CHAPTER VII.

The Last French and Indian War.—Rumford Becomes Concord, a Parish of Bow.

1754–1765.

While the war of land titles was raging, the last French and Indian War came on, and the alarm along the frontier, which had hardly subsided during the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was renewed. Military hostilities existed in America for two years before the actual declaration of war in Europe, in 1756.

Even at an earlier date the Indian allies of France had, with or without French instigation, been troublesome along the New Hampshire frontier. As early as 1752 they had shown a mischievous disposition. During the last days of April four hunters—Amos Eastman[1] of Rumford, John Stark and his brother William of Derryfield,[2] and David Stinson of Londonderry, while trapping along Baker's river, within the present limits of Rumney, fell in with a scout of ten St. Francis Indians headed by Thomas Titigaw. The trappers had been successful, having collected furs to the value of more than five hundred pounds. Though "they seasonably discovered" the savages, yet "they gave them no offence, . . . but esteeming it a time of peace with all the Indians who owned themselves the subjects of the French king," and being "free from any expectation of any hostilities being committed against them," they "peaceably applied themselves to their business."[3] They were about to return home when, towards evening of the 28th of April, the Indians rising from ambush, captured John Stark, who, apart from his friends, was busy in taking up traps. His companions, alarmed at his prolonged absence, discharged guns in the night, and thus discovered their encampment to the savages, whom their wily prisoner had led two miles in a contrary direction. Early next morning the three hunters, suspecting that their comrade had been captured, left the encampment to go down the river; Eastman passing on foot along the bank, Stinson and William Stark taking a canoe. The Indians retraced to the encampment the route over which John Stark had misled them, and made an ambus-

[1] A son of Jonathan Eastman, who had a garrison on the Hopkinton road in the previous war.

[2] Afterwards Manchester.

[3] Affidavit of John and William Stark and Amos Eastman, May 21, 1754; N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 309.

cade below, in which they captured Eastman. They ordered "John to hail the boat and bid the occupants to come on shore." He hailed the boat, but urged its occupants "to escape to the opposite shore." They were doing so when ten Indian muskets were leveled at them; and though Stark, with the courage characteristic of the future ranger and Revolutionary commander, "struck up" the guns within his reach, yet the shot of the others killed Stinson and hit the paddle held by William Stark. John shouted to his brother to flee, for the Indians had emptied all their guns; and William heeding the advice got away. The baffled captors severely beat their undaunted captive; and appropriating the rich store of furs, set out with their two prisoners for Canada. Their course lay by the Lower[1] and Upper[2] Coos, at the former of which had been left two of the original party to prepare supplies for the returning scout. Eastman was sent at once to Canada, with three of the party, where he was sold to a Frenchman; Stark was retained with the others, who tarried some time in hunting, and reached St. Francis early in June. He remained in captivity about five weeks. In July both he and Eastman were redeemed by agents of Massachusetts—Eastman for sixty dollars; Stark for one hundred and three.

John Stark's bold demeanor during his captivity was a charm against violence. Eastman, less defiant and dexterous, was, in running the gauntlet at St. Francis, quite spent from the club blows showered upon him by young warriors in the files between which he was compelled to run, while Stark dashed along between the threatening lines, smiting right and left with the conventional pole tipped with a loon skin, and returned with a knock-down blow each stroke ventured at him,—thus passing the ordeal unharmed, and pleasing the older men of the village by discomfiting the youngsters. When, too, after having in vain tried to rid himself of the task of hoeing corn, by nurturing the weeds and destroying the corn, he contemptuously threw his hoe into the river, declaring that "it was the business of squaws, not of warriors, to hoe corn," his captors, fascinated by his boldness, took it in good part, and called him "the young chief." So he was a favorite in the school of captivity, learning much of Indian ways that was to stand him in good stead thereafter.

Upon the return of William Stark with news of the affair, a party—of which were Phineas Virgin, Joseph and Moses Eastman[3]—went up from Rumford to Baker's river, and finding the body of Stinson, laid it in a grave in the lonely woods, with a brook,

[1] Haverhill.
[2] Lancaster.
[3] Bouton's Concord, 193 (note). Potter, in History of Manchester, 277, says the party consisted of Nathaniel Eastman, Timothy Bradley, and Phineas Virgin.

a pond, and a mountain near by, to bear the hunter's name and to commemorate the event in which he lost his life.

In May, just after the affair at Baker's river, Indians from St. Francis made their appearance at Canterbury. Two of these—if there were any others—were Sabbatis and Christo, who had formerly lived in the Merrimack valley. What might be the import of their advent was uncertain, and some alarm was felt in the vicinity, so the minister of Rumford—esteemed by the red men—went to Canterbury on a mission of conciliation. The well-intentioned effort was, probably, not entirely fruitless, though Sabbatis especially "discovered a restless and malicious disposition," and after some days, both disappeared, taking with them two kidnapped negro slaves. The appearance of the Canadian savages at Canterbury had more than an accidental connection with the affair at Baker's river; both incidents, in fact, resulted from the ill feeling aroused among the St. Francis Indians, by a movement in New Hampshire, supported by the government, looking to the white occupation of the "Coos Meadows." To this scheme the Indians were bitterly opposed; and finally they remonstrated so earnestly, and threatened so fiercely, that the design of settling immediately that desirable region was relinquished. It was suspected that the French themselves were at the bottom of this Indian opposition, inasmuch as they would naturally desire to keep open the easy way for predatory excursions from Canada through Coos county; and it was feared that they might attempt to take armed possession by erecting a fort in that neighborhood.

In June of the next year Sabbatis appeared again in Canterbury—this time in company with one Plausawa. The conduct of these Indians soon became so outrageous that their lives were threatened by the inhabitants, and they went to Contoocook. There continuing their insolent behavior, and boasting of former robberies and murders in the neighborhood, they were despatched by Peter Bowen, a rough hunter,—in self-defense, as some accounts allege. By the stipulations of sundry Indian treaties, the province authorities were bound to take cognizance of such an act; hence Bowen, and another named Morrill, who was supposed to have been concerned in the deed, were indicted and jailed at Portsmouth. But on the night before the day for trial, they were forcibly rescued by a body of men from Canterbury, Contoocook, and other places. A proclamation was issued, and a reward offered by the governor, "for apprehending the rioters; but no discovery was made, and the action was even deemed meritorious."[1] But the spirit of revenge was inflamed in the tribe

[1] Belknap, 308.

to which the victims belonged; and on the 11th of May, 1754, thirty avengers visited Contoocook and Stevenstown,[1] rifled a house in the former place, and carried away into captivity, from the latter, the Maloon family—the father and mother, a son, and two daughters. Twenty men were forthwith ordered out by Governor Wentworth to guard the exposed localities for a month; but no Indians were seen.

When, in the year 1754, hostile operations between France and England were commenced near the head of the Ohio,—though without actual declaration of war,—the Indian allies of the French became more aggressive than before, along the frontiers of New England, including those of New Hampshire. At Stevenstown,[2] on the 15th of August, they killed Philip Call's wife and Timothy Cook, and carried three men into captivity. Governor Wentworth at once sent two detachments of "troop" to the exposed neighborhood; and ordered Colonel Joseph Blanchard to raise fifty men from his regiment, to march, under an officer "to be confided in, to Contoocook and Stevenstown to relieve the detachment of horse posted there."[3] Captain John Goffe, of Amoskeag, was detailed for this service. Reporting to Colonel Blanchard from Contoocook on the first day of September, the captain writes:[4] "I arrived at Pennicook ab't 12 o'clock on Thursday, where I met the troop who came down to guard 10 or 12 horses to mill, and I took their places, and they went home, and I got safe to the fort at Contoocook with all those that went to mill. . . . We have done considerable in guarding the people whose hay was cut before the mischief was done, and has lain ever since till we came; and a great deal more hay & grain we must guard them to get, or they will loose it. And we shall do what we can for them, as souldiers; for they are here more concerned than ever I knew them any time last war, and durst not go anywhere without a guard. I have not bin to Stevenstown yet, & its that dangerous to attempt without any more men. There is nobody there; but I am informed that there is a great deal of good corn there which it's pitty should be lost. But four or five of the inhabitants will go back, & them not without twenty men at least, as souldiers with them. The Indians are certainly about; they are tract, & guns heard every day almost, in the woods, . . . I pray you would send me express what I shall do ab't going to Stevenstown; if I have no more men, if I go, I must take them all with me, & I do n't see but Contoocook must loose or sell or kill most of their

[1] Salisbury.

[2] This occurred in the east part of Salisbury, which afterwards became a part of Franklin. The Maloon affair, in the spring, took place in the west part of Salisbury.

[3] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 296; Potter's Manchester, 293.

[4] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 315-16.

cattle; for they have got but very little hay since the mischief was done, and have a great deal to get; all their pease almost in the field unhooked and loosing every day, and abundance of them there is. . . . Mr. Lovejoy's garrison[1] are all moved off but three familys, and he told me he would not stay any longer without he had some souldiers—and if he had, severall familys would come to them. If that fort breaks up, they can grind none in Contoocook, & must be forced to go to Eastman's mill[2] on Turkey river (about 12 or 14 miles—a dangerous road), and it will be much more dangerous to go to Pennicook. . . . Pray your advice by the bearer; but if I go there—*i. e.*, to Stevenstown—pray your interest for Contoocook, & Lovejoy's mill & Eastman's mill, that there may be an addition of souldiers, &c."

This report indicates the perilous circumstances of Rumford, as well as of its vicinity, in the late summer and early autumn of 1754. Whether or not Captain Goffe's prayer as to protecting the mills in Rumford was directly answered, there was wisdom in it, which was recognized by the authorities; for Captain John Chandler was assigned the command of a company of nine men,[3] who were on duty, from the 8th to the 17th of September, "scouting and guarding," for the general protection of the township, as well as for the special safety of "people of New Hopkinton, while cutting their hay." Rumford was always in danger when Indians were around. By this time, however, the tiers of settled townships to the northward sheltered it from the brunt of savage attack. In fact, the valley of the Merrimack, unlike that of the Connecticut, was nearly free from Indian incursion throughout the ensuing war; but garrisons were maintained, and other defensive measures were continued, so that apprehended evil was doubtless averted by precaution.

The English government had been urging the American colonies to put themselves in a posture of efficient resistance to French "encroachments on the frontier from the Ohio to the Gulf of St. Lawrence"; and, in 1755, sent over two regiments of regulars, with General Edward Braddock as commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in North America. A French fleet was not slow to follow, bringing reinforcements for Canada under command of Baron Dieskau. To this fleet Admiral Boscawen, with English ships, gave close pursuit, though peace still "existed between England and France under ratified treaties," and "England had avowed only the

[1] Situated in West Concord, and mentioned in the previous chapter.

[2] At Millville, being probably the one erected by Barachias Farnum and Henry Lovejoy, as described in a previous chapter. It seems to have come, subsequently, into the hands of Jonathan Eastman, who had a garrison in the vicinity, on the Hopkinton road.

[3] Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II, 1866, *p.* 156; see Roll of Scout, 1754, in note at close of chapter.

intention to resist encroachments on her territory." Expeditions were at once planned against Du Quesne, at the fork of the Ohio; Niagara, on the river and near the falls of that name; and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain—three important strategic points in the French cordon of military posts from Canada to Louisiana.

The first expedition for the reduction of Crown Point was placed under the command of Sir William Johnson, a resident in the valley of the Mohawk, and of great influence with the Six Nations of Indians. To it New Hampshire contributed, in 1755, a regiment of five hundred men, commanded by Colonel Joseph Blanchard of Dunstable.[1] Rumford had eighteen men of the sixty-five upon the roll of the fifth company in this regiment. Among these were the captain, Joseph Eastman, and his brother Moses, a sergeant,—both sons of Ebenezer Eastman so prominent in the earlier history of Penacook; also, the lieutenant, Nathaniel Abbot, and private Ebenezer Virgin, who were of the original settlers and proprietors.[2]

Captain Joseph Eastman's company of Blanchard's regiment was in Johnson's camp during the battle of Lake George[3] and the men of Rumford had a share in the fighting. It is said, too, that Nathaniel Eastman, another son of Captain Ebenezer, was in Colonel Williams's detachment which fell into ambuscade there. Though wounded in the knee, Eastman continued to fire at the enemy till he was left almost alone[4] in the retreat, and then he limped through the woods to join his company. After the battle the entire regiment had station at Lake George, and its men were acceptably engaged in scouting and ranging service until their discharge in October.

For the second Crown Point expedition (1756), a regiment of six hundred men was raised in New Hampshire, and put under the command Colonel Meserve of Portsmouth. In Captain John Goffe's company of this regiment were enrolled eight men of Rumford,[5] including Thomas Merrill, second lieutenant. But this number did not embrace all the Rumford men engaged in the campaign of 1756 and the operations of the following winter. Others were enrolled under an independent organization, which had been determined upon by the authorities, the preceding winter. The satisfactory ranging and scouting service performed by the men of New Hampshire in the last year's campaign had proved the desirability of a permanent corps of Rangers. These were to be men who thoroughly knew Indian character and practices in war. They were to be "rugged foresters,

[1] Nashua.
[2] See full list of Concord men in the company, in note at close of chapter.
[3] See note at close of chapter.
[4] Bouton's Concord, 195.
[5] See list in note at close of chapter.

every man of whom, as a hunter, could hit the size of a dollar at a hundred yards' distance; could follow the trail of man or beast; endure the fatigues of long marches, the pangs of hunger, and the cold of winter nights, often passed without fire, shelter, or covering other than their common clothing, a blanket, perhaps a bearskin, and the boughs of the pine or hemlock."[1] They were to range woods dangerous with hidden foes; to serve as guides and couriers; to procure, at deadly risk, intelligence of the enemy's movements; to reconnoiter at short distance; to skirmish with detached parties; to fall with sudden force upon exposed points, and as suddenly find security in inaccessible retreats; to venture, in fine, upon any perilous enterprise, in which muscle, nerve, sharp wits, and a dauntless heart were requisite.

Such were the Rangers of the French and Indian War. Captain Robert Rogers was commissioned to raise the first independent company of the famous corps. He recruited it in the early spring of 1756, mainly from his old company in Blanchard's regiment, and taking John Stark as lieutenant. Soon, a second company was raised, with Richard Rogers—Robert's brother—as captain, and Nathaniel Abbot of Rumford as second lieutenant. Later that year, two companies from Nova Scotia swelled the corps to three hundred men. In course of time the corps was augmented by five other companies,—one from New Jersey, and four from New England;[2] the whole force being under the command of Robert Rogers, who held commission as major, while the brothers, John and William Stark, became captains. This branch of service had separate enrolment, only fragments of which have remained,[2] so that the names of but few from Rumford, or elsewhere, who were engaged in it, are known.

The rangers were kept busy reconnoitering, and in ascertaining what the enemy was about; and after the regular provincial troops had been sent home they occupied Forts Edward and William Henry. A detachment of these, numbering seventy-four, marched in January, 1757, from the latter fort to intercept French supplies passing between Crown Point and Ticonderoga. They passed down Lake George, partly on the ice and partly along shore, on snowshoes, and succeeded in rounding Ticonderoga without being seen by the enemy. Approaching Lake Champlain, on a line half way between the fortresses, they captured some of the provision sleds passing from Ticonderoga to Crown Point, and destroyed their lading. Other sleds, however, escaping back to the former post, the rangers, knowing that the garrison would be notified of their presence, commenced their homeward retreat. But at two o'clock

[1] Memoir of John Stark, 16.
[2] Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. 2 (1866).

in the afternoon of that day—the 21st of January—they were suddenly fired upon at close range by a body of French and Indians, two hundred and fifty in number. The bloody encounter which ensued lasted till dark, Captain Rogers, the leader, being disabled by two wounds, and Captain Spikeman, of one of the Nova Scotia companies, killed. Lieutenant John Stark, as senior officer, had command. The rangers, while having five or six killed and as many wounded, slew, by their effective gunnery, one hundred and sixteen of the enemy. Retreating with their wounded during the night, they reached, on the morning of the 22d, Lake George at a point six miles south of the French advanced guard. They were now forty miles from Fort William Henry; and since the wounded men were exhausted and could march no further, Lieutenant Stark, with two others, volunteered to go to the fort and procure sleighs. Though the journey had to be performed on snowshoes, with the snow four feet upon a level, the destination was reached that night; and the next morning the sleighs arrived to take up the wounded, while the party of effective men marched on, and all at evening arrived at William Henry.[1]

Stilson Eastman of Rumford—a grandson of Captain Ebenezer Eastman—was in the fight. John Shute and Joseph Eastman, both of Rumford—the former a son of Jacob Shute, an early settler, the latter a nephew of Captain Ebenezer Eastman—and who were messmates in the ranger service through the war,[2] were also in this engagement. Shute used to say that the first notice the party had of the enemy was the noise made in cocking their guns, which he supposed was occasioned by some rangers preparing to fire at game. He was struck senseless by a bullet "which ploughed the top of his head." On coming to himself he saw a man cutting off the ribbon of Rogers's queue, to bind up the captain's wrist through which a bullet had passed.[3]

Mention should here be made of another participant in the action of January 21st, 1757, who after the war became a resident of Rumford. This was William Phillips,[4] a half-blood Indian of New York, who enlisted in Rogers's first company of rangers, and soon became a sergeant. He is specially noticed by Rogers,[5] as one of the "reserves to protect the flanks and watch the enemy's motions." His efficiency was recognized, for after that action he received a lieutenant's commission, signed by the Earl of Loudon.

[1] Major Rogers's Journal; Memoir of John Stark, 18-19.
[2] Bouton's Concord, 196.
[3] Memoir of John Stark; Appendix, 412 (note).
[4] See notes at close of chapter.
[5] Major Rogers's Journal.

One battalion of the regiment contributed by New Hampshire to the campaign of 1757, went with its colonel, Nathaniel Meserve, on Loudon's fruitless expedition to Louisburg; the other, with Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe, was stationed at Fort William Henry. Captain Richard Rogers's company of rangers, of which Nathaniel Abbot of Rumford was a lieutenant, also had rendezvous there. The battalion and company were there when the gallant Munro, in command of the fort with his inadequate force, held out in a siege of six days urgently plied by Montcalm with overwhelming numbers, and then submitted to inevitable capitulation. They were witnesses of the infamous violation of the terms of surrender, when the savage allies of the French fell upon the departing garrison, plundering, wounding, murdering, or capturing for future torture and death.

On the 10th of March, 1758, Rogers was ordered to proceed to the neighborhood of Ticonderoga, with a force numbering one hundred and eighty,—officers and men. He set out "with no small uneasiness of mind,"[1] thinking the number should be four hundred. After a toilsome march of three days, down Lake George—sometimes on skates, sometimes on snowshoes—the little band, having on the thirteenth reached a point near the advance guard of Ticonderoga, was suddenly attacked by a largely outnumbering force of French and Indians. A desperate fight ensued which lasted for an hour and a half in a constant fire, "with the lines, in general, not more than twenty yards asunder."[1] During the encounter the rangers "lost eight officers and a hundred privates killed upon the spot;"[1] the enemy, one hundred and fifty killed and the same number wounded—many mortally. Two days later hardly more than fifty of the one hundred and eighty, unwisely sent out by the English officer in command, upon so perilous an errand, returned to Fort Edward.

In the heat of the combat Lieutenant Phillips, who, during the march, had led an advanced guard, was sent with eighteen men to head off a party of two hundred Indians, who were making for rising ground, in order to fall upon the rear of the rangers. The detachment gaining the summit, repulsed the enemy "by a well directed fire in which every bullet killed its man."[1] But the brave lieutenant finally found himself and his little party "surrounded by three hundred Indians."[1] At this juncture the main body of the rangers, "after doing all that brave men could do,"[1] were beginning to seek safety as best they could. Rogers, with twenty men, ran up the hill towards the spot where Lieutenant Phillips stood enveloped in a cloud of foes. As Rogers drew near, Phillips said to him that he

[1] Major Rogers's Journal.

thought "it best to surrender, if the enemy would give good quarter; otherwise he would fight while he had one man left to fire a gun."[1] But the lieutenant could not stand upon the terms of quarter; completely overpowered by numbers, he and his surviving men having been carried off as prisoners, were fastened to trees to be shot, or hewn to pieces. Phillips, however, getting one hand free, took a knife from his pocket, and opening it with the help of his teeth, cut the strings that bound him, and made good his escape.[2]

Upon the rolls of the New Hampshire regiment, raised in 1758, and put in command of Colonel John Hart of Portsmouth, can be clearly identified three Rumford names.[3] One battalion went with the colonel to Louisburg, where were already the companies of rangers. The other battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe, joined Abercombie's force,—operating against Crown Point and Ticonderoga,—with which was also a portion of the ranger corps in command of Major Rogers. Thus Rumford had its men both in the army of New York and in that before Louisburg.

A regiment of one thousand men contributed by New Hampshire for 1759, and commanded by Colonel Zaccheus Lovewell of Dunstable, contained Rumford soldiers, though from the loss of rolls their names are not known. The regiment at first joined the force of General Amherst, but later was detached to serve under General Johnson in the capture of Fort Niagara, which was accomplished almost simultaneously with Amherst's occupation of the forts on Lake Champlain, upon the withdrawal of the French forces during the last days of September, 1759.

Three companies of rangers belonged to General Wolfe's command, one of which was commanded by William Stark.[4] In this company were, probably, Rumford men; "for soldiers from Rumford" there certainly were in the expedition against Quebec,[5] which resulted in the irrevocable passing of that stronghold from French to English hands.

On the day of the decisive battle of Quebec (September 13, 1759) General Amherst, at Crown Point, issued an order to Major Rogers to march with a detachment of rangers to St. Francis village, at the junction of the river of that name with the St. Lawrence. A flag of truce recently sent thither by the English general had been violated, and the perfidy deserved chastisement. Besides, the Indians dwelling there had been, for a hundred years, the terror of the New England frontier, and vengeance seemed permissible. Rogers proceeded at once upon the long, difficult, and dangerous march, mostly through

[1] Major Rogers's Journal.
[2] Bouton's Concord, 200.
[3] See note at close of chapter.
[4] Potter's Manchester, 338.
[5] Bouton's Concord, 189.

an unbroken wilderness in the enemy's country, and, on the twenty-third day out from Crown Point, came with his one hundred and forty-two men, near the village of St. Francis. An evening reconnaissance found the Indians celebrating a wedding with dancing and general hilarity. It was determined to pounce upon the village, at various points, early the next morning, while the inhabitants were in deep sleep. At half an hour before sunrise of the appointed day the attack was made. The assaulting parties rushed into the dwellings, and, making but little use of the musket, slew the warriors, young and old, with hatchet and knife. Almost all, in their heavy sleep, were destroyed upon the spot; the few, taking to canoes, were pursued, and shot or drowned. In accordance with the order of Amherst, "no women or children" were "killed or hurt" in this attack. But when the morning light revealed six hundred scalps, mostly English, dangling from poles over the wigwam doors, and the rangers, infuriated at the ghastly spectacle, fired the hated village, then many women and children, with, probably, some men in hiding, must have perished[1] in the general conflagration. Twenty of the former, however, were held awhile as prisoners, and then all but five children released. "Take your revenge," Amherst had said; the rangers had obeyed. By seven o'clock in the morning of October the 7th, the affair was over.[2] Two hundred Indian braves lay slain, and the village of St. Francis was crumbling into ashes. The avenging party had six wounded, and one, a Stockbridge Indian, killed.

Taking with them five rescued English prisoners, with some plunder and provisions, saved from the ashes of the village, the rangers set out upon their homeward return by the Connecticut river; for to retrace the route by which they had come was deemed impracticable from the risk of meeting the French who were known to have been in pursuit. They marched in a body, eight days toward the sources of the Connecticut, till reaching the shore of Lake Memphremagog, when their provisions having given out, they were divided into companies, with competent leaders, and with orders to proceed, as best they could, to the mouth of the Ammonoosuc, where General Amherst had, at Rogers's request, ordered supplies to be sent up from Number Four.[3] Rogers himself led one of the parties, and reached, with it, on the 15th of November, the Ammonoosuc rendezvous; but, owing to the stupidity of the purveyor, he found there no provisions. As his wearied and famished party could go no farther without food, Rogers, —himself weakened by hunger,—in company with Captain Ogden

[1] Potter's Manchester, 333.

[2] Despatch of Rogers; see memoir of Robert Rogers in appendix to memoir of General John Stark, 448.

[3] Charlestown, N. H.

and a captive Indian boy, made a marvelous journey down the Connecticut, on improvised and shaky rafts, and obtained at Number Four the indispensable supply.

Lieutenant Farrington of Andover, with Benjamin Bradley[1] of Rumford, headed another return party. They were "two of the stoutest men of their time."[2] In the attack on the village, they had "pushed so violently against the door of the house where the dance had taken place, that the hinges broke, and Bradley fell in head-foremost among the sleeping Indians."[3] But before the inmates could arouse themselves to resistance, they were all despatched by the sturdy rangers. But these were less fortunate in their homeward return. Cold, hungry, exhausted, the party struck the Connecticut in the Upper Coos, which was mistaken for the Lower. Here the party divided, Bradley, starting with four or five others, and saying that "if he was in his full strength, he would be at his father's house in three days," set off upon a course which, from the supposed point, "would have brought him to the Merrimack,"[4] but from the real starting point must have led far to the northward of that destination. Neither he nor any other one of the party ever reached home; and the only traces of Bradley ever seen were found by hunters in the neighborhood of the White Hills—being bones, and long hair, "tied with a ribbon such as he wore," and silver brooches and wampum lying scattered about.[4] The fate of Stephen Hoit of Rumford, who set out from Coos with Bradley, was indicated by clothing, and a snuff-box, marked with his name, found on an island in Lake Winnepesaukee.[4]

Lieutenant Phillips led a company directly to Crown Point, without the loss of a man, but not without much suffering. On the way, the men partly subsisted on the bark and buds of trees; chewed the straps of their knapsacks and powder-horns; and some—who were esteemed fortunate—fed on lumps of tallow. They were finally reduced to such extremity of hunger that they determined to kill and eat a captive boy brought from St. Francis. Fortunately, a muskrat shot, cooked, and distributed among them, quieted their cannibal frenzy.[4]

General Amherst, at Crown Point, prepared for the campaign of 1760. He planned to concentrate three forces upon Montreal, by as many routes, and under the leadership, respectively, of himself, descending the St. Lawrence by way of Oswego; of Colonel Haviland, going directly from Crown Point, by the Sorelle river; and of General Murray, coming up from Quebec. Amherst accordingly set out

[1] Grandson of Abraham Bradley, an early settler.
[2] Bouton's Concord, 193.
[3] *Ibid*, 193-4.
[4] *Ibid*, 194.

upon his circuitous route. Some days later (August 15th), Colonel Haviland started upon the direct advance into Canada. Of his force was the regiment raised by New Hampshire for the year, and commanded by Colonel John Goffe. To it also belonged Major Rogers and his six hundred rangers, who had, earlier in the year, been engaged in precursory operations in Canada, and now formed the vanguard. In the indispensable corps, Rumford still had honorable representation. The campaign proved to be one of little fighting, and that was mostly done by the rangers, who, in "a finishing skirmish, fired the last hostile guns in the conquest of Canada."[1] By the 8th of September, the three armies of Amherst, Haviland, and Murray were at Montreal, and on that day the city was surrendered, all Canada being included in the capitulation.

In the summer, before starting for Montreal, General Amherst, wishing to send despatches to General Murray, at Quebec, five hundred miles away through the wilderness, directed Major Rogers to procure, upon a reward of fifty pounds, four volunteers for the difficult mission. The four were soon found; being Sergeant Beverly, a recently escaped prisoner of war, John Shute and Joseph Eastman, the two Rumford messmate rangers,—"equally distinguished for their enterprise, hardihood, and trustworthiness,"[2]—and Luxford Goodwin. Taking General Amherst's despatches, and letters from other officers to friends in Quebec, the messengers proceeded under a convoy to Missisqui bay,—an arm of Lake Champlain,—whence they were to proceed on foot, partially, along the route by St. Francis, which had been taken by the rangers, the year before.[3] After leaving the bay, their course lay for many days through "marshy grounds where they could scarcely find a dry spot to encamp upon at night till they struck the St. Francis river" just above a rapid. Determining to cross as soon as possible, they constructed two rafts of driftwood, "in order that two of the party might first cross, and, if they found no cause of alarm, might notify the others to follow with the letters. By casting lots, it fell upon Shute and Eastman to cross first; who immediately pushed off;" but having only "poles with which to work the raft," and "the current proving stronger than they expected," they were carried down stream to the head of the falls, where they narrowly "saved themselves by leaping upon a rock, against the point of which their raft struck." Their guns, knapsacks, ammunition, and provisions were also saved. Finding no enemy in the way, "they called to the

[1] Memoirs of Robert Rogers in appendix to Memoir of General John Stark.

[2] Bouton's Concord, 196.

[3] The record of the difficult, perilous trip is the substance of an account given by Mr. Shute in his old age, but "with memory and faculties unimpaired." See Bouton's Concord, 196-7-8; also Annals of Concord, 65 (note).

others to come over," but to do so "higher up the stream." The caution not being duly heeded, the second "raft was suffered to enter the current, where it soon became unmanageable." The two men upon it, "finding that they must go over the falls, threw down their poles" in despair. "Shute and Eastman told them to throw off their clothes and sit down." This they did, and the raft went down the rapids, "nearly an eighth of a mile in extent." Their companions, who, from a tree, had anxiously watched them, as they alternately appeared and disappeared in their descent, "ran to the foot of the fall," where Beverly was found "climbing up the bank," and "Goodwin, clinging to a press of driftwood," was extricated. The two men had escaped alive, but "had lost their arms, clothing, and provisions, together with all the letters." Shute and Eastman could and did divide clothing and some other supplies with their less fortunate comrades. But the letters were lost—and, without them, should they go forward, or go back? If they went forward, and fell "into the enemy's hands without their papers, they would be in danger of being hanged as spies; if they went back, Rogers would call them cowards and traitors, who had made up a false and improbable account to excuse their imbecility." Considering the alternatives, they concluded to go forward, preferring "to take their chance of the cruelty of the enemy" to meeting "the reproaches of Rogers."

They pursued their journey for weary days through trackless woods and tangled swamps, where only enemies dwelt; venturing to approach the habitations of men only when impelled by hunger—though while satisfying this, they would, now and then, make booty of a silk dress, or something else that pleased their fancy. The Sunday bell of a Catholic chapel calling the inhabitants to worship was to the famished rangers an invitation to supply their wants from houses temporarily vacated by the worshipers. A calf, taken at night from the premises of the sleeping owner, on one occasion, gave the messengers each a quarter of veal; a part of which, when cooked in the woods, four miles away, afforded a refreshing meal; and the remainder, dried in smoke, became a store for future use, as they trudged on in moccasins made of the skin.

At last they were nearing their tedious journey's end. Ascending a high hill, "they saw for the first time the river St. Lawrence, and a large encampment of regular troops upon the bank, about twenty miles above Quebec." The wary rangers could not determine whether the troops were French or English, but Sergeant Beverly ventured to go and ascertain. The kind greeting accorded him was witnessed by his companions from afar, and soon all were in the camp of their English friends. They were taken by boat to

General Murray's headquarters in Quebec, where they arrived at midnight, and slept on the floor of the general's kitchen till morning. Then, "conducted into a large hall, lined with mirrors, and in which were about one hundred officers, each received a glass of liquor such as he had never tasted before," and of which Mr. Shute said sixty years later, "I have never drunk anything so good in my life." They were separately examined, and, "as they had previously agreed upon a statement of facts, coincided very well." At the request of General Murray, they remained with him till his advance upon Montreal; and having gone along with his army thither they rejoined their corps and witnessed the surrender of the city.

The conquest of Canada, which, in 1760, ended the French and Indian War in America, gave the New England frontiers immediate security from northern incursion; though definite peace between France and England came not until 1763, when the "Seven Years' War," in Europe, closed in the Treaty of Paris. The dwellers in Rumford shared the general security; and so far were free to pursue the ways that tend to the prosperity and happiness of a community. But they were still embarrassed by the persistent claims of the Bow intrusion and their long deprivation of town privileges. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the latter fact involved them in a contest with the provincial government in the matter of taxes. These, as long as the people were denied the corporate privilege of a town, could not be collected, and hence were left as troublesome arrears. In vain, for fifteen years, had the people of Rumford, in repeated petition, prayed the legislative authorities to relieve them, by an act of incorporation, of this inability not only to meet provincial requisitions, but also their own municipal charges requiring corporate action. The influence of the Bow intruders hindered compliance with the just and reasonable request. On the 12th of April, 1764,—two years after the royal decision of the second test case in the Bow controversy,—the inhabitants of Rumford, by their minister, presented another petition. In this Mr. Walker set forth: "That the affairs of the said inhabitants—so far as relates to town matters—have been in great confusion ever since the year 1749, for want of the power which they had till then enjoyed since the year 1741, by the District Act; that although it has been pretended that they might still have enjoyed the same privileges,—as inhabitants of Bow,—yet they never understood matters in that light. And for this their opinion and practice consequential thereupon, they humbly conceived they could give reasons which would be satisfactory to this court, were they permitted; that by 1760, they were so heartily tired of such an unsettled state, that they would have been glad to

act even under the incorporation of Bow, if they could—although highly inconvenient for them, as it blended part of three towns, whose interests had always been separate, and would consequently be apt to create strife and contention; that the said inhabitants conceive themselves greatly aggrieved by a late act of this government, imposing a heavy tax on the inhabitants of Bow, as arrears, et cetera,—a tax which nobody had power to assess and collect at the time when the said arrearages became due, and which, if now done, must be laid in many instances on wrong persons; that what they had suffered for want of the powers they had enjoyed by the first mentioned District Act, was unspeakably more to their damage than to have paid their proportion of the Province expense; that the incapacity, complained of all along, still continues, and yet the people are subjected to pay their part of the current charge, but nobody has the power to assess or collect it.—They, therefore, most humbly pray that your Excellency and Honors will take the matters complained of under consideration, and either revive the said District Act, so far as relates to Rumford, or—which would be much more satisfactory to the said inhabitants—incorporate them by a standing act, and by their former known boundaries, that the said inhabitants, may be abated at least one half part of said arrearages; and that with respect to their part of the current charge of the Province,[1] they may be subjected to pay no more than their just proportion with the other towns in this Province."

A month later, the house of representatives, still insisting upon the policy of compelling the people of Rumford to merge their corporate identity, received from Massachusetts in that of Bow, ungraciously replied to Mr. Walker's petition, in terms substantially these: That the inhabitants of Bow, except those polled off to Pembroke and New Hopkinton, must pay the taxes, including all arrears, according to the act of 1763; that they must meet in town-meeting in Bow, "some time in June next, to choose all necessary officers for assessing and collecting the annual Province tax, and to transact all other town affairs; and afterwards" to meet "some time in the month of March annually until further orders of the General Assembly;" and that, upon these conditions, the petitioner "have liberty to bring in a bill."[2] Such conditions the people of Rumford could not accept without giving up their long-urged cause, and this they were far from being ready to do. Moreover, the tendency of events was towards the vindication of that cause. Recent settlers in the part of Bow outside the old limits of Rumford, to the southward, were complaining of the exaction of tax arrears and praying for

[1] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 33-4. [2] *Ibid*, 35.

relief therefrom, while it was becoming more and more apparent that the settlement of unoccupied lands would be seriously impeded if the onerous requisition were enforced. Then, too, the persistent unanimity of Rumford,—with its "upwards of a hundred families" occupying by a tenure of possession not likely to be broken,—in insisting upon separate incorporation, and upon its lack of power, without such organization, to levy and collect taxes, was proving more than a match for the obstinacy of the Bow proprietors who had hitherto prevented legislative compliance with a reasonable request. But, in fine, whatever may have been the reasons, the province authorities, in the course of the year, came to the conclusion to remit tax arrears down to 1763, and to let Rumford have town privileges; not expressly, however, as a town, but as a parish of Bow. For, on the 7th of June, 1765, was enacted by the council, and consented to by the governor, a bill, passed by the house, on the 25th of May, and entitled, "An act for setting off a part of the Town of Bow, together with some lands adjoining thereto, with the inhabitants thereon, and making them a Parish; investing them with such privileges and immunities as Towns in this Province have and do enjoy." The motive for this enactment was stated, in a preamble, to be, "That there are sundry arrearages of taxes now due which the inhabitants aforesaid apprehend they cannot levy for want of sufficient authority, and several of them" have prayed "they might be erected into a Town or Parish, and enjoy the common privileges of other towns in this Province." It was enacted that "the inhabitants" with "the polls and estates, on the lands and within the boundary, hereafter described be set off and made a Parish by the name of Concord, and invested and enfranchised with all the powers, privileges, and authorities which any Town in this Province doth by law enjoy, excepting, that, when any of the inhabitants of the aforesaid Parish shall have occasion to lay out any road through any of the lands that are already laid out and divided by the said Town of Bow, application shall be for the same to the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the said Province, as in other cases." The boundary of the Parish was described as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of Contoocook river, so called, which is the southeast corner of Boscawen; from thence south, seventy-three degrees west, by said Boscawen, four miles; from thence running south seventeen degrees east, seven miles and one hundred rods; from thence running north seventy-three degrees east, about four miles, to Merrimack river; then crossing the said river, and still continuing the same course to Soucook river; then beginning again at the mouth of Contoocook river aforesaid, from thence

running north seventy-three degrees east, six hundred and six rods from the easterly bank of Merrimack river, or till it shall come to the southwest line of Canterbury; from thence southeast on said line, two miles and eighty rods; from thence south seventeen degrees east, to Soucook river aforesaid; from thence down the said river till it comes to where the line from Merrimack river strikes Soucook river."

Provision was made for holding the first meeting[1] "for the choice of town officers, on the third Tuesday of August," 1765, and "the annual meeting, for the future, on the first Tuesday of March." It was also enacted that the selectmen of Concord, chosen at the first town-meeting, and at subsequent annual meetings "until a new proportion" of the province tax be made, should join with John Noyes and Edward Russell, of Bow proper—or the part of Bow left after setting off the new parish—in assessing upon the inhabitants both of Concord and of Bow proper, the current province taxes, as well as the arrears thereof for the years 1763 and 1764.[2]

The act of incorporation obtained, at last, was "humiliating,"[3] in one respect at least, "to the inhabitants of Rumford," who would have preferred to be expressly "erected into a town," rather than into a "parish of Bow"—a style of expression denoting how hard it was for the provincial authorities to make the concession so long withheld. But the people made the best of the disagreeable style thus given, inasmuch as Concord was essentially and practically a town, and order was to come again out of the municipal chaos of the last fifteen years; during which, as in all the former years of their settlement, they had manifested an "unanimity of purpose and action"[4] fitly commemorated in their new corporate name.

The new apportionment of the province tax, mentioned in the act of incorporation, came nearly three years later. Until that time Concord and Bow proper were rated together. But the arrangement was unsatisfactory to both; and in August, 1767, the inhabitants of Bow, by their selectmen, complained in petition to the general assembly that they were "greatly abused"[5] by being so rated. In September a new apportionment was ordered upon an inventory to be taken; and early the next year "a bill for a new proportion" was passed and approved, in which Bow and Concord were rated apart, and another disagreeable entanglement was forever relieved.[6]

The boundaries assigned to the parish of Concord differed somewhat from those of Penacook and Rumford. The portion of the

[1] See next chapter.
[2] Town Records, 105-6-7-8.
[3] Bouton's Concord, 243.
[4] *Ibid*, 242.
[5] *Ibid*, 245.
[6] See note at close of chapter.

north line west of the Merrimack which was understood originally to have begun at the middle of the "Contoocook's mouth," now begun at the southerly side thereof, where the south line of Boscawen, incorporated by New Hampshire in 1760, had origin. Originally, too, the part of the north line east of the Merrimack ran easterly three miles to the east boundary line—the junction of the two forming the northeast angle of the old township; now the north line ran eastwardly only six hundred and six rods to what was called the "south west line of Canterbury." Thence along this line one was run southeast two miles and eighty rods, to meet the original east line of Penacook, and the latter was thence pursued southerly to the Soucook river, but did not cross it as it formerly did. From the southern extremity of the west line, which was the original one, the south line coming eastward on the old course crossed the Merrimack, and stopped also at the Soucook without crossing it. Thus neither of these lines completed its original seven miles; while the Soucook between their termini became a part of the boundary of Concord.[1]

By this bounding the original northeast corner of Penacook and Rumford—being a triangle of ten hundred and twenty-five acres, more or less—was left to Canterbury. This piece of land had been asked for by Canterbury in a petition presented to the general assembly in 1760, to which remonstrance had been made by the leading men of Rumford.[2] After Concord was incorporated the gore was a bone of contention between its proprietors and those of Canterbury, for sixteen years—or till 1781—when a settlement was effected; the former quitclaiming one hundred and fifty acres, and the latter eight hundred and seventy-five acres.[3] Finally, on the 2d of January, 1784, by the act of the state legislature, the gore was severed from Canterbury and annexed to Concord.[4]

To give a connected and satisfactory view of the boundaries of Concord, it becomes necessary still further to anticipate dates. Beyond the easterly line of Concord there was left to Bow a triangular piece of land enclosed by the Soucook river, the westerly line of Canterbury—afterwards Loudon—and the original east line of Rumford. This "Bow Gore" came to a point in the highland a little to the east of Oak hill, and contained about thirteen hundred and seventy-nine acres.[5] Southwestward of this was left out of Concord, by stopping the original south and east lines at the Soucook, a gore included by the prolongation of those lines and the part of the river between their new termini. The former of these gores was, on December, 13, 1804, by legislative act, annexed to Concord,[6] and the

[1] See Badger's map accompanying History.
[2] Bouton's Concord, 226-7-8.
[3] Proprietors' Records (manuscript), Vol. III.
[4] N. H. Laws, 1780-1784, *p.* 501.
[5] Bouton's Concord, 242.
[6] *Ibid*; N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXVII, 151.

latter to Pembroke.[1] At the same time still another gore, sometimes called "Bow Gore" or "New Concord," lying southward of the south line, and enclosed by it and the Merrimack and Soucook rivers, was severed from Bow and united with Concord. The south boundary line at the "Great Bend," or "Bow," of the Merrimack, below the "Eleven Lots," crossing the river at two points, left on the Bow side a tongue of land containing about forty acres, which, in 1856, became a part of Concord. Thus, finally were settled the bounds as they have remained to the present day.

The act incorporating Concord was declared to be "an act for setting off a part of the town of Bow, together with some lands adjoining thereto, with the inhabitants thereon." These "adjoining" lands comprised that fourth part of Rumford which was not covered by the incubus of Bow lying obliquely over it. There were ten families upon that fraction of territory when the act was passed; a fact showing that population had spread out to some distance from the main settlements along the Merrimack. Pioneers had made their homes on the outskirts of Rumford, especially towards the west and north. Thus Ezekiel Dimond had built his log house close by Hopkinton, on the hill[2] which was to bear his name. There he dwelt having Daniel and Jonathan Chase as neighbors, and sometimes being compelled by Indian alarms to seek refuge for himself and family in Parson Walker's fort, where once his good wife finished the weaving of her web, snatched from the loom at home, and borne away with "yarn-beam," wound about with "reed and harness."[3] To the northward, near "Broad Cove" of the Contoocook, was the home of Enoch Webster. Down the river at the "Borough," Richard Elliot, returning from ranger service in the recent war, had settled, and had erected his sawmill at the "Outlet." Northeastward, near the mouth of the Contoocook, the brothers, Benjamin and Nathaniel Rolfe, had their farm. The wildwood site of modern Penacook was coming under white occupation, though the occupants might hear at night the howling of wolves near by, and see the "cattle, conscious of danger," huddled "in some corner of the field," with the older and stronger enclosing the younger and weaker in an instinctive posture of defense.[4]

While the unoccupied lands were turning into farms, the first decided moving of that mercantile activity which was to distinguish Concord was felt in the principal settlement. In 1761, Andrew McMillan, who had arrived in America at the beginning of the recent

[1] Senate Proceedings, Pamph. Ed., 146; see also note at close of chapter.
[2] Where is now (1900) the farm of Isaac N. Abbott.
[3] Bouton's Concord, 642.
[4] *Ibid*, 236.

war, in which he had served, came to Concord, and commenced trade in a one-story shop standing at the northwest angle of the modern Main and Pleasant streets. This enterprising merchant and influential citizen carried a miscellaneous stock of dry goods and groceries, including, after the custom of the time, a supply of liquors and wines. His ledger showed sales of tea and coffee; of sugar, pepper, and raisins; of buckram, cambric, and gauze; of broadcloth and blue "camblet"; of hat-crape, men's gloves and women's ditto, white and black; of buttons and silk thread; of chalk and powder, mugs and punch-bowls; of combs, pipes, and post-paper; of snakeroot and clove-water; of rum (West India and New England), brandy, and wine, by the quart or gallon—sometimes, the glass—to say nothing of the occasional "bowl of toddy."[1] These items indicate the demands of the community, and the mention of them is suggestive of the wants and habits of the people. Colonel McMillan's business partner for one year—the year when Rumford became Concord—was Timothy Walker, Jr., the minister's only son, who subsequently opened a store of his own at the North End, near his father's residence, and there continued in trade "until the beginning of the Revolution."[2]

There exists no record of the public school in Rumford during the troublous years of war and litigation, and of confusion resulting from deprivation of town privileges; but it is safe to infer that school instruction found some support from voluntary contribution, in the absence of power to make a school tax. Certainly, home instruction was not entirely lacking, and boys and girls, with no more than six weeks' schooling in their lives, became, through the efforts of intelligent parents, fairly adept in reading, arithmetic, and penmanship. Such training, some, at least, of the ten children of Ezekiel and Miriam Dimond received—and not infrequently under difficult conditions; as, when, on winter evenings, they lay down before the great kitchen fire, and in the light of blazing pitch-pine knots practised their writing lessons upon birch bark.

Inasmuch, too, as the minister's salary could not be met by taxation, that charge had to be defrayed, for sixteen years, from the voluntary offerings of the people, who, even amid Indian alarms and land litigations, would not forsake the public worship of God. And when, in 1751, the ancient log meeting-house by West's brook became too small to accommodate the worshipers, and was falling into decay, a way was found to secure a new one, notwithstanding the disability to act in the capacity of a town. Individuals, called "The Proprietors of the Meeting-House," purchased the acre and a half lot,

[1] Bouton's Concord, 233-4-5. [2] *Ibid*, 579.

lying eastward of and near the burying-ground, and numbering four in the second range of house-lots, as "laid out to the original right of Nathan Fisk, *alias*, Zachariah Chandler."[1] On this was erected, in that year, "the main body" of a house, which in time was to undergo much change. This structure was framed "of the best white oak," and "was sixty feet long, forty-six wide, and two stories high."[2] It was three days in "raising," commencing on the 12th of June. A "large gathering of people" was in attendance, and the women of the parish cooked and provided food "on the spot." The new house of worship, when made reasonably available for use,—though it was to remain unfinished for years,—had neither porch nor gallery, belfry nor spire. Its one door opened from the south upon an aisle that led to the pulpit on the north side. Along the aisle, and flanking the pulpit, "were coarse benches," on which sat the worshipers,—men and women apart; the former, on the west side, the latter, on the east. The pulpit had near it the minister's pew,—the only pew,—and before it the "deacon's seat," on which those dignitaries sat confronting the congregation. Such was the Old North church when it was new,—an unadorned temple, but endowed with an untold wealth of social, moral, and religious blessings for a whole community dwelling upon an area of more than forty square miles.

Notes.

Captain Chandler's Scout, 1754. The following are the names of the men in command of Captain John Chandler: Obadiah Maxwell, Phineas Virgin, Moses Eastman, Edward Abbot, Jr., Jacob Potter, David Kimball, John Hoyt, Jonathan Fifield, Thomas Merrill.

List of Rumford Men in Fifth Company of Colonel Blanchard's Regiment, 1755. Besides the names of the officers and men of the company given in the text, the following complete the list: David Copps (sergeant), Nathaniel Morse (clerk), David Evans (corporal), Obadiah Maxwell, Nathaniel Rix, Jonathan Chase, Ebenezer Copps, Asa Kimball, Ebenezer Simonds, James Farnum, Reuben Simonds, Judah Trumble, Isaac Walker, John Webster.

Rumford Men in Colonel Meserve's Regiment, 1756. Major John Goffe of this regiment was also captain of its seventh company, in which were the following persons enrolled from Rumford: Thomas Merrill, 2d lieutenant; Joseph Eastman, sergeant (perhaps, of Boscawen); John Straw, Jonathan Fifield, James Blanchard, Paul Fowler, Isaac Walker, 2d, Zebediah Farnum.

Rumford Men in Colonel Hart's Command and Elsewhere. The three mentioned in the text as connected with Colonel Hart's regi-

[1] Bouton's Concord, 285. [2] *Ibid*, 230.

ment in 1758, were: Edward Abbot, Ebenezer Simonds, and Nathaniel Eastman. It is also known that Daniel, Joshua, Samuel, and Jacob Abbot, Benjamin Bradley, Amos and Stilson Eastman, Richard Elliot, David Evans, Benjamin Hannaford, Stephen Hoyt, Philip Shute, and "no doubt others," as says Dr. Bouton, "were, for some time, engaged in the French and Indian wars, either in the regular service, or as Rangers."

Bow and Concord in 1768. Bow, at that time, counted 48 polls; Concord, 179. Bow had £1,500 of ratable estate, and its proportion to £1,000 of the Province tax was £3 11s. Concord showed, under the same heads, £6,500, and £15 10s. *N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 143 and 166.*

Bow Gore. This included the territory east of the Merrimack, about Garvin's Falls.

Another Parcel of Bow Annexed. The parcel of Bow annexed to Concord in 1856 was, at that time, owned by Albert Foster and Leonard Bell. At an earlier date it belonged to Paul Rolfe, son of Benjamin Rolfe, so prominent in the early history of Concord.

William Phillips. After the French and Indian War, Phillips lived for some time in Rumford. Forming an acquaintance with Miss Eleanor Eastman, daughter of Ebenezer Eastman, Jr., he married her on a forged license. Tradition says that the marriage took place in Lieut. John Chandler's tavern. Instead of a minister, the marriage service was performed by a justice of the peace. They had one son. About the year 1784, Phillips's wife left him and joined the Shakers at Canterbury. Phillips afterwards led a roving, unsettled life. He finally became a town charge. It was at length discovered that he had once gained a settlement in Northfield, and he was put upon that town, where he died about the year 1819, supposed to be nearly one hundred years old. His wife died at the Shaker settlement in Canterbury, November 17, 1816, aged seventy. *Bouton's Concord, 201.*