CHAPTER V.

The District of Rumford.—King George's War and its Indian Hostilities.

1742–1749.

New Hampshire was not slow in extending jurisdiction over her newly assigned territory. One step in that direction was the passage of an act bearing date March 18, 1742, entitled "An act for subjecting all persons and estates within this province, lying to the eastward and northward of the northern and eastern boundary of the province of the Massachusetts Bay (not being within any township) to pay a tax (according to the rules herein prescribed) towards the support of this government." This act provided that "all polls and estates ratable by the laws of the province," and situate as set forth in the title, should "be divided into certain Districts." One of these comprised "that part of Almsbury and Salisbury which by the settlement of the boundaries" fell within New Hampshire; and another, that part of Methuen and Dracut in like situation; while Litchfield, Nottingham-West [Hudson], Rumford, and a part of Dunstable, constituted four others.[1]

Under this law, with its additional enactments, Rumford, as one of the districts, was subjected to the payment of an annual province tax, and was also authorized to exercise usual town functions such as holding meetings of legal voters, choosing requisite officers, and raising money to defray ministerial, school, and other municipal charges. The last annual meeting of Rumford as a town proper—though afterwards it was oftener styled town than otherwise—was held on the 31st of March, 1742, nearly a fortnight after the district act was passed, but almost a month before it fully went into effect. At this town-meeting, Ebenezer Eastman was chosen moderator, and Benjamin Rolfe town clerk, as they had uniformly been, at annual meetings, with a single exception in the case of the former, since the organization of Rumford as a town. Benjamin Rolfe, Ebenezer Eastman, and Jeremiah Stickney were elected selectmen, and George Abbott was chosen constable. Choice was also made of the other usual town officers. Among the items of business transacted was a vote constituting "Edward Abbott, Deacon John Merrill, and Nathaniel Abbott a committee to take care and build a school-house for" the

[1] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 183.

"town, as they" should "in their best judgment think best—the said house to be built between the Widow Barker's barn and the brook by the clay pits." This vote was followed by another, to raise three hundred pounds "for defraying the ministerial charge, and for a school, and for building a schoolhouse, and for other charges of the town."[1] The location of Rumford's first schoolhouse, the erection of which was thus provided for, is now uncertain; but doubtless it was on the main thoroughfare, not far to the southward of the locality long known as "Smoky Hollow," through which ran the brook referred to in the foregoing vote.

On the 27th of April, 1742, was held a meeting of the inhabitants of Rumford, notified by the committee appointed in the district act to call the first meetings in the several districts. The members of this committee of three,—namely, Richard Jenness of Rye, George Walton of Newington, and Ebenezer Stevens of Kingston,—were present, and opened the meeting.[2] The legal voters then chose, for moderator, clerk, selectmen, and collector,—these being the officers required by the new act,—the persons whom they had chosen in March as moderator, town clerk, selectmen, and constable. These being qualified by the committee, the organization of Rumford as a district was complete. In primary intention, this organization was a temporary expedient to secure a tax to the provincial treasury, and was to last only till the district should be incorporated into a town by a proper New Hampshire charter.[3] Under it the selectmen were to assess the province tax at a proportional rate fixed by the general assembly, from a sworn inventory of polls and estates taken by the clerk; and they were "to issue their warrant directed to the collector for collecting or levying the same."[4]

The committee of organization found, in Rumford and the other districts, a cheerful acquiescence in the new order of things, and reported to the assembly that "the people" of the "towns" visited "were well satisfied and contented to be under the government of New-Hampshire, and were under no dissatisfaction upon any account."[5] For the six years during which the district act remained in force, by renewals, the people of Rumford met the obligations which it imposed, and submitted to the taxation of the general court "even without being privileged with a representative in said court."[6] In 1744 they sought such representation, and in legal meeting, held on the 11th of December, empowered Benjamin Rolfe, in their name and behalf, to petition the governor of the general court

[1] Town Records, 64-66.
[2] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 186.
[3] Town Records, 69.
[4] Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 97.
[5] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 185.
[6] Benjamin Rolfe's Memorials, June 27, 1744 and 1749; annals of Concord, 34-5-6.

to be allowed "to make a choice of some suitable person to serve for and represent them in every session of the assembly."[1] The request was favorably received by Governor Wentworth, who, with the advice of the council, directed, through the sheriff of the province,[2] "His Majesty's writ" to the selectmen of the "district of Rumford" requiring them, "in His Majesty's name to notify . . . the freeholders of said Rumford, qualified by law to elect representatives, to meet at the meeting-house . . . on Monday, the 21st of January current at three of the clock in the afternoon, and then and there to make a choice of some suitable person to represent said district in general assembly to be convened and holden at Portsmouth on the 24th day of January," 1745. At the meeting held in compliance with this precept, Benjamin Rolfe was chosen representative.[3] Thus chosen, Colonel Rolfe—only recently in military commission—duly appeared in the assembly, and took the customary oaths; as likewise did four other gentlemen, elected from places hitherto unrepresented. But the members from places heretofore represented did not permit the five to vote in the choice of speaker; thus refusing them seats in the house. They did this to resist what they deemed "an encroachment on their privilege;"[4] for they plainly declared to the governor their conviction, "that no town or parish, not before privileged, ought to have a writ sent it for choosing a representative, without a vote of the house, or an act of the general assembly."[5] On the contrary, the governor pronounced the action of the house in the matter of the rejected members whom he had called to the assembly "by the King's writ, issued by the advice of the council," to be "an invasion of the prerogative of the crown,"[6] and during an interchange of warm messages continued till the fifth day of the session, he withheld the requisite approval of the choice of speaker. Then, that the transaction of public affairs might not be hindered in a pressing time of war,—for King George's War was already on,—the governor thought it best not to pursue his contention with the assembly, but to approve of its choice of speaker, and thus suffer his new members to be excluded till the king's pleasure could be known.[7] So Rumford was not represented in the general assembly, which was dissolved in May; and no attempt was made to secure representation in the one elected to succeed it, which convened in June, 1745. Though amid the urgent exactions of war-legislation, the contest as to prerogatives and privileges had truce, yet the governor had not failed to

[1] Town Records, 75.
[2] Thomas Packer, of Portsmouth, who was high sheriff from 1739-1771; Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 683 (note).
[3] Town Records, 77.
[4] Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 378.
[5] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 263.
[6] *Ibid.*, 264.
[7] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 264; Belknap, 301.

report to the king's ministry concerning his calling of the new members and their exclusion from the assembly; and "the ministry, without any exception or hesitation, had pronounced his conduct conformable to his duty."[1] In consequence he received, in 1748, an "additional instruction," directing him, when another assembly should be called, to issue the king's writ to the sheriff, commanding him to make out precepts for a new election to the towns and districts whose representatives had been before excluded; and, furthermore, "to support the rights" of the new representatives when chosen.[2] In accordance with this "instruction," the freeholders of Rumford were allowed to choose, on the second day of January, 1749, Captain John Chandler to represent them in the general assembly to be convened at Portsmouth the next day.[3] This assembly was, by a strong majority, opposed to Governor Wentworth, and numbered among its members some bitter enemies who desired and sought his removal from office. One of these, Richard Waldron, was elected speaker; such representatives from the new places as were present being debarred from voting. Thereupon the governor, in obedience to his new "instruction," supported "the rights" of the excluded members by negativing the choice of speaker, and directing the house to proceed to another election, with no discrimination against the right of members from new places to participate therein.[4] But this the house would not do; nor would his excellency yield. On the 12th of January the representative of Rumford appeared, but it was voted that he should "not be admitted to the privilege of a seat in the house until" he should "make it appear that the place for which he was chosen had a right by law, usage, or custom of the province, before the issuing of the king's writ, to send a representative to sit in the general court."[5] And so Rumford was a second time debarred from representation. The present quarrel, too, between the governor and the assembly was more intense than that of three years before, and, in the suspension of the French and Indian War, had a longer run; for during the three years of the assembly's existence under the triennial act of 1727, it remained unorganized, and consequently incapable of transacting business, and was kept alive only by adjournments and prorogations.

The thread of narration now recurs to the beginning of the period under review, and to that war to which allusion has been made, and to facts connected therewith. The population of the Indian village of St. Francis, in Canada, thirty miles north of the sources of the Connecticut, was largely made up of shreds of New England tribes,

[1] Belknap, 304.
[2] Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 82; Belknap, 301.
[3] Town Records, 102-3.
[4] Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 71.
[5] *Ibid*, 77.

including Penacooks. Thence, hunting parties were wont to come down into the valleys of the Connecticut, the Merrimack, and the Piscataqua. Among those who roamed along the Merrimack and its confluent waters would naturally be Penacooks, visiting the haunts of their fathers. These visitations in time of peace between France and England did not necessarily involve mischievous intent toward white occupants of the soil, though quite likely to do so if the visitants were of the Kancamagus stripe. At any rate, the presence of Indians sometimes occasioned alarm to the white inhabitants, as it did to those of Rumford in 1739, when, as will be recollected, provision was made for a garrison around the minister's house, and a "flanker" for the mills on Turkey river.

Sometimes the red hunters—either those who came from Canada or who still tarried about the frontiers—engaged in traffic with the white settlers. On the 10th of October, 1743, one Coaus, for himself and other Indians, appeared before the governor and council at Portsmouth, and desired "a truck-house to be placed near the river Pemigewasset where they might have such supplies as were necessary, [in return] for their furs, [and] that they might not be imposed upon, as they often were, when they came into the lower towns."[1] The matter was subsequently laid before the assembly, and on the 22d of December, an order was made to send to Canterbury certain articles suggested by Coaus,[1] such as rum, blankets, cloth for stockings, linen for shirts, powder, shot, bullets, flints, knives, pipes, and tobacco, which were to be exchanged with the Indians for furs. James Scales, the former schoolmaster of Rumford, was designated as the agent to effect the sales, and make return of the same to the general assembly.[2] The project of establishing a truck-house near the junction of the Pemigewasset and Winnepesaukee rivers was before the assembly till late in February of the next year, and though urged by the Indians, in another petition, and pressed by the governor, it was, finally, "at this critical time," made "to lie under consideration."[3] This action proved the indefinite postponement of the measure, for within a month came the declaration of a war, the exigencies of which soon made more appropriate the granting of bounties on Indian scalps than the building of Indian truck-houses.

In 1739 the peace of Europe, which had existed for twenty-six years after the treaty of Utrecht, was broken by the war between England and Spain, engendered by commercial rivalry. In 1741 this war was merged in the War of the Austrian Succession. Charles the Sixth, Emperor of Germany, who died in 1740, without male issue,

[1] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 95.
[2] "Canterbury," in History of Belknap and Merrimack Counties, 222.
[3] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 222-225.

had made a settlement of the succession in the imperial family, by an instrument called the "Pragmatic Sanction," to which England, France, and other great European powers had promised support. By this sanction Charles was to be succeeded in his hereditary possessions, including Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, wife of Francis of Lorraine. Charles Albert, Duke of Bavaria, asserting counter claims, resisted by arms the daughter's accession, and Frederick the Second, or the Great, of Prussia, pounced upon Silesia, an important portion of the Austrian domain. Bourbon France, desirous of dismembering the Hapsburg succession, broke her pledge to sustain the Pragmatic Sanction, and sided against Maria Theresa; England and France were thus auxiliaries fighting on opposite sides, but without declaration of war between themselves. The great struggle was not yet ended, when France, on the 15th of March, 1744, declared war against England. This four years' war within a war is conveniently distinguished as "King George's War"; for George the Second, both in the interest of his English kingdom and that of his German electorate of Hanover, actively and personally participated in the war of the Austrian Succession, even to appearing as a combatant upon its battle-fields. The war was, in its transatlantic relation, a preliminary trial of strength in the mighty struggle between France and England for supremacy in America; for the northern frontier of New England it meant war with the Indian allies of France.

In common with the inhabitants of other frontier settlements, those of Rumford received, late in May, definite intelligence of war declared. The unwelcome tidings, while alarming the people, did not surprise them, for orders had been coming from England to Governor Wentworth, to have the province "in posture of defence,"[1] but legislation had slowly responded. Fortifying had been done at some points: certainly at Canterbury, an extreme outpost, and possibly somewhat at Rumford.[2] But when, on the 23d of May, the members of the assembly, summoned by the governor's circular, convened in extraordinary session, his excellency had this to say to them: "The naked condition of our infant and inland frontiers requires your compassionate regard. Consider with great tenderness the distress the inhabitants on the frontiers are in at this juncture, and make their unhappy condition your own."[3] The assembly forthwith advised the raising of "two hundred men for one month, to be employed in covering the frontiers," and also authorized the offering of bounties for Indian scalps. There was no delay in raising the two hundred men

[1] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 709.
[2] Benjamin Rolfe's Memorial, cited hereafter; see Annals of Concord, 84.
[3] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 709-10.

and disposing them "for the benefit of the exposed frontiers";[1] but the share of benefit which fell to Rumford the imperfect military records do not disclose.

The anxiety of the people of the district was manifested nearly a month later in a paper bearing date June 14, 1744, which was drawn up by their minister, and signed by him and sixty-three other inhabitants of more or less prominence, comprising, in fact, nearly all the heads of families in Rumford.[2] This paper, expressing the apprehension of the subscribers that they were "greatly exposed to imminent danger from the French and Indian enemy," and declaring their "inability to make a proper stand in case of an attack," contained the appointment of Colonel Benjamin Rolfe as their delegate, "to represent" their "deplorable state" to the governor and general assembly at Portsmouth, and "request of them aid, in men and military stores."

Colonel Rolfe's memorial and petition bearing date of June 27, 1744, and presented to the provincial anthorities under the above mentioned commission from his fellow-townsmen, made a strong presentment of Rumford's claim to aid and protection from New Hampshire, under whose care the town had been involuntarily cast through the "long and importunate" effort of that province, and which, as a district, had cheerfully met all the demands of its changed jurisdiction. The cogent paper set forth "that many thousand pounds" had "been spent" by the settlers of Rumford "in clearing and cultivating the lands there, and many more in erecting mansion-houses and out-houses, barns and fences, besides a large additional sum in fortifications, lately made by his excellency the governor's order; that the buildings" were "compact, and properly formed for defence, and well situated for a barrier, being on the Merrimack river, about fifteen miles below the confluence of Winnipishoky and Pemissawasset rivers, both which" were "main gangways of the Canadians to the frontiers of" the "province; that the breaking up of the settlement" would "not only ruin the memorialists, but, in their humble opinion, greatly disserve his majesty's interest, by encouraging his enemies to encroach on his direlect dominions, and be all-hurtful to the province by contracting its borders, and by drawing the war nearer to the capital; . . . and that, war" being "already declared against France, and a rupture with the Indians hourly expected," the "memorialists, unless they" had "speedy help," would "be soon obliged to evacuate their town—how disserviceable soever it" might "be to the crown, dishonorable to the government, hurtful

[1] Prov. Papers, Vol. V. 713.
[2] See *facsimile* of paper and signatures in notes at close of chapter.

to the province, and ruinous to themselves. Wherefore they humbly" supplicated "that such seasonable relief" might be granted them as might "enable them to maintain his majesty's dominion in so well situated a barrier, and so ancient and well regulated a settlement, as well as secure their own lives and fortunes against the ravages and devastations of a bloodthirsty and merciless enemy." [1]

No immediate action, however, was had in the assembly upon this urgent appeal; [2] nor is it of definite record what protection, if any, Rumford received during the summer and autumn of that year, from soldiers recorded as stationed at several points, or from scouts sent out in various directions. There is extant "a muster-roll of twenty men under the command of Captain Jeremiah Clough, at Canterbury, Contoocook, &c.," as the original heading reads, scouting for two or three weeks after the 30th of June. Possibly, Rumford may have been included in the indefinite and abbreviated *et cetera* of the foregoing description; and also may have received slight incidental protection from the six men under the same captain, and described as engaged, for three months from the 26th of September, "in scouting from Canterbury, at the heads of towns, and keeping the fort." It may be, too, that from the loss of muster-rolls, this seeming inadequacy of protection for Rumford is somewhat greater than was the real. But, after all, it stands a fact, that the town, originally established by the government of Massachusetts, and strongly attached thereto, though being the most important place on the upper Merrimack, was not, in those days, a favorite with the New Hampshire authorities, and that, in respect to means of security against Indian attacks, Canterbury, not merely from its more northerly position, but because it had been, from the beginning, a New Hampshire township, was much the more highly favored of the two.

The people of Rumford, however, understood the virtue of importunity, and, realizing the inadequacy of the means of protection afforded them against the "hourly expected" attacks of the enemy, they, on the 11th of December, 1744, in town-meeting, "desired and empowered Benjamin Rolfe to prefer a petition to the governor or general assembly of the province for such a number of soldiers as" might "be sufficient with a divine blessing to defend" them "against all attempts" of their enemies "which" might "be made against" them.[3] And, evidently distrusting the aid which might be afforded them by the government of New Hampshire, they also, at the same meeting, "desired and empowered" the said Rolfe, "to represent to the governor and general court of Massachusetts Bay, the deplorable

[1] Annals of Concord, 84-5; Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 253 (note).
[2] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 345-46.
[3] Town Records, 74-5.

circumstances" they were "in, . . . being exposed to imminent danger both from the French and Indian enemy, and to request of them aid."[1] This time, in answer to the petition accordingly presented, Governor Wentworth ordered out, for about two months, a scout of ten men for Rumford and vicinity, headed by Captain John Chandler, commander of the second company of the Sixth regiment of the provincial militia.[2] During the term of this scout, the new assembly was convened, in which, as has been seen, the district of Rumford was denied representation, and the vigilant inhabitants, wishing for "constant aid," made provision, in a town-meeting held on the 28th of February, to petition that assembly for continued military assistance.[3] But nothing came of that petition. Therefore, in another town-meeting, held on the 15th of April, Colonel Rolfe was "desired and empowered" to try again, and this time to petition the authorities of Massachusetts as well as those of New Hampshire.[4] The faithful agent did as desired. In his memorial petition, dated April 30th, and presented to the New Hampshire assembly on the second day of May, he offered substantially the same case as in that laid before the previous assembly, in June, 1744, though he enforced the suggestion of an early evacuation of the settlement, unless speedy help were rendered, by declaring that many of the inhabitants, in their alarm, had already moved from the town.[5] Being "sent for into the house," he appeared in support of the petition, expressing the opinion that less than forty men would not be sufficient for Rumford, and if there should be an open war with the Indians, more would be wanted.[6] No definite action, however, was taken upon the matter, probably because the life of the assembly was cut short a few days later by dissolution.[6] But the two appeals made to the general court of Massachusetts were favorably answered in the sending of a few men from Andover and Billerica, who were stationed awhile at Rumford.[7]

Meanwhile, the greatest achievement of English arms in King George's War had been mainly accomplished by a force of volunteer New England militia. This was the reduction of Louisburg. In May, 1744, the French, with their Indian allies, had made hostile demonstrations against the English in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. They had the stronghold of Louisburg on the island of Cape Breton, away to the eastward, six hundred miles from Portsmouth. This fortress had been twenty-five years in building, and was deemed well-nigh impregnable. "It was in peace," says Belknap, "a safe retreat for the ships of France bound homeward from the East and

[1] Town Records, 74-5.
[2] Adjutant-General's Report, 1866, Vol. II, 60-1; Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 232.
[3] Town Records, 78.
[4] *Ibid*, 83.
[5] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 317-8.
[6] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 322.
[7] Bouton's Concord, 153.

West Indies, and in war a source of distress to the northern English colonies; its situation being extremely favorable for privateers to ruin their fishery, and interrupt their coasting and foreign trade." [1] Hence, during the autumn of 1744, and the succeeding winter and spring, an expedition against Louisburg was prepared and manned. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was prominent in the movement, and found in Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire a ready coadjutor,—though the plan is thought to have been originated by William Vaughan, of New Hampshire birth, who was largely concerned in the fishery on the eastern coast.[2] The enterprise generated enthusiasm in the popular mind, both from its incitement to the spirit of adventure, and from the more solid considerations, that the welfare, if not the very being, of the province depended greatly upon the reduction of that place; as, if it continued "under the French, it" would, "in all probability, enable them in a little time to reduce Port Royal,[3] . . . with fatal consequences to all the English settlement upon the sea-coast as well as to the inland towns by the privateers infesting the one and the Indians destroying the others;" and that, "on the other hand, if Louisburg were in the possession of the English they would thereby have almost all the fish trade in their own hands, which would give life and vigor to all branches of trade they" were "concerned in, and revive all sorts of business, with many other advantages too numerous to be particularized;" and, farther, that it was "very probable that if" the inhabitants of the province should "neglect to fight" their "enemies at that distance, and in their own territories," they would "be obliged to do it nearer home, if not in" their "own towns." [4]

New Hampshire supplied five hundred of the four thousand men enlisted from the four New England colonies. Rumford contributed its quota, of which were Captain Ebenezer Eastman, Isaac and Nathaniel Abbott, Obadiah Peters, and one Chandler.[5] These are the only names preserved—and they by tradition—for the official enrolment has disappeared, which would probably increase the list. Of these volunteers, Isaac Abbott was killed during the siege, and Chandler died of disease.[5] It is a fact, too, that Captain Eastman went the second time to Louisburg[5] the next year, but upon what duty is not known. It is said that he did special service in the siege under Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan,[6] who, though declining a regular command, led in some of the boldest and most decisive operations of the unique siege, and the Rumford captain must have had with him a full share of perilous work. He had been present in his younger

[1] Belknap, 268.
[2] *Ibid*, 269.
[3] Annapolis in Nova Scotia.
[4] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 286.
[5] Bouton's Concord, 152.
[6] Annals of Concord, 29.

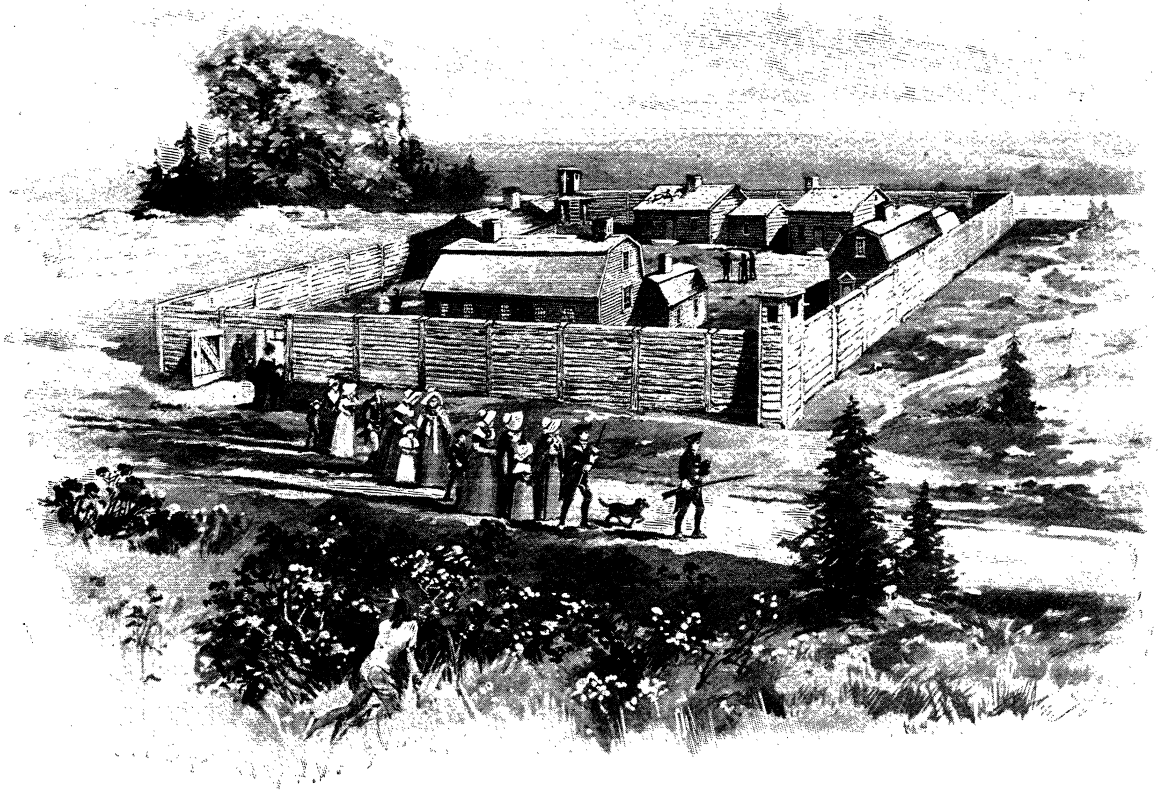
days at the capitulation of Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, to the English, and had share in the dangers of the ill-fated expedition against Canada, and now with the loyal pride of an English colonist, he witnessed on the 17th of June, 1745, the surrender of Louisburg—the pride and strength of French dominion in America.

After the fall of Louisburg, the Indian allies of the French began their dreaded work on the frontiers of New Hampshire, in an attack, on the 5th of July, 1745, at "The Great Meadow," or Westmoreland, in the Connecticut valley. Among the scouts ordered out in consequence was a party of cavalry under Captain Peter Pattee of Londonderry, for service in the valley of the Merrimack.[1] Another attack being made at Westmoreland, on the 10th of October, one of the scouts sent out by Governor Wentworth into the Merrimack valley consisted of thirty-seven men in command of Captain John Goffe of Bedford, and was employed from December, 1745, till April of the next year. To this scout belonged Rumford men, of whom were Samuel Bradley, John Webster, and Ebenezer and Joseph, sons of Captain Ebenezer Eastman.[2]

As early as 1744—possibly somewhat earlier—the work of putting the settlement in posture of defense, by fortification, was begun.[3] This work was continued till, on the 15th of May, 1746, "the committee of militia," consisting of Joseph Blanchard, Benjamin Rolfe, and Zacheus Lovewell, appointed by Governor Wentworth "for settling the garrisons in the frontier towns and plantations in the sixth regiment of militia . . . having viewed the situation and enquired into the circumstances of the district of Rumford," appointed and stated the garrisons.[4] These structures, sometimes called forts, consisted each of a dwelling-house, with an area of "several square rods," surrounded by walls of "hewed logs," laid "flat upon each other" with ends "fitted for the purpose," and "inserted in grooves cut in large posts erected at each corner." The wall was built "to the height of the roof of" the dwelling-house around which it was reared, and was surmounted, at "two or more corners," by sentinel boxes. In the enclosed areas were erected, "in some cases, small buildings for the temporary accommodation of families." All this work of fortifying was done at the expense of the inhabitants; but the garrisons duly established were entitled to military support from the province.

Seven garrisons around the houses of as many proprietors were appointed by "the committee of militia" before mentioned, to be reg-

[1] Adjutant-General's Report, 1866, Vol. II, 77.
[2] *Ibid*, 79.
[3] Benjamin Rolfe's Memorial, June 27, 1744.
[4] Bouton's Concord, 154.



Garrison around Rev. Timothy Walker's Dwelling.

ular "garrisons in Rumford." The following summary record of "the inhabitants" who, "with their families," were assigned to these several garrisons designated by the names of the owners of the premises upon which they were located, has intrinsic interest, and affords a suggestive view of Rumford's population, as to number and distribution, in the year 1746. To promote clearness of description, the sites of the forts, as identified for 1900, are given in connection: (1) To Reverend Timothy Walker's garrison, on east side of Main street,—the residence of Joseph B. Walker,—Capt. John Chandler, Abraham Bradley, Samuel Bradley, John Webster, Nathaniel Rolfe, Joseph Pudney, Isaac Walker, Jr., Obadiah Foster. (2) To Lieutenant Jeremiah Stickney's garrison, on the east side of Main street north of Bridge street, on ground partially covered by Stickney's new block,—Jeremiah Stickney, Nathaniel Abbott, Ephraim Carter, Ezra Carter, Joseph Eastman, Samuel Eastman, Joseph Eastman, 3d, William Stickney, Thomas Stickney, Nathaniel Abbott, Jr., Joseph Carter, Edward Abbott, Aaron Stevens, George Hull, Edward West, Sampson Colby, James Osgood, Timothy Clemens, Jacob Pillsbury, Stephen Hoit. (3) To Timothy Walker, Jr.'s, garrison, on the west side of Main street, near its junction with Thorndike street,—Timothy Walker, Jr., David Evans, Samuel Pudney, John Pudney, Jr., Matthew Stanley, Isaac Walker, Abraham Kimball, Richard Hazelton, George Abbott, Nathaniel Rix, Benjamin Abbott, Stephen Farrington, Nathaniel West, Wiliiam Walker, Aaron Kimball, Samuel Gray, James Rodgers, Samuel Rodgers. (4) To Deacon Joseph Hall's garrison, near the junction of Hall and Water streets, south of the highway bridge crossing the Concord railroad near the gasworks, and a short distance northwest of the Rolfe and Rumford Asylum,—Colonel Benjamin Rolfe, Joseph Hall, Ebenezer Hall, David Foster, Isaac Waldron, Patrick Garvin, Moses Merrill, Lot Colby, Joseph Pudney, William Pudney, Henry Pudney, John Merrill, Thomas Merrill, John Merrill, Jr., Jacob Potter. (5) To Henry Lovejoy's garrison in West Parish, on the height between Rattlesnake brook and the road leading westward along Long pond, and sometimes known as the "Levi Hutchins Place,"—Henry Lovejoy, James Abbott, James Abbott, Jr., Reuben Abbott, Amos Abbott, Ephraim Farnum, Zebediah Farnum, Joseph Farnum, Abial Chandler, James Peters. (6) To Captain Ebenezer Eastman's garrison, on the east side of the river, near the site of the present railroad station,—Ebenezer Virgin, Ebenezer Eastman, Jr., Philip Eastman, Jeremiah Eastman, Timothy Bradley, Nathaniel Smith, Daniel Annis, Jeremiah Dresser, Philip Kimball, Nathan Stevens, Judah Trumble, Joseph Eastman, Jr., William Curey. (7) To Jonathan Eastman's

garrison, on the south side of the Hopkinton road at Millville, a short distance southeast of the point where the old road from Long pond comes into the former,—Jonathan Eastman, Amos Eastman, Jeremiah Bradley, Seaborn Peters, Abner Hoit, Jacob Hoit, Timothy Burbanks, Isaac Citizen.

There was also a garrison around the house of Edward Abbott, at the southeast corner of the present Montgomery and Main streets; another around James Osgood's tavern,—the first in the settlement,—on the east side of Main street, at the southeast corner of its junction with Depot street; and still another around the house of George Abbott, on the modern Fayette street, not far from its junction with Main. The committee did not appoint the last three to be "standing garrisons"; but the occupants, inasmuch as they had "made no provision for house room and conveniences in the respective garrisons where they" had been "placed, and the season of the year so much" demanded "their labor for their necessary support, that" it was "difficult to move immediately," were allowed to remain where they were "until further orders." And they were required, "as long as there stated, to attend to the necessary duty of watching, warding, &c., as if" those houses "had been determined standing garrisons."[1]

In the stress of danger from Indian attack, the persons "stated" at the garrisons left their own houses, and repaired thither. Men labored in the field, in companies, whenever practicable, with guns at hand, and not infrequently with a mounted guard. Three alarm guns from a fort announced approaching mischief, and put the settlement on the alert. Every Sabbath the men went armed and equipped to the log meeting-house, itself a fort, and stacking their muskets around the center post, sat down to worship "with powder-horn and bullet-pouch slung across their shouldiers,"[1] while Parson Walker officiated, with his gun—the best in the parish—standing beside him in the pulpit.

Early in 1746 the red allies of the French resumed hostile operations all along the New Hampshire frontiers. Though the inhabitants and the government were on the alert; though garrisons were guarded at the public expense, and scouting parties were continually "scouring the woods"; though a heavy scalp or captive bounty was set upon every hostile "male Indian" upward of twelve years of age, the wily foe, escaping detection, scored frequent successes. On the 27th of April, the Indians appeared in the Merrimack valley, taking eight captives at Woodwell's garrison in Hopkinton. Shortly, Captain John Goffe, in fruitless pursuit of the adroit enemy, appeared in Rumford, at the head of fifty men, having for special destination

[1] Bouton's Concord, 154-156.

"the Pemidgewasset, Winnipisseoca, and the great carrying place in the adjacent country," with "Canterbury his rendezvous." While at Rumford he hears of an attack at Contoocook, in early May, in which two men were killed and another was captured. "With all expedition" he proceeds to "do what" he "can to see the enemy." In his indignant anxiety, and before going "up to Contucook," the zealous captain writes to Governor Wentworth, from "Pennecook, about 2 of the clock in the morning, May 5th, 1746," as follows: "The Indians are all about our frontiers. I think there was never more need of soldiers than now. It is enough to make one's blood boil in one's veins to see our fellow-creatures killed and taken upon every quarter. And if we cannot catch them here, I hope the general court will give encouragement to go and give them the same play at home."[1] Evidently, in his last suggestion, the good captain had in view the expedition against Canada, which was then on foot, and for which eight hundred men were enlisted in New Hampshire, but which, for various reasons, was given up.

The summer was passing; the people of Rumford were in constant apprehension; no one knew when or where the lurking savages might strike. Any thicket might be his ambuscade; and from any wooded covert he might dart to kill or captivate. The imminence of peril is attested by the fact that about this time several Indians—as they testified after peace—secreted themselves at night in windrows of new hay upon the premises of Dr. Ezra Carter, near the site of what was to become the "State House Park," with the intention of surprising the owner when he should resume hay-making the next day. But a long rain setting in early in the morning, they left their ambush and gave up their meditated attack; "conceiving the Great Spirit to have sent the rain" for the protection of their intended victim.[2]

In July Captain Daniel Ladd of Exeter enlisted a company of about fifty men for scout duty at Canterbury, Rumford, and the neighborhood. The company had done this duty and returned to Exeter, where the men furloughed till the 5th of August. Reassembling on that day, they returned northward. On the 7th, when near Massabesic pond, Captain Ladd turned aside, with about thirty of his command, upon a reported trail of twelve or fifteen savages in Chester, leaving Lieutenant Jonathan Bradley and the rest of the company to continue their march to Rumford; where some tarried in garrison, and whence others went to Canterbury. Captain Ladd came in with his detachment on Sunday, the 10th of August.[3]

[1] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 800.
[2] Annals of Concord, 35.
[3] Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II, 93.

Indians of St. Francis,—it is supposed,—from fifty to a hundred in number, were already hovering about the settlement, awaiting an opportunity to do the most harm to the inhabitants with the least risk to themselves. They had seen Lieutenant Bradley's force divided, and a part sent to Canterbury, and relying on the inadequacy of military protection, they seem to have determined to attack the people while at church the coming Sabbath. On the night of Saturday, the 9th of August, parties of them secreted themselves in the vicinity of the meeting-house; some hiding a short distance southeast of it, among alders beyond the road, and others in bushes to the northwest between it and the intersection of the present State and Franklin streets. The people went to meeting on Sunday as usual—the men all armed. Captain Ladd, too, as has been seen, came into town with his detachment of thirty scouts. On the whole, the "posture of defense" was unexpectedly too strong. This is, at least, a probable reason why no attack was made that day. During worship a glimpse of lurking red faces was caught by Abigail, the young sister of Dr. Ezra Carter; but she did not disturb the service by revealing the discovery until the meeting closed, and the congregation dispersed unharmed.

The savages then took position in a body a mile and a half southwest of the main settlement, in the covert of a deeply wooded valley, not far south of the Hopkinton road. As Jonathan Eastman's garrison was farther westward along that road, they may have thought it likely that some of Captain Ladd's men would soon be going to that fort, and that they might waylay the dreaded scouts. In that covert they were lying in ambush on the morning of Monday, the 11th of August, when the opportunity which they sought came to them. For Lieutenant Jonathan Bradley, with seven companions, set out for Eastman's fort in the early hours of that bright hay-day, intending to return by noon, "in order to go to Canterbury in the afternoon, or at least to get fit to go."[1] Six of the lieutenant's seven companions —Samuel Bradley, Sergeant Alexander Roberts, William Stickney, Daniel Gilman, John Lufkin, and John Bean—were members of Captain Ladd's company; the seventh, Obadiah Peters, belonged to Captain Nathaniel Abbott's company of Rumford militia. The party took a path, or road, extending westward along the course of the modern Franklin street, and bending somewhat abruptly southward into the "old Road" (or High street), and finally coming out upon the Hopkinton road (or Pleasant street). This last the main party

[1] Journal of Abner Clough, clerk of Captain Ladd's company. This journal and the narrative of Reuben Abbot, both published in the fourth volume of the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, supply the main facts as to the massacre; and the direct quotations therefrom are carefully marked in the text.

pursued to a locality about a mile and a half from the meeting-house; but Daniel Gilman went ahead some rods, to shoot a hawk seen at a distance. Him the savages let pass, probably not wishing to spoil a better chance at the seven men following leisurely. As these men approached the ambush three shots were fired upon them. Gilman heard them, but supposed at first that his companions had "shot at a deer."[1] He ran "back about forty rods upon a hill so that he could see over upon the other hill where the Indians lay, and shot upon the men, and heard Lieutenant Jonathan Bradley say, 'Lord, have mercy on me—fight!'"[1] The lieutenant and three of his men fired; "and then the Indians rose up and shot a volley, and run out into the path making all sorts of howling and yelling."[1] Whereupon Gilman "did not stay long,"[1] but hastened to bear the fearful tidings to Eastman's fort a mile away.

Lieutenant Bradley, supposing that the few Indians who fired first comprised the whole force, thought that "he and his six men could manage them,"[2] and therefore he gave the order to fight, and return the fire; but when this fire was answered by a volley from so large a body, "he ordered his men to run and take care of themselves."[2] But already four of them—Obadiah Peters, John Bean, John Lufkin, and Samuel Bradley—had received death shots. "The Indians then rushed upon Jonathan Bradley, William Stickney, and Alexander Roberts—took" the last two prisoners, and offered Bradley "good quarter. But he refused to receive quarter" from foes of a race whose mercy to his ancestors and relatives, in former wars, had been but cruelty, and fought stiffly,—albeit with strength somewhat diminished by recent sickness,—against that cloud of Indians, until, with face smitten by tomahawk blows, and gashed with knives, and with skull fractured, he was brought to the ground, and there despatched, scalped, and "stripped nearly naked." His younger brother, Samuel, had already perished, shot through the lungs; but fell only after running five rods along the path, while "the blood started every step he took."[3] It was a common saying in those days, verified in the case of these brothers, "It takes a hard blow to kill a Bradley."

The fight was over; the corpses of five brave white men lay mangled and despoiled. Only one of the enemy was then known to have been slain, and he—as supposed—by the undaunted lieutenant. But when Alexander Roberts escaped and returned from captivity, the next year, he reported four Indians killed and several wounded,—two mortally, who were carried away on litters, and soon

[1] Clough's Journal.
[2] Reuben Abbot's Narrative.
[3] Clough's Journal and Abbot's Narrative.

after died. The Indians buried two of their dead in the Great Swamp, under large hemlock logs, and two others in the mud, some distance up the river, where their bones were afterward found.[1] The guns were not heard in the main settlement, "because the wind was not fair to hear," and it was more than an hour afterward that there came a post down from Eastman's fort with the startling intelligence. Then three guns,—the appointed signal of alarm,—fired at Walker's fort, sent soldiers and others to the scene of the tragedy. Reuben Abbot and Abial Chandler at work making hay in the Fan, near Sugar Ball, ran, on hearing the alarm guns, up to the garrison, and found the soldiers who were stationed there, and such men as could be spared, had gone to where the men were killed.[1] They followed, and taking the foot-path somewhat diagonal to the regular route, and lying partly along the course of what subsequently became Washington street, arrived at the spot where the bodies lay as soon as those who went round on the main road.[2] But the arrival of the soldiers and others was too late for vengeance; at their approach the Indians fled like cowards, leaving their packs and various things which the soldiers took.[2] The woods were ranged awhile after for the captives,[3] but in vain. The bodies of the dead were collected. Samuel Bradley was found in the wood "on the east side of a brook running through the farm formerly owned by one Mitchell,—stripped naked, scalped, and lying on his face in the road, within half a rod of the bridge over that brook." His brother Jonathan lay "about ten feet out of the road, on the south side, and about two rods east of the brook. Obadiah Peters" was found in the road shot through the head. Bean and Lufkin had run from the brook toward the main road about six rods, and fallen within a rod of each other on the north side of the road as traveled[2] in later days. The bodies of the dead were laid side by side in a cart, which had been sent with a pair of oxen from Eastman's fort; and, as all others refused the gruesome task, Reuben Abbot, then twenty-four years of age, drove the rude ambulance, under guard of soldiers and inhabitants, to James Osgood's garrison. There an excited and sorrowing multitude received the sad procession. "They wept aloud;" and "mothers lifted up their children to see the dead bodies in the cart."[4] The widow of Samuel Bradley, overwhelmed with anguish, was there with her little son, John, less than three years old, who retained, through a long, useful, and honored life, a vivid impression of the ghastly scene—an impression so strong that a terror of the Indians haunted him for many years.[4] The next day came an im-

[1] Bouton's Concord, 165.
[2] Reuben Abbot's Narrative.
[3] Clough's Journal.
[4] Bouton's Concord, 161.

pressive funeral, and the dead were buried in two graves near the northwest corner of the old burying-ground; the Bradleys in one, Lufkin, Peters, and Bean in another.[1]

The Bradleys slain were sons of Abraham Bradley, a useful and trusted citizen, who came to Penacook in 1730. They were young men of high character, enterprising and brave, and had seen much scouting service. Jonathan, the elder, was about thirty years of age, and a resident of Exeter, whither he had recently removed. Samuel lived with his father on the homestead in Rumford—the homestead which John, his son, inherited, and which was to descend in regular succession to grandson and great-grandson. Obadiah Peters was the son of Seaborn Peters, one of the first settlers of Penacook. His father lived near the Millville fort whither the party were going. Obadiah had served with Captain Eastman at Louisburg. Of John Bean and John Lufkin nothing is known save that the former was from Brentwood, and the latter from Kingston. William Stickney, who was captured and taken to Canada, was the son of Jeremiah Stickney, one of Rumford's prominent citizens. After a year's captivity he escaped with a friendly Indian. According to the report of the latter, Stickney, when within a day's journey of home, was drowned in a stream which he was attempting to cross. Alexander Roberts, as before mentioned, also escaped from captivity, and reported the loss of the Indians in their attack. He claimed a bounty for having killed an Indian, and obtained it upon producing a skull bone before the general court. Of the seventy-five pounds appropriated as a tribute of honor to the participants in the memorable affair, Roberts received fifteen pounds, bounty included; Daniel Gilman, and the heirs or legal representatives of Obadiah Peters, John Lufkin, John Bean, and William Stickney, each seven pounds ten shillings; and the widows of Jonathan and Samuel Bradley, each, eleven pounds five shillings.[2] The general assembly, with the consent of the governor, made appropriation to James Osgood for funeral expenses,[3] including five coffins, and "drink for the peopel."[4]

A large tree, standing near the place of massacre, was soon after marked with the initials of the slain, and stood for many years, and until cut down, the only memorial of the event. But the memory of the brave men who perished there deserved a more durable monument, and such it received within a century, when, in 1837, a granite shaft was, because of difficulty in obtaining the desired site, erected a few rods east of the scene of the massacre, and on the opposite side of the road, by Richard, grandson of Samuel Bradley.[5]

[1] See note at close of chapter.
[2] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 541.
[3] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 863.
[4] Bouton's Concord, 166 (note).
[5] See Bradley Monument at close of chapter.

Though the savages did not remain in large force at Rumford, after the August attack, yet they lurked about in small parties during the autumn, so that a military guard was requisite to the security of the inhabitants. Captain Ladd's company remained in Rumford and the neighborhood till October. Other volunteers took the place of those slain, among these being Ebenezer and Joseph, sons of Captain Ebenezer Eastman, and Robert Rogers, the famous ranger of the next war. Other companies were scouting in the vicinity till December.

On the 10th of November, after the disbandment of Captain Ladd's company, a man named Estabrook came in from Hopkinton to request of Dr. Carter professional services in that town. The doctor consented to accompany him, and taking "his bridle and saddle-bags," went to the pasture in Deacon George Abbott's lot, south of the Hopkinton road, to get his horse. But what was unusual, the animal could not be caught. The doctor, waving his hand to Estabrook, who was in haste to return home before night, told him to "go on." The latter did so, and had reached a point eighty rods east of the scene of the August massacre, when he was shot dead by an Indian enemy. The gun was heard in the main settlement, and within half an hour a pursuing party found the body of the dead man,[1] but saw nothing of his slayers, though they, or others of the same sort, were nine days later "discovered by their tracks in a small snow."[2] But for the unwonted reluctance of a horse to take the bridle, its owner would undoubtedly have shared the fate of Estabrook.

In those days Indian surprises and narrow escapes from Indian violence were frequent enough to attest the reasonableness of the constant apprehension that existed, and justified precaution. Thus, Captain Henry Lovejoy, returning on horseback one evening, from Osgood's garrison to his own in the west settlement, feared that he might be waylaid in a gully south of Ephraim Farnum's. As he approached the crossing he bethought himself to shout, as if in command of a force, "Rush on, my boys! be ready to fire!" and then galloped over at good speed. Having reached home in safety, "he went to turn his horse into a pasture on the north side of Rattlesnake hill, and while letting down the bars he noticed" disturbance among the cows. "Inferring that Indians were near, he turned toward the garrison, and hid himself under a large windfall tree. Immediately two Indians, with guns, trotted over the tree in pursuit." He retained his hiding-place "till they returned and went off," when he left covert and "regained the fort."[3]

Another incident has its ludicrous element, but shows the brave

[1] Facts related by Benjamin Gale, grandson of Dr. Ezra Carter; see Bouton's Concord, 177.
[2] Dr. Ezra Carter's Petition, cited in Annals of Concord, 26.
[3] Bouton's Concord, 181.

spirit of woman in that time of oft impending danger. One evening at twilight, Betsey, a daughter of Abner Hoit, left Jonathan Eastman's garrison, where her father was "stated," to do the milking on the home premises, some distance off.[1] She was accompanied by a soldier, named Roane, as a guard. While she was engaged at her task the guard sat on the cow-yard fence; but instead of looking out for Indians, he fastened his eyes upon the busy maiden. Observing his gaze, she said, "Roane, you better look the other way, and see if there are any Indians." The soldier, somewhat abashed, turned his eyes just in time to see "an Indian with tomahawk in hand, creeping slyly toward him." Roane, with a scream, "leaped from the fence, gun in hand, leaving Betsey to do the best she could for herself." But the plucky maiden was equal to the perilous emergency, and made her way without her guard and in safety to the garrison.[2]

In 1747 the inhabitants of Rumford began early to provide means for continued defense. In town-meeting, on the 9th of February, they chose Captain Ebenezer Eastman and Henry Lovejoy to solicit aid from the governor and general court.[3] The assembly not being in session till March, Captain Eastman, on the 12th of the month, presented "a petition for some assistance of soldiers in . . . PennyCook," representing that "the inhabitants" were "much exposed to the Indian enemy," and were "in daily fear" of an attack "by such a number as" would "be too many for them, unless they" had "some help"; and that they were "about to quit the place unless they" could "be protected"; for, "on the eighth day of March, there" had been "a discovery of an Indian near Canterbury fort, which caused much fear and apprehension that there" was "a body of the enemy waiting an opportunity to do mischief."[4] Upon this petition, the house expressed the desire "that his excellency would cause to be enlisted or impressed twenty-five good, effective men to scout on the western side of Merrimack river near to PennyCook, &c."[5] Whether or not the desire was complied with is not known, but if it was, compliance did not furnish adequate security. For on the 2d of April the assembly was urged again to grant men in aid of Rumford, and on the 4th the governor assented to a vote of the house for enlisting or impressing "one hundred and forty-four men to be employed for six months, or till the twentieth of October, in defending the frontiers, guarding the people at work, and scouting,"—twenty-four of whom were to be posted "at Pennecook."

About the middle of July extraordinary alarm was felt, and sixty-

[1] On what became the "B. H. Weeks place."

[2] Related in substance by Jacob Hoit, who was a grandson of Abner, and resided many years on "the Mountain," in East Concord; Bouton's Concord, 178.

[3] Town Records, 90. [4] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 859. [5] *Ibid*, 860.

two of the citizens of Rumford petitioned the provincial authorities for a reinforcement of soldiers. They declared in their earnest petition: "We have great reason to fear a speedy attack from the enemy with a force too great to be matched by us, with what assistance we at present (through your Excellency's and Honors' great goodness), have from the province. The plain and evident tracks of a considerable number were discovered by our scout the last week. Guns have been heard both here . . . and at Contoocook upon the Sabbath and [at] other times, and [at] places where it is certain no English were. The news of a formidable armament sent from Canada to Crown Point obtained such credit with the government of the Massachusetts bay as induced them to provide a prodigious reinforcement to strengthen their western barrier: and such is our situation, that, as the rivers Hudson and Connecticut lie most exposed to incursions from Crown Point, so ours is the next; and the experience of this whole war has taught us that whenever any smart attack has been made upon any of the settlements on Connecticut river, the enemy has never failed of sending a considerable number to visit our river. While our ordinary business was hoeing, we could work in such large companies as not to be in such imminent danger of being massacred by the enemy, which, now [that] haying and English harvest come on, will be impracticable, without vast detriment to the whole, and utter ruin to some."[1] In answer to this petition, and, as it seems, upon the actual "approach of a considerable body of Indians" at Rumford, Governor Wentworth ordered thither a reinforcement of thirty men. In August and September Captain Ebenezer Eastman had command of a scouting party;[2] as also of another the following winter.[3]

In March the "committee of militia" made some new arrangements as to the garrisons. Those of the Reverend Timothy Walker, Timothy Walker, Jr., Joseph Hall, and Jeremiah Stickney were continued,—the last and that of Edward Abbott being made to constitute one garrison. Some changes to suit changed circumstances were made as to the inhabitants "stated" in those forts. But as "the pressing of the enemy" had "compelled two of the stated garrisons to break up"—namely, those of Henry Lovejoy and Jonathan Eastman—the committee ordered them to "be thrown up and not kept, until the inhabitants posted at" them should "have further assistance and be willing to return"; these, "in the meantime," being "ordered to the" four authorized "garrisons, as most convenient for them."[4]

[1] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 880-1.
[2] Adjutant-General's Report, 1866, Vol. II, 99.
[3] *Ibid*, 102.
[4] Committee's report, Bouton's Concord, 174-5.

In the prevalent anxiety among the dwellers in Rumford, the armed vigilance exercised by them allowed not the death or captivity of one of their number at the hands of the watchful savage, during the year 1747. Indeed, only one is recorded to have been wounded. This was the aged Joseph Pudney, who had an arm broken by an Indian's shot, as he was carrying "a wooden bottle of beer" from Timothy Walker, junior's, garrison, to men at work on the Eleven Lots. On petition to the New Hampshire government for relief, he was allowed to earn his livelihood by being held in the military service, and "posted as a garrison soldier." The Indian could depredate, not murder. The proprietors, sharing in the apprehension of possible mischief, had ordered, in March, their "books of record" to be carried "to Newbury, or any other town where" they might "be kept safest." The savages were always watchful for some advantage. In the summer they had haunted a large field of rye belonging to Benjamin Abbott, lying on the Bog road, as now called, to attack any who should go out to reap it. But when the rye was ripe, harvesters rallied in such force that the crop was reaped, and carted home early in the forenoon, during a brief absence of the savages, who relieved their disappointment by killing cattle, sheep, and horses, at pasture near Turkey pond.[1] Later in the year a large party of Indians appeared in the southwest part of the town and remained some time, ranging the woods and committing sundry depredations. In particular, they made havoc of the animals turned by the neighbors into Jeremiah Bradley's "fine field for fall grazing." At length, an armed force of the inhabitants rallied and "cautiously proceeded in two divisions, towards the enemy. In the woods near the field, one party found numerous packs belonging to the Indians, and concluded" to halt there, and await, in concealment, the approach of the redskins. When they were seen approaching, one of the concealed men, "through accident, or an eager desire to avenge his losses, fired his musket, and alarmed the Indians, who, observing the smoke of the gun, filed off in" another "direction. The whole party then fired, but with little injury to their adversaries. The body of an Indian was, however, some time afterward, found secreted in a hollow log, into which, it is supposed" that, "having been wounded by the fire of the party, he had crawled and expired."

During the following winter no harm was done by the Indians in Rumford or its vicinity. But early in February, 1748, the inhabitants began to be apprehensive, and, in town-meeting, chose Lieutenant John Webster and Dr. Ezra Carter to "make application to the general assembly for a suitable number of men to guard" them

[1] Bouton's Concord, 178. [2] Annals of Concord, 27.

"the ensuing year."[1] Savages were soon prowling about, and in April a considerable body of them passed "on rafts over Contoocook river," and killed "a number of cattle in that neighborhood," so that the governor reinforced "the garrisons at Contoocook and Canterbury with ten men each for one month."[2] Captain John Goffe had a company of twenty-five or thirty men, scouting and doing garrison duty, from May 28 to October 5. Of this company, John Webster was lieutenant, and of the other Rumford men in its ranks were Reuben Abbott, Joseph Eastman, Nathaniel Abbott, Joseph Putney, Sampson Colby, and John Chandler, Jr.[3]

In October, 1748, the war of the Austrian Succession came to an end in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and with it King George's War. The peace, as to the former war, confirmed the "Pragmatic Sanction" and Frederick the Great's possession of Silesia; as to the latter, it settled nothing between France and England in regard to their respective territorial claims in America, but remanded everything to its former state, even Louisburg, much to the disappointment of New England, being restored to France. But savage violence had gained an impetus during four years of contest, which the declaration of peace could not at once overcome. That violence was not wholly stayed even until the next year; Rumford, however, suffered little or nothing after the peace, though the people kept themselves prepared for defense.

The war had tested the endurance and taxed the resources of the people of Rumford. Sometimes, in their extreme perils and "deplorable circumstances," especially when feeling themselves unsupported by adequate aid from the province, the idea of abandoning their settlement had suggested itself to them. Varied exigencies drained their means and detained them from their vocations, to the loss of nearly "one half of their time during the most busy and valuable part of the year." But it could be, as it was, truthfully said of the inhabitants of Rumford and their conduct in that day of trial: "They have stood their ground against the enemy, supported themselves with all the necessaries of life, and also yearly spared considerable quantities of provisions to the neighboring villages, which must have suffered very much if they had not had their assistance. And they had been always ready, upon notice of distress or danger among their neighbors, during the war, to go to their relief,—many times, in considerable companies, to places at a great distance,—all at their own expense."[4]

[1] Town Records, 97.
[2] Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 906.
[3] Adjutant-General's Report, 1866, Vol. II, 105-6.
[4] Depositions in the Bow controversy, 1767. Bouton's Concord, 181-2.

During this time the men of Rumford had also duly exercised the town rights and privileges guaranteed them by the district act and its renewals, so as to meet the requisitions of an enlightened and well-ordered community. They regularly taxed themselves "to defray the ministerial and other necessary charges of Rumford." But, in the year 1749, Rumford lost its town privileges through the non-renewal of the district act. A town-meeting held on the 29th of March of that year was the last corporate one held upon the soil of Rumford for seventeen years; two of the petitions for incorporation as a town presented within that period having proved ineffectual. The incomplete[1] record of that meeting is a suggestive broken edge of the chasm in the town records between 1749 and 1766.

Amid the closing events depicted in this chapter, a leading actor disappeared from the stage. Death detached Ebenezer Eastman from the elect company of early settlers. His associates had entrusted him with most important responsibilities, and while public duties were always upon his hands, large private interests made drafts upon his activity. His wide influence was the reward of merit. In family relations, too, this civilian and soldier was happy, and his children grew up about him to imitate his virtues. In March, 1748, Ebenezer Eastman for the last time—after many years of continuous service—presided as moderator over the deliberations of his fellow-citizens in the annual town-meeting. Four months later, on the 28th of July, this pioneer of Penacook died, at the age of fifty-nine years, in his home by the Merrimack, leaving a name honored in the annals of the community, and a memory to be cherished.

Notes and Incidents.

The Graves of those Massacred in 1746. Dr. Bouton, in his History of Concord, published in 1856, says: "The spot where the bodies were buried cannot now be exactly identified; but it was very near the place now enclosed and occupied as the burial plat of the Bradley and Ayer family."

The Bradley Monument. On the 22d (11th, old style) of August, 1837, ninety-one years after the massacre on the Hopkinton road, the commemorative monument—mentioned in the text—was erected in the presence of a large concourse, near the scene of the event. A procession was formed under the direction of Colonel Stephen Brown as chief marshal, at the residence of Benjamin H. Weeks, in the following order: Teachers and scholars of public and private schools; chief marshal; music; committee of arrangements;

[1] See "Rumford's Last Town Meeting" in note at close of chapter.

orator; New Hampshire Historical society; descendants of the persons killed in 1746; his Excellency Governor Isaac Hill; officers of the state government; past officers; citizens generally.

The procession moved to the site, and there the monument was raised into its place. The company then repaired to a grove of oaks on the south side of the road, where the following order of exercises was observed: 1. Hymn by the Rev. John Pierpont of Boston. Sung under the direction of William D. Buck. (Hymn printed beyond.) 2. Prayer by the Rev. Nathaniel Bouton. 3. Address by Asa McFarland. Ode by George Kent. 5. Reading, by Richard Bradley, of an original petition of the inhabitants of Rumford to the governor, council, and assembly, for succor against the Indians, with autographs of the subscribers, followed by conveyance of the monument and grounds made to the New Hampshire Historical Society by Mr. Bradley, and received by Rev. Nathaniel Bouton in behalf of the said society. 6. An historical ballad, written by Miss Mary Clark of Concord, and read by Mr. Timothy P. Stone of Andover, Mass., principal of the Concord Literary Institution. 7. Concluding prayer by the Rev. Ebenezer E. Cummings.

The Bradley Monument.

HYMN.

BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

Not now, O God, beneath the trees
That shade this vale at night's cold noon,
Do Indian war-songs load the breeze,
Or wolves sit howling to the moon.

The foes, the fears our fathers felt,
Have, with our fathers, passed away;
And where in death's dark shade they knelt,
We come to praise thee and to pray.

We praise thee that thou plantedst them,
And mad'st thy heavens drop down their dew—
We pray, that, shooting from their stem,
We long may flourish where they grew.

And, Father, leave us not alone:
Thou hast been, and art still our trust:
Be thou our fortress, till our own
Shall mingle with our fathers' dust.

Facsimile of Petition for Aid, 1744.

~~June 14th 1744~~ June 14th 1744

We the Subscribers Inhabitants of ye town of Rumford Apprehending ourselves greatly exposed to Imminent danger both from ye French & Indian Enemy. & being in no capacity to make a proper stand in case of an attack from them, doe therefore Constitute & appoint Coll Benjamin Rolfe as our Delegate requesting him in the sd capacity forthwith to repair to Portsmouth & to represent our deplorable case to his Excellency our Capt General & ye General Assembly & to request of them on our behalf such aids both with respect of men & military stores as to their great wisdom may seem meet & which may be sufficient to Enable us with ye divine Blessing vigorously to repell all attempts of our sd Enemies against us

Timothy Walker
John Chandler
John Webster
~~[illegible]~~
Timothy Bradley
Samuel Bradley
Joseph Pudney
Jonathan Bradley
Isaac Walker
Abiel Chandler

Barachias Farnum
Jeremiah Stickney
Ebenezer Stevens
James Abbott
Edward Abbott
James Abbott junr
David Chandler
Joseph Farnum
Nathaniel Abbott
Ephraim Farnum
Timothy Clements
Edward [illegible]
Ebenezer Eastman
Ebenezer Virgin
Ezra Carter
Philip Eastman
Jeremiah Dresser
Benjamin Eastman
Jacob Pilsbery
Judah Trumble
Ebenezer Eastman junr
Philip Kimbal
Jeremiah Eastman
Nathaniel Smith
Nathan Stevens
Nathaniel Eastman
Joseph Eastman junr
Abraham Bradley

Isaac Walker
Jacob Shute
Nathaniel Rolfe
William Walker
Timothy Walker junr
Saml Pudney
Lot Colbe
Edwd Woodwell
Zebediah Farnum
John Pudney
Samson Colby
Samuel Eastman
Matthew Stanley
Daniel Chase
Joseph Eastman
James Farnum
Joseph Hall
Isaac Walden
John Merrill
George Abbott
David Kimball
Stephen Farrington
Abraham Kimball
Richard Hazeltine
Benjamin Abbott
James Osgood
Abner Hoyt

Rumford's Last Town-meeting. The following is the abruptly terminated record of Rumford's last town-meeting, as found in the town records, *p.* 104:

At a Legal Meeting of the Inhabitants & Freeholders of the Town of Rumford on Wednesday ye 29th of March 1749.

Capt John Chandler was chosen Moderator of this present Meeting.

Voted, that Dr Ezra Carter be Town Clerk.

Voted, that Capt John Chandler Dr Ezra Carter Lt Jeremiah Stickney Mr Ebenezer Virgin & Mr Henry Lovejoy be Select Men.

Voted, that Mr Samuel Gray be Constable.

Voted, that James Abbott, Jeremiah Dreser, Dn George Abbott, Aron Stevens, Jacob Shute & Amos Eastman be Surveyors of High Ways.

Voted, That Edward