and from Boston 12 tierces of rice, estimated to contain about 35,000 pounds; 20 stored at Ebenezer Hubbard's, 6 at Thomas Hosmer's, 3 at Thomas Davis's, 7 at Stephen Blood's, 7 at Edward Richardson's, 5 at Deacon George Minott's, and the remainder in the town-house.

All the stores brought to the town are not mentioned in the above account. Many articles were afterwards brought and many were prepared here. Firearms, gun-carriages, etc., were manufactured at Barrett's Mills; cartouch-boxes, holsters, belts, and other articles of sadlery by Mr. Reuben Brown; saltpetre by Josiah Melvin; oatmeal by Capt. Timothy Wheeler; wooden plates, spoons and various other articles used in the camp and the field, by other individuals. Large quantities of beef and pork were put up here for the public service. These military operations continued more than a year afterwards. A part of the building owned by Daniel Shattuck, Esq., was erected at this time for a public store-house.

On the 29th of March, 1775, a report was circulated that the British troops were coming to Concord, which produced considerable alarm. The Provincial Committee of Safety met here on the 1st, 5th, 14th and 17th of April. At the last date they directed Colonel Barrett to mount two cannon, and raise an artillery company, and to send four cannon to Groton, Mass. and two to Acton. They met at Mr. Wetherbee's in West Cambridge the next day, and gave orders for the removal of some of the stores from Concord.

These were ordered to be deposited in 9 different towns; 50 barrels of beef, 100 of flour, 20 casks of rice, 15 hogsheads of molasses, 10 hogsheads of rum and 500 pounds of candles were ordered to Sudbury; 15,000 canteens, 1,500 iron pots, the spades, pickaxes, bill-hooks, axes, hatchets, crows, wheelbarrows, and several other articles were to be divided, one-third to remain in Concord, one-third went to Sudbury and one-third to Stow; 1,000 iron pots to be sent to Worcester.

Meantime the minute companies were often out for military exercise. The excitement was so great that some carried their guns with them at all times, even while attending public worship on the Sabbath. The committee of correspondence met daily with other distinguished citizens in town. Though very indefinite ideas prevailed, respecting the objects of the enemy, yet all the people were daily discussing in groups - the great crisis, which seemed near at hand. What that crisis might be was yet doubtful.

A  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
TOWN OF CONCORD;  
MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS,  
FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO 1832;  
AND OF THE ADJOINING TOWNS,  
BEDFORD, ACTON, LINCOLN, AND CARLISLE;  
CONTAINING  
VARIOUS NOTICES OF COUNTY AND STATE HISTORY  
NOT BEFORE PUBLISHED.

---

BY LEMUEL SHATTUCK,  
MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Nobler records of patriotism exist nowhere. — Nowhere can there be found higher proofs of a spirit that was ready to hazard all, to pledge all, to sacrifice all, in the cause of their country, than in the New England towns.

WEBSTER.

The local historian is sure of obtaining the gratitude of posterity, if he perform his task with faithful diligence. — His work would have a great and increasing value within the narrow sphere of its subject, even if confined to that sphere; but must be very imperfectly executed, if it does not contain some matter of illustration for the national annals, for the history of manners, for literature, philology, natural history, and various other departments of knowledge.

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

BOSTON:  
RUSSELL, ODIORNE, AND COMPANY.  
CONCORD:  
JOHN STACY  
1835.

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care and learn the exercise of the cannon. Much military enthusiasm prevailed.

During the month of February the town used the greatest caution to have the articles of association observed. Several meetings were held; and such measures, as the state of the times required, adopted. Capt. Timothy Wheeler, Mr. Andrew Conant, Mr. Samuel Whiney, Capt. John Greene, Mr. Josiah Merriam, Mr. Ephraim Wood, jr., Mr. William Parkman, and Capt. Thomas Davis, were added to the committee of inspection, and directed to return the names of those who declined signing the articles of association. Such were to be treated with neglect and detestation.<sup>1</sup> Three only were returned.

On Monday, 13th of March, 1775, there was a review of all the military companies in the town. They went into the meeting house, accompanied by a large concourse of spectators, and the Rev. Mr. Emerson preached from 2 Chronicles, xiii. 12; "*Behold God himself is with us for our captain, and his priests with sounding trumpets, to cry alarm against you. O children of Israel, fight ye not against the Lord God of your fathers; for ye shall not prosper.*" These religious services were a powerful appeal to the feelings and understanding of his audience, and to Heaven for the justness of their cause. They were repeated before the companies in Acton the week after. The Thursday following was kept as a solemn fast, on account of the gloomy state of public affairs, when the Rev. Mr. Emerson again preached. His text was Micah, vii. 1—7.

The Provincial Congress, in February, ordered, that large quantities of provisions and military stores, sufficient to furnish 15,000 men, should be collected and deposited in Concord and Worcester, principally at the former place.<sup>2</sup> In the October preceding, Messrs. Hancock, Orne, Heath, White, Palmer, Watson, Devens, and Pigeon had been chosen by Congress a committee of safety; and Messrs. Cheever, Lincoln, Lee, Gerry, and Gill, a committee of

<sup>1</sup> This vote remained in force till May 14, 1778, when the town annulled it, "so far as respects any persons who reside among us, and no farther."

<sup>2</sup> William Lincoln, Esq., to whose kindness the author is indebted for many favors, says, that 20 barrels of pork were all the public stores deposited at Worcester.

supplies. These committees usually met together. November 2d, they voted to procure and deposit at Concord 200 barrels of pork, 400 barrels of flour, 50 tierces of rice, and 150 bushels of pease. February 13th, they requested Col. Robinson to send four brass field-pieces and two mortars to Concord, and voted to procure 15,000 canteens; February 21st, 100 bell-tents for arms, 1000 field-tents, 10 tons of lead balls, cartridges for 15,000 men, 30 rounds each; 300 bushels of pease and beans, 20 hogsheds of molasses, 150 quintals of fish, and two chests of carpenter's tools. February 23d, they ordered 20 hogsheds of rum to be sent here; and the next day 1000 pounds of candles, 100 hogsheds of salt, wooden spoons, two barrels of oil, six casks of Malaga wine, nine casks of Lisbon wine, 20 casks of raisins, 20 bushels of oatmeal, 1500 yards of Russia linen, and 15 chests of medicine.

Col. James Barrett, who had been appointed by Congress to have the care of all the military stores, was directed on the 15th of March by John Pigeon, "clerk of the committee of safety," to get a sufficient number of faithful men, "to act constantly as a guard every night over the magazines of stores"; and "to engage a number of teams to be in readiness on the shortest notice, by day or night, sufficient to carry off the stores, on a courier's informing him of attempts being ready to be made on the magazine; and on a courier's informing him of danger, he was to alarm the neighbouring towns." On the 17th, Mr. Cheever sent from Charlestown John Austin and several other men, to be constantly employed in carrying on the military preparations. He directed Col. Barrett to provide them all necessary provisions, and a house to work in retired from company, "as our operations depend upon secrecy." Guards were stationed at the old south and north bridges, on the Boston road, and in the middle of the town, for the safe keeping of the stores, and to alarm the surrounding country, should occasion require. Every teamster, suspected of carrying any article to the British, was carefully examined. Concord now became, as it had been a hundred years before, a distinguished military post.

British spies were often sent in disguise into the country, to learn its geography, the state of public feeling, the quantity and condition of the provincial stores, &c. Two of these, Capt.

[1775.]

Brown and Ensign D'Berniere, of the British army, went to Worcester in February; and on the 20th of March visited Concord. They went up through Weston and Sudbury, and entered the town over the south bridge. In a narrative of this expedition D'Berniere says, "The town of Concord lies between two hills that command it entirely. There is a river runs through it with two bridges over it. In summer it is pretty dry. The town is large, and contains a church, gaol, and court-house, but the houses are not close together, but in little groups. We were informed that they had fourteen pieces of cannon (ten iron and four brass), and two cohorts. They were mounted, but in so bad a manner that they could not elevate them more than they were, that is, they were fixed to one elevation; their iron cannon they kept in a house in town; their brass they had concealed in some place behind the town in a wood. They had also a store of flour, fish, salt, and rice; and a magazine of powder and cartridges. They fired their morning gun, and mounted a guard of ten men at night. We dined at the house of Mr. Bliss [Daniel Bliss, Esq.], a friend of government; they had sent him word they should not let him go out of town alive that morning; however, we told him if he would come with us, we would take care of him, as we were three, and all well armed. He consented, and told us he would show us another road, called the Lexington road. We set out, and of consequence left the town on the contrary side of the river to what we entered it." \* \* \* "In the town of Concord a woman directed us to the house of Mr. Bliss; a little after she came in crying, and told us, they swore if she did not leave the town, they would tar and feather her for directing Tories on their road."<sup>1</sup> The British officers remarked to Mr. Bliss, that the people would not fight. He urged a different opinion, and pointing to his brother, Thomas Theodore, just then passing in sight, said, "There goes a man who will fight you in blood up to his knees!" This brother was opposed to him in politics; and was subsequently a brave, though unfortunate officer in the American army.<sup>2</sup>

On the 22d of March the Provincial Congress met again in Concord. There was reason to expect, from intelligence received from Boston, that attempts would be made to take away the stores

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here collected; and to prevent, as far as possible, the militia arming in self-defence. "It was the great object of Congress at this meeting to support the committee of safety in the measures they had adopted for protection; and to urge the people to prepare for a firm and united resistance, should the crisis require it. They particularly recommended to the companies of minute-men to improve themselves in military discipline; and ordered several companies of artillery to be immediately organized. A system of rules and regulations for a constitutional army was adopted, should one be raised. And they earnestly solicited the selectmen of the several towns to provide for the speedy collection of all public taxes; and to raise money by loans of any individuals able and disposed to furnish it." \* \* \* "On the 8th of April it was voted to raise an army with all possible despatch, for the defence of the province against any attack which should be made by the British troops, which had a short time before been much increased."<sup>1</sup> When Congress adjourned, on the 15th of April, it agreed to meet again on the 10th of May; but gave authority to the committee of safety, and the members in this neighbourhood, to call an earlier meeting, if necessary.

Meantime the committees of correspondence, in conjunction with the citizens, were actively making the military preparations necessary for defence. From a manuscript "account of the provincial stores sent to Colonel Barrett of Concord, partly in his own custody, and partly elsewhere, all under his care," found among his papers, the following facts are obtained. These stores were principally brought here in March by the citizens of the town.

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<sup>1</sup> Bradford, vol. i. pp. 367—368.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. pp. 214, 215.      <sup>2</sup> Willard's Address, p. 66.

[1775.]

From Moses Gill of Boston, 11 loads, containing 150 tents, axes, pickaxes, hatchets, spades, wooden spoons and dishes, and canteens, stored at Captain Thomas Hubbard's, Ephraim Wheeler's, Willoughby Prescott's, and Ephraim Potter's. Also received from R. Pierpont 47 firkins and 2 barrels of butter, stored at Colonel James and Mr. Humphrey Barrett's; and 55 barrels of beef, stored at Thomas and Elisha Jones's, and 25 barrels at Daniel Cray's.

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other articles of saddlery, by Mr. Reuben Brown; saltpetre, by Josiah Melvin; oatmeal, by Captain Timothy Wheeler; wooden plates, spoons, and various other articles used in the camp and the field, by other individuals. Large quantities of beef and pork were put up here for the public service. These military operations continued more than a year afterwards. A part of the building owned by Daniel Shattuck, Esq. was erected at this time for a public store-house.

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Meantime the minute companies were often out for military exercise. The excitement was so great that some carried their guns with them at all times, even while attending public worship on the Sabbath. The committee of correspondence met daily with other distinguished citizens in town. Though very indefinite ideas prevailed, respecting the objects of the enemy, yet all the people were daily discussing in groups the great crisis, which seemed near at hand. What that crisis might be was yet doubtful.

## CHAPTER VII.

## BATTLE OF CONCORD.

"Some future historian will relate with pleasure, and the latest posterity will read with wonder and admiration, how three hundred intrepid rural sons of freedom drove before them more than five times their number of regular, well-appointed troops, and forced them to take shelter behind their own bulwarks." — *Article entitled "The Rural Heroes; or the Battle of Concord," Boston Newspaper for May, 1775.*

As length came the 19th of April, a day destined to live in the annals of Concord and of the world, as long as freemen exist. The preceding winter had been one of great mildness.<sup>1</sup> The spring vegetation was uncommonly forward. Fruit trees were in blossom, winter grain had grown several inches out of the ground, and other indications equally propitious were observed on that memorable day. And on the morning of the 19th the weather was as delightful, as if Providence intended thus to mark with peculiar favor the commencement of a series of glorious events, which happily resulted in the establishment of an independent republic. The exclamation of Adams on that morning, "O what an ever glorious morning is this!" was doubtless true, whether applied to the weather or the occasion.

At this time there were stationed in Boston ten large regiments of British troops, of seven companies each, the 4th or King's own regiment, 5th, 10th, 23d, or Royal Welch Fusiliers, 38th, 43d, 47th, 57th, and 59th, and a battalion of marines of six companies. A detachment of 800 of these troops, consisting of grenadiers, light infantry, and marines, had been taken off duty on Saturday the 15th, under pretence of learning a new exercise; and about

<sup>1</sup> In a journal kept by the Rev. Thomas Smith at Falmouth, Maine, where the weather is colder than here, are the following entries: "January 23, 1775, very moderate weather; 27th, a summer day; 28th, wonderful weather. February 7th, there has been no snow and but little rain since the 24th of December; wonderful weather, we saw two robins; 11th, warm day; 18th, cold; 20th snow, incomparable sledding; 21st, a summer day; 23d, a great snow-storm. March 7th, the frost seems out of the ground in the streets; 15th, we have wonderful moderate weather; 28th, it has been a wonder of a winter; so moderate and unfreezing."

10 o'clock on Tuesday evening, the 18th, embarked from Boston, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Smith, of the 10th regiment, and Major John Pitcairn, commander of the marines; and landed at Lechmere Point. After having received a day's provisions and thirty-six rounds of cartridges; they began their march about 12 o'clock, in silence and under cover of night, towards Concord. The object of this expedition was to destroy the military stores deposited here, and to apprehend Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Barrett, and other distinguished patriots, who had become obnoxious to the British government. To facilitate the accomplishment of their object officers were despatched during the day and evening of the 18th, to intercept any messengers who might be sent by the friends of liberty, and thus to prevent the discovery of their approach. Happily for the provincials it could not be concealed. The first movement of the British troops in Boston was known; and no sooner known, than messengers were immediately despatched towards their intended destination. Paul Revere left Charlestown about 11 o'clock, passed through Medford, awoke the captain of the minute company there, and alarmed almost every family on his way to Lexington. Nearly at the same time William Dawes set out for the same destination and passed through Roxbury. Having arrived at the Rev. Mr. Clark's in Lexington, Revere found Hancock and Adams, who had tarried there on their way from Concord, after the adjournment of the Provincial Congress, to whom he related what he knew of the intended expedition. They also received similar intelligence from the committee of safety then in session at West Cambridge. After he had stayed there a short time, Dawes arrived, and both proceeded together towards Concord. They had not travelled far before they were overtaken by Dr. Samuel Prescott of Concord, who had spent the evening at Lexington, at the house of Mr. Mulliken, to whose daughter he was paying his addresses; and having been alarmed, was hastening his return home. All rode on together, spreading the alarm at every house. When they arrived near Mr. Hartwell's tavern in the lower bounds of Lincoln, they were attacked by four British officers, who belonged to the scouting party sent out the preceding evening, and Revere and Dawes were taken. Prescott was also attacked, and had the reins of his bridle cut; but fortunately succeeded in making his escape by jumping his horse

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over the wall; and, taking a circuitous route through Lincoln, he proceeded with all possible expedition to Concord. Elijah Saunderson, Solomon Brown, and Jonathan Loring of Lexington, who had been sent out to watch the movement of the British officers, and several others passing on the road, were taken prisoners a short time before 10 o'clock by another party. After detaining them till 2 o'clock, and asking many questions about the magazines at Concord, whether any guards were posted there, and whether the bridges were up, they conducted them back to Lexington, where they were released. Hancock and Adams, having remained at the Rev. Mr. Clark's, around whose house a guard had been placed, after consultation now proceeded towards Woburn.

Between 12 and 1 o'clock the same night, information was brought from the Hon. Joseph Warren, that the king's troops were marching to Lexington, and soon after the militia were alarmed and ordered to assemble. An express was sent to Cambridge, and returned between three and four o'clock, without obtaining any intelligence of the movements of the enemy, upon which the militia were dismissed for a short time. The commanding officer, however, thought best soon to call them together again, "not," says the Rev. Mr. Clark, "with the design of opposing so superior a force, much less commencing hostilities; but only with a view to determine what to do, when and where to meet, and to dismiss and disperse."

"Accordingly, about half an hour after four o'clock, alarm guns were fired, and the drums beat to arms; and the militia were collecting together.—Some, to the number of fifty or sixty, or possibly more, were on the parade, others were coming towards it.—In the mean time the troops, having thus stolen a march upon us, and to prevent any intelligence of their approach, having seized and held prisoners several persons, whom they met unarmed upon the road, seemed to come determined for murder and bloodshed; and that whether provoked to it or not! When within about half a quarter of a mile of the meeting-house, they halted, and command was given to prime and load; which being done, they marched on till they came up to the east end of said meeting-house, in sight of our militia (collecting as aforesaid) who were about twelve or thirteen rods distant. Immediately on their appearing so suddenly, and so nigh, Captain Parker, who com-

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manded the militia company, ordered the men to disperse and take care of themselves and not to fire. Upon this our men dispersed; but many of them not so speedily, as they might have done, not having the most distant idea of such brutal barbarity and more than savage cruelty, from the troops of a British king, as they immediately experienced. For no sooner did they come in sight of our company, but one of them, supposed to be an officer of rank, was heard to say to the troops, 'Damn them; we will have them!' Upon which the troops shouted aloud, huzza'd, and rushed furiously towards our men. About the same time, three officers (supposed to be Colonel Smith, Major Pitcairn, and another officer) advanced on horseback to the front of the body, and coming within five or six rods of the militia, one of them cried out, 'Ye villains, ye rebels, disperse; damn you, disperse!' or words to this effect. One of them said, 'Lay down your arms; damn you, why don't you lay down your arms!' The second of these officers, about this time fired a pistol towards the militia as they were dispersing. The foremost, who was within a few yards of our men, brandishing his sword, and then pointing towards them, with a loud voice, said to the troops, 'Fire! by God, fire!' which was instantly followed by a discharge of arms from the said troops, succeeded by a very heavy and close fire upon our party dispersing, so long as any of them were within reach. Eight were left dead upon the ground; ten were wounded."<sup>1</sup>

The British troops then passed on without molestation to Concord, six miles further. In the mean time Prescott had arrived there; and the guard, the committee of safety, the military officers, and principal citizens, had been alarmed. The church bell rung a little before three o'clock. Major John Buttrick requested Mr. Reuben Brown to proceed towards Lexington, obtain what information he could, and return. Another messenger was sent to Watertown on the same errand. Mr. Brown arrived at Lexington just before the British troops fired on the devoted Lexington militia, and immediately returned to Concord, without waiting to ascertain what effect their firing had produced. On his arrival Major Buttrick inquired if they fired bullets. "I do not know, but think

<sup>1</sup> "Plain and faithful Narrative of Facts," by the Rev. Jonas Clark, minister of Lexington, published as an appendix to his Sermon, preached at the anniversary of these events in 1776.—See APPENDIX.

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die here!" Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln was then on the hill. "Let us go and meet them," said one to him. "No," he answered, "it will not do for us to begin the war." They did not then know what had happened at Lexington. Their number was, however, very small in comparison with the enemy, and it was concluded best to retire a short distance, and wait for reinforcements. They consequently marched to the northern declivity of the burying-ground hill, near the present site of the court-house. They did not, however, leave their station till the British light infantry had arrived within a few rods' distance.

Major Buttrick went to one of the companies then under command of Lieutenant Joseph Hosmer, the other officers not then being at their posts, and requested him to act as adjutant. He remonstrated by telling him "his company would be left alone if he did." "It must be so then," said Buttrick; "you must go." He accordingly left his company, and officiated as adjutant the remaining part of the morning. About the same time Colonel James Barrett, who was commander of the regiment of militia, and who had been almost incessantly engaged in securing the stores, rode up. Individuals were frequently arriving, bringing different reports. Some exaggerated the number of British troops; some said that they had, and others that they had not killed some Lexington militia men. It was difficult to obtain correct information. Under these circumstances he ordered the men there paraded, being about one hundred and fifty, to march over the north bridge, near the present residence of Colonel Jonas Buttrick, and there wait for reinforcements. "This shows," says Murray, "that they did not intend to begin hostilities at this time, otherwise they would have disputed the ground with the light infantry."

In the mean time the British troops entered the town. The six companies of light infantry were ordered to enter on the hill, and disperse the minute men whom they had seen paraded there. The grenadiers came up the main road, and halted on the common. Unfortunately for the people's cause, the British officers had already been made somewhat acquainted, through their spies, and the Tories, with the topography of the town, and the situation of many of the military stores. On their arrival they examined as well as they could, by the help of spyglasses from a post of observation on the burying-ground hill, the appearance of the

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town, condition of the provincials, &c. It was found that the provincials were assembling, and that no time was to be lost. The first object of the British was to gain possession of the north and south bridges to prevent any militia from entering over them. Accordingly, while Colonel Smith remained in the centre of the town, he detached six companies of light infantry, under command of Capt. Lawrence Parsons of his own regiment, to take possession of the north bridge, and proceed thence to places where stores were deposited. Ensign D'Berniere, already mentioned, was ordered to direct his way. It is also intimated that Tories were active in guiding the regulars. Captain Beeman of Petersham was one. On their arrival there, three companies under command of Captain Lawrie of the 43d regiment were left to protect the bridge; one of those, commanded by Lieutenant Edward Thornton Gould, paraded at the bridge, the other, of the 4th and 10th regiments, fell back in the rear towards the hill. Captain Parsons with three companies proceeded to Colonel Barrett's to destroy the stores there deposited. At the same time Captain Munday Pole of the 10th regiment was ordered to take possession of the south bridge, and destroy such public property as he could find in that direction. The grenadiers and marines, under Smith and Picaire, remained in the centre of the town, where all means in their power were used to accomplish the destruction of military stores.

By the great exertions of the provincials the principal part of the public stores had been secreted, and many others were protected by the innocent artifice of individuals. In the centre of the town the grenadiers broke open about sixty barrels of flour, nearly one half of which was afterwards saved; knocked off the trunnions of three iron twenty-four pound cannon, and burnt sixteen new carriage-wheels, and a few barrels of wooden trenchers and spoons. The liberty-pole on the hill was cut down, and suffered the same fate. About five hundred pounds of balls were thrown into the mill-pond and into wells. "The shrewd and successful address of Captain Timothy Wheeler on this occasion deserves notice. He had the charge of a large quantity of provincial flour, which, together with some casks of his own, was stored in his barn. A British officer demanding entrance, he readily took his key and gave him admission. The officer expressed his pleasure at the discovery; but Captain Wheeler with much affected simplicity,

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tion. At Mr. Amos Wood's they paid a guinea apiece to each of the female attendants to compensate them for their trouble. They searched the house; and an officer observing one room fastened, significantly inquired of Mrs. Wood, "whether there were not some females locked up there?" By her evasive answer he was led to believe it was so, and immediately said, "I forbid any one entering this room!" — and a room filled with military stores was thus fortunately preserved. This party remained here till they heard the firing at the north bridge, when they recrossed the river, took up the planks of the bridge to render it impassable, and hastened to join the main body in the middle of the town.

After Colonel Barrett had ordered the militia to march over the bridge, he rode home to give some directions respecting the stores at his house. He set out on his return to the militia companies just before the party of British troops arrived. They said to Mrs. Barrett, "Our orders are to search your house and your brother's from top to bottom." Leave was granted. The soldiers here, as at other places in town, requested and were provided with refreshments. One of the sergeants asked for spirit, but it was refused; and the commanding officer forbid it, as it might render him unfit for duty, saying, "We shall have bloody work to day, — we have killed men at Lexington." The officers offered to pay Mrs. Barrett, but she refused, saying, "We are commanded to feed our enemies." They then threw some money into her lap. Hestating some time, she accepted it with the remark, — "This is the price of blood." They assured her of good treatment, but said they must execute their orders. Mrs. Barrett had concealed some musket-balls, cartridges, flints, &c., in casks in the garret, and had put over them a quantity of feathers, which prevented discovery. They however took fifty dollars in money from one of the rooms. On seeing Stephen, a son of Colonel Barrett, the officer demanded his name. Being answered "Barrett," they called him a rebel, and taking hold of him said, "You must go to Boston with us, and be sent to England for your trial." Upon Mrs. Barrett saying, "He is my son, and not the master of the house," they released him. They collected some gun-carriages in order to burn them; but before they executed their intention the firing at the bridge was heard, and they immediately retreated.

While the British were thus engaged, our citizens and part of

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said to him, putting his hand on a barrel; 'This is my flour. I am a miller, Sir. Yonder stands my mill. I get my living by it. In the winter I grind a great deal of grain, and get it ready for market in the spring. This, pointing to one barrel, 'is the flour of wheat; this, pointing to another, 'is the flour of corn; this is the flour of rye; this, putting his hand on his own casks, 'is my flour; this is my wheat; this is my rye; this is mine.' 'Well,' said the officer, 'we do not injure private property'; and withdrew leaving this important depository untouched.<sup>1</sup>

Captain Ephraim Jones kept the tavern now owned by Hartwell Bigelow, and had the care of the jail near by. Henry Gardner, Esq., the province treasurer, had boarded with him during the session of the Congress, and had left in his custody a chest containing some money and other important articles. Captain Jones was taken by the British, and placed under a guard of five men with their bayonets fixed and pointing towards him. After being thus detained a short time he was released to furnish refreshment at his bar. In the mean time they entered his house in search of public stores, and went to the chamber where Mr. Gardner's chest was deposited. Being about to enter, Hannah Barns, who lived in the family, remonstrated, telling them it was her apartment, and contained her property. After considerable parleying, they left her and the chamber unmolested.

The court-house was set on fire, but was extinguished by Mrs. Martha Moulton, a near resident, assisted by a servant of Dr. Minott. They remonstrated, saying to the British, "The top of the house is filled with powder, and if you do not put the fire out, you will all be killed." On this they lent their aid. They seized and abused several unarmed inhabitants who remained in the village.

The party at the south bridge entered several adjacent houses, where at their request milk, potatoes, meat, and other refreshments, as a breakfast, were provided. They entered the house of Ephraim Wood, Esq. and endeavoured to take him prisoner. He was town clerk and a distinguished patriot. Being actively engaged in directing the important events of the day, and assisting in removing the stores, he was not at home and escaped detec-

<sup>1</sup> Holmes's Annals, vol. ii. p. 326.

### 8.1.9 The Right of the People to Establish Forms of Government

#### The Right Of The People To Establish Forms Of Government.

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Mr. Hallett's Argument in the Rhode Island Causes, before the  
Supreme Court of the United States,  
January, 1848

Cites **Shattuck's History of Concord**, in Massachusetts [1835].

Page 127, chap. 8— "On the first of October, 1776, the town was called upon to act on the question, 'whether it would give its consent that the House of Representatives with the Council should enact a constitution or form of government for this State.' The subject was referred to a committee, consisting of Ephraim Wood, Jr., Nathan Bond, **Col. James Barrett**, Col. John Buttrick, and **James Barrett, Esq.**, who reported the following resolves which were unanimously accepted by the town.

"Resolved, 1. That this State being at present destitute of a properly established form of government, it is absolutely necessary that one should be immediately formed and established.

"2. That the supreme Legislature, in their proper capacity, are by no means a body proper to form and establish a constitution or form of government, for reasons following, viz: 1. Because we conceive that a constitution, in its proper sense, intends a system of principles established to secure the subjects in the possession and enjoyment of their rights and privileges against any encroachment of the governing party. 2. Because the same body that forms a constitution have of consequence a power to alter it. 3. Because a constitution alterable by the supreme Legislature is no security at all to the subject against the encroachments of the governing party on any or all their rights and privileges.

"3. That it appears to this town highly expedient, that a Convention or Congress be immediately chosen to form and establish a constitution, by the inhabitants of the respective towns in the State, being free and twenty-one years of age and upwards, in proportion as the representatives of the State were formerly chosen: the Convention or Congress not to consist of a greater number than the House of Assembly in this State heretofore might consist of, except that each town and district shall have liberty to send one representative or otherwise, as shall appear meet to the inhabitants of this State in general.

"4. That when the Convention or Congress have formed a constitution, they adjourn for a short time, and publish their proposed constitution, for the inspection and remarks of the people of the State.

"5. That the House of Assembly of this State be desired to *recommend* to the inhabitants to proceed to choose a Convention or Congress for the purpose above mentioned, as soon as possible."

Notwithstanding these wholesome instructions, a constitution was made by the General Court and sent to this town; but it refused, June 15, 1778, unanimously, to accept it, for reasons above mentioned.

All the towns in Massachusetts followed the example of **Concord**, and rejected the constitution which the Legislature had presumed to form without asking the people. Subsequently Delegates were chosen to a Convention which made and submitted a constitution that was adopted by the people.

**8.1.10 Will of Col. James Barrett, 1779****Col. James Barrett Will 1779**

In the Name of GOD amen The Fourth Day of July One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Eight I James Barrett of Concord in the County of Middlesex and State of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Esq<sup>r</sup> Being weak and Indisposed in Body But of Perfect Mind and Memory Thanks be Given to God: Therefore calling unto Mind the Mortality of My Body and Knowing that it appointed for all men once to Dye do Make and ordain This my Last will and Testament That is to Say Principlly and first of all I Give and Recomend My Soul Into the Hands of GOD that Gave it and My Body I Recomend to the Earth; to Be Buried in Decent Christian Burial at the Discretion of my Executors No thing Doubting But at the Generall Resurcetion I shall receive the Same again by the mighty Power of GOD : -- And as Touching such worldly Estate as it hath Pleas'd GOD : to Bless me within this Life I Give, devise and Dispose of the Same in the following manner and Form - - - - -

Imprimis

I Give to My well Beloved wife Rebecca Barrett the use and Improve ment of the Lower room and Chamber with Part of the Seller under the Same in the westerly End of my Present Dwelling House So Long as She Remains my widow also all My House Hold furniture within Doors Except one Silver Spoon to Each of My Sons and a Silver Tankard to James Barrett My Eldest Son at My wives Decease also I Give to My Said wife the Sum of Six Pounds to be Paid her yearly and Every year During Her Natural Life to be Paid her by my son Peter Barrett and I Give to My Said wife Eighteen Bushels of Grain half of Indian Corn and half of Rye and one Cow to Be well supplied winter and Summer with a Sufficiency of Fire wood for one Fire Cutt and Brought to her Door Doctors and Nurses to be Provided for her as She may need and all other Nesasery in Time of Sicknes and a good horse Provided for her So offten as She Shall have ocation and one hundred and Twenty weight of Good Pork and one Hundred weight of Beef and two Barrels of Good Cyder and a Conveinent Quantity of Sause are to Be Proovided for her by My son Peter Barrett yearly and Every year So Long as She Remains My widow; Allso I Give to My Said wife My Silver and Gold Coin to be at her own Disposal --

and My will is that My wearing apparil Be Equally divided among My Sons - - - - -

and My will Further is that all My House Hold Furniture at My wives Decease be Equally Divided among My Daughters. - - - - -

Item

I Give and Bequeath to James Barrett My Eldest Son the Sum of one Hundred and Thirty-three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence to be Paid him within one year after My Decease by My son Peter Barrett - - - - -

Item

I Give and Bequeath to Nathan Barrett My Second Son the Sum of one Hundred and Thirty Three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence which I order My Son Stephen Barrett to Pay him within one year after My Decease - - - - -

Item

I Give and Bequeath to My Son Stephen Barrett and to his Heirs and assigns Forever the one half for Quantity and Quality of all My Lands lying in The Town of Holden in the County of Worster upon Condition he pay the aforesaid Sum of one Hundred and Thirty-three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence to his Brother Nathan Barrett - - - - -

Item

I Give and Bequeath to Lydia Melvin My Eldest Daughter the Sum of Sixty Six Pounds Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence to be Paid her by My Son Peter Barrett within Two years after My Decease - - - - -

Item

I Give and Bequeath to The Children of My Daughter [Rebecca] Minott the Sum of Sixty Six Pounds Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence to be Paid them or their Legal Repesantetive By My Son Peter Barrett within Two years after My Decease - - - - -

Item

I Give and Bequeath to Persis Potter My Third Daughter the Sum of Sixty Six Pounds Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence To Be Paid her by My Son Peter Barrett within Two years after My Decease

Item

I Give and Bequeath to Lucy Barrett My youngest Daughter the Sum of Sixty Six Pounds Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence to be Paid her within Two years after My Decease by My Son Peter Barrett

Item

I Give and Bequeath to Peter Barrett My youngest Son and to his Heirs and assigns For Ever all My Buildings and Lands Not by Me Disposed of in this My Last will and Testament to My Son Stephen Barrett to Come in to the Possession of at My Decease Excepting that Part of Building which I have Given My wife the improvement of and to come into Their Poesession of that at My wives Decease or Marriage - - - - - also I Give to My Said son Peter Barrett all My [Mansion] stock with all My My Husbandry Tools and The Time of My Negro boy Philip until he arrives at the age of Thirty Years all upon Condition that he Pays the above Legacy to My Son James Barrett and My Daughter Lydia Melvin: the Children of My Daughter [Rebecca] Minott, and to My Daughter Persis Potter and My Daughter Lucy Barrett and Finds and Provides for his Mother all and Every article above Mentioned yearly and Every year So Long as above ordered.

Also I Give and Bequeath to My Two Sons James Barrett and Peter Barrett My Pue in Concord Meeting House Reserving Liberty for My wife and My Daughter Lucy to Injoy Each of them a Seat in the Same untill their Decease or Marriage and My will further is that M y Fatt Cattle Notes of hand be Turned into Money and that with My Cash on hand (excepting the Silver and Gold Given to My

wife) be Taken into My Executors hands and after Paying My Just Debts  
 Funeral Charges and Settling accompts the Remainder if any There be  
 Be Equally Divided among all My Children - - - - -  
 And I do Nominate appoint and ordain My Two Sons James Barrett and  
 Peter Barrett the sole Executors of this My Last will and Testament  
 and I do hereby utterly disavow revoak and Disannull all and Every other  
 former Testaments wills Legacies and Bequests and Executors by Me in  
 any ways Before Named willed and Bequested Ratifying and Confirming  
 This and no other to be My Last Will and Testament In  
 witness where of I have here unto Sett My hand and  
 Seal The day and year first above written.  
 Signed Sealed and Delivered  
 Pronounced and  
 by the Said James Barrett  
 as his Last will and  
 Testament in the  
 in the

James Barrett

Samuel Barrett  
 Amos Barrett  
 Stephen Hosmer

[Witnesses]  
 Samuel Barrett  
 Amos Barrett  
 Stephen Hosmer