CHAPTER VIII.

The Parish of Concord.—The Period of the American Revolution.

1765–1784.

By the act incorporating Concord, Samuel Emerson, of Chester, was appointed to call the first meeting of the parish for the choice of town officers, to be held on the third Tuesday of August, 1765. But some unexplained "accident intervening," the meeting was not duly called, and, of course, was not held. The general court tried again at the November session, and by special resolve, "directed and authorized the said Emerson" to call the meeting within the parish, "on the third Tuesday of January, 1766." This time the legislative order was complied with, and the first "legal meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the Parish of Concord" was held "on the twenty-first day of January, 1766,"[1] with Lieutenant Richard Haseltine, for moderator, and Peter Coffin, parish clerk. Certain other town officers, deemed of immediate necessity, were chosen; such as, selectmen, tythingmen, surveyors of highways, a constable, a sealer of leather, and a sealer of weights and measures.[1] This action served to lubricate the long disused wheels of town government, which were to be put into complete running order at the coming annual meeting in March, when the tenure of the officers elected at this time would expire.

On Tuesday, the 4th of March, that first annual meeting of Concord came, and Dr. Ezra Carter was chosen moderator, and Benjamin Rolfe, Esq., parish clerk. The officers elected in January were, with a few changes and additions, rechosen; and the official list was completed by the choice of fence-viewers, field-drivers, hog-reeves, and surveyors of lumber. After the choice of officers, the first and only important business transacted was a vote to raise one hundred pounds, lawful money, "for paying the Reverend Mr. Walker's salary" for one year, "from the 26th of May, 1765, together with other necessary charges of the parish."[2]

At a special meeting held on the 25th of March, the school was the main subject of action; and it was voted "that the school shall be kept on the easterly side of the river, such part of the year as their rates for the school shall come to of the polls and estates that

[1] Town Records, 109. [2] *Ibid*, 110-11.

lie to the northward of Sugar Ball; also, at a place that will best accommodate those persons that live upon Contoocook road, northward of Nathan Colby's, and those persons that live westward of said road, such part of the year as their rates will pay; also, at a place that will best accommodate those persons that live upon Hopkinton road, westerly of Theodore Stevens, and westerly of Turkey river, such a part of the year as their rates will pay; and the remainder of the year it shall be kept in the town street, about the middle way from Captain Chandler's to Lot Colby's.[1] This arrangement for "keeping the school in the several parts of the parish" was continued for some years.[2] The "middle way" location of the school "in the town street," or principal settlement, was on the west side of Main street, between the points of junction therewith of the modern Park and Centre streets;[3] Captain John Chandler's residence being near the Bradley premises, and on the southerly side of the road running westerly by them;[3] Lot Colby's, at the Eleven Lots.[3] Provision was also made during this year and the next, for letting the "interval lots," belonging to the school right, on the east and west sides of Merrimack river.

The highways, also, received early attention; for at the same meeting at which the school was regulated, it was "voted that each man" should, that year, "work five days upon the highways," and the "pound"—the latter to be placed by the selectmen, where they should think best. One of the highway surveyors was Lieutenant Ebenezer Virgin, an original proprietor, a pioneer settler in East Concord, an enterprising man, and a valuable citizen. He died in office, and on the 10th of November, at a special parish meeting, Phinehas, the eldest of his seven children, was chosen to succeed him.[4] Six years later, the specific sum of sixty pounds was raised for making and repairing highways—being the first definite appropriation for that purpose.

Among the matters requiring attention, under restored municipal order, was the province tax, which seems to have been promptly raised, though at first in entanglement with Bow. "For making the rates," the selectmen were allowed special compensation, and Benjamin Emery received "six pence on the pound for collecting the tax."[5]

It was at the annual meeting of the parish, in March, 1767, that Dr. Ezra Carter, presiding as moderator, performed the last of the many official duties entrusted to him by his fellow-citizens. His death occurred on the 17th of the following September, when he was

[1] Town Records, 112.
[2] *Ibid*, 116.
[3] See notes at close of chapter.
[4] Town Records, 113.
[5] *Ibid*, 116.

only forty-eight years old. Since 1740, when, at the age of twenty-one, he had come up from South Hampton, with his father, three brothers, and a sister, to find a home in Rumford, he had successfully practised his profession, the regular study of which he had pursued. He had taken as a wife, while yet in her early teens, Ruth, the only daughter of the late Captain Ebenezer Eastman, and thus had connected himself with a family influential in the town. His own ability and usefulness as a citizen had been duly appreciated and put in requisition. As a magistrate, in the capacity of justice of the peace, he had striven to reconcile the differences of his neighbors,—often throwing in his fees to accomplish the result,—so that he had come to be called the "peacemaker." His genial wit and pleasant conversation made him a social favorite; while, as has been said of him, "when called to visit the sick and desponding, he never failed to administer with his remedies for the body a cordial to the mind."[1] "Benevolence and mercy" eminently characterized his life.

The first physician of Concord soon had two successors: Ebenezer Harnden Goss, who married Mary, a daughter of the Reverend Timothy Walker, and subsequently served as a surgeon in the Revolution; and Phillip McCarrigain, or Carrigain, of Scotch descent, and of note in general and surgical practice. Henceforth, the medical profession was ever to be well represented in Concord.[2]

It was also in the year 1767 that Peter Green came hither from Worcester, and, at the age of twenty-one, opened a law office; being the first representative of the legal profession to settle in Concord, and the only one, until sixteen years later, when Edward St. Loe Livermore became a resident practitioner in the parish. These two head the long list of Concord members of the bar.[3]

The same year the first census of the province was taken. The return for Concord showed seven hundred and fifty-two inhabitants, as follows: Sixty-two unmarried men, from sixteen to sixty; one hundred and twenty-five married men, between the same ages; eighteen men, of sixty and above; one hundred and eighty-nine boys, of sixteen and under; two hundred and four unmarried females; one hundred and twenty-six married women; fifteen widows; thirteen slaves—nine male, and four female.

The last item of enumeration is a reminder of the fact that slavery existed in those days north of Mason and Dixon's line, and even in New Hampshire. As it existed in this province, including Concord, it was of mild form; and the treatment of slaves was generally hu-

[1] Annals of Concord, 35.

[2] The special chapter on the Medical Profession will supply details as to these and other members thereof, which, consequently, will be omitted from this general narrative.

[3] See special chapter on the Bench and Bar for detailed information as to these and subsequent members of the legal profession in Concord.

mane, and "their labor not more severe than that of white people."[1] In Concord though the slaves were few, and the masters merciful, yet strange to the philanthropic sense of to-day seem the deeds of sale by which property in human chattels was then transferred. As when in 1761, "Hannah Bowers of Billerica, widow, . . . sold unto Lot Colby of Rumford, . . . a mulatto negro boy, named Salem, and . . . received forty-five shillings sterling in full consideration for the said boy."[2] Or, as again, when Benjamin Osgood of Concord, in 1767, gave the following deed: "Received of Andrew McMillan, the sum of forty-seven pounds ten shillings lawful money, in full consideration for my negro boy slave named Caesar, aged about eleven years, which negro boy I have this day sold to said McMillan, and promise to warrant and defend the property of the said negro boy to him the said McMillan, and his heirs or assigns forever, against the claims of any other person or persons whatsoever."[3]

In accordance, however, with the spirit and fashion of that time, some of the worthiest men of the parish were masters of slaves. Colonel Benjamin Rolfe left, at his decease, as part of his property, a negro, appraised, in inventory, at fifty-five pounds lawful money.[4] Abraham Bradley paid thirty bushels of corn for Pompey, a slave, who became "a favorite in the family." In his will, the kind master gave his slave to his grandson John, with this order to his executor: "To take especial care that my said negro be not wronged by my aforesaid grandson in any way; and if he should wrong him, I give him power to do him justice." Pompey was also given "the use and improvement of one half-acre of land," on the family premises, "during his natural life."[4] The Reverend Mr. Walker once had in his service a good-natured, faithful man, Prince, "much attached to his master," and also two women, Luce and Violet, as domestics. These had their freedom "on the adoption of the State Constitution."[5] Lieutenant Richard Herbert bought, in 1768, for five dollars, the little girl Nancy, when about eighteen months old, and brought her up with his family. She learned to read, and used to say in after years that she "was treated just the same as the other children," but she supposed "she did not expect so much"; and also that "she was never conscious of a wish that she had been born white."[5] When she was fifteen years of age, the constitution of New Hampshire was adopted, with the declaration of its Bill of Rights, "All men are born equally free and independent," under which it was generally held that slavery in the state was abolished. The poor girl had dreaded the adoption of the constitution that would make her free, fearing that she might be

[1] Belknap, Vol. III, 281.
[2] Bouton's Concord, 250.
[3] *Ibid*, 249, 50.
[4] Bouton's Concord, 252.
[5] *Ibid*, 253.

separated from her home and friends in Concord. When the fact was announced to her that the dreaded event had transpired, and that she was no longer a slave, she burst into tears, exclaiming, "What will become of me!" But her late master and other friends, to her great joy "gathered round" to assure her that "she should remain in her old and only home." And there Nancy, the freedwoman, did remain, in the Herbert family, during the residue of a long life of seventy-nine years. Immediate arrangement was made for her compensation in future service; and she was remembered in subsequent bequests. "She became a member of the church, and honored her profession. She was sensible and dignified in manners—faithful, affectionate and cheerful. She read much—usually the Bible. In her charities, she felt a particular interest in the Education Society, in the cause of Missions, and in all efforts for the elevation of her race."[1] This incident and others just cited tend to show what involuntary servitude was in Concord, and attest that though it was slavery, it was not oppression.

When the "Stamp Act" was passed, John Wentworth, a nephew of Governor Benning Wentworth, was in England, and, as co-agent of New Hampshire with Barlow Trecothick, successor of John Thomlinson, had presented the remonstrances of the province against the measure. The uncle had been governor twenty-five years, and had now reached the age of seventy. His administration had been, in many respects, a successful one, though somewhat difficult, especially from the two French and Indian wars. But certain charges made against it, including the taking of "exorbitant fees for the passing of patents of land,"[1] had caused the English ministry to resolve upon a supersedure. Largely, however, through the influence of his young and popular nephew the veteran official was allowed to resign without censure, and in favor of that nephew.[2] So John Wentworth became governor of New Hampshire, and entered upon the duties of his office on the 13th of June, 1767. His administration fell upon troublous times; at its beginning the great Revolution was darkly looming which was to burst in "hurricane" upon its end.[3]

The change of governors was agreeable to the people of Concord, if for no other reason than that Benning Wentworth was one of the official "Proprietors of Bow" from whose contentions they had suffered so much. He had, to be sure, as governor, twice attempted to give them representation in the assembly; but that commendable action was hardly sufficient to render a Bow proprietor *persona grata*

[1] Bouton's Concord, 253-4.
[2] Belknap, 335.
[3] *Ibid*, 336.
[4] Governor Wentworth's letter to a friend in 1774; Belknap, 352 (note).

with them. The gratification felt at the accession of John Wentworth seems not to have been disappointed; for, six years later, in an address to the governor penned by the young Benjamin Thompson—afterwards Count Rumford—and adopted in town-meeting, the popular appreciation found warm expression.

This testimonial, presented in the spring of 1773, denotes that till then the administration of John Wentworth had well subserved the interests of the people, and had, by its prudence, tended to hold somewhat in abeyance that energy of revolutionary resistance which was, erelong, to be manifested in New Hampshire, as elsewhere.

One generally beneficial measure, early adopted under this administration and going into effect, with the royal sanction, in 1771, was the division of the province into five counties. Hitherto all courts had been held at Portsmouth, to the great and growing inconvenience of remote localities. Even now the relief afforded by this measure to many other parts of the province was not felt by Concord, which was assigned to Rockingham county with Portsmouth and Exeter, as shire towns—the former fifty-five miles away and the latter forty. Accordingly, in March, 1773, the inhabitants, in parish meeting, appointed Andrew McMillan to petition the general court in their behalf that Concord might be annexed to Hillsborough county, provided that a term of the inferior and the superior court, each, might be annually held in the parish; in other words, that Concord might be a half-shire town with Amherst. A petition to that effect was presented in Jannary, 1774, and a hearing was ordered thereon in March, but before the date of hearing the governor had dissolved the assembly, and the petition came to naught. Revolutionary commotion was stirring in earnest, and the assembly, by its unanimous approbation of measures suggested by other colonies "for the security of the whole against the designs of those who" were "for reducing them to a state of slavery,"[1] had alarmed the amiable governor, who thought it best to try the virtue of abrupt dissolution. Indeed, it was becoming daily more and more difficult for John Wentworth to reconcile duty to his king, whose commission he held, with concession to the will of his people.

Under the new county law jurors from Concord were, for the first time, impaneled in the courts, where, during the long years of the Bow controversy, now ended, the inhabitants of Rumford had had more than enough of burdensome experience as parties. In 1771 or 1772 Ebenezer Hall and Joshua Abbot served as jurors; and, on August 24th of the latter year at a special town-meeting, "Mr. Lot Colby," as says the record, "was drawn out of the box for a juror,"

[1] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 358.

with compensation fixed at "three shillings a day." The same pay was also voted to future jurors, as well as to the two who had served before.[1]

The desire of the people of Concord to procure amendments of their charter in removing the restriction upon their power to lay out roads, and in making "the boundaries of the parish as extensive as" those of Rumford had been, was not gratified. In December, 1772, they had desired Andrew McMillan to present to the "Honorable General Court a petition for those purposes." But a request for such reasonable legislation, which, in ordinary times might have found compliance, could not find it in those days of revolutionary ferment. For the last three provincial assemblies were preoccupied with momentous questions concerning the defense of American liberties, and were constantly interrupted, in consequence, by an anxious governor's edicts of adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution.

Nor was Concord ever to be represented in a provincial assembly. On the first day of March, 1774, "Peter Green, Esq.," was "appointed agent to petition the Governor and Council for a Representative."[2] But nothing came of it. The governor summoned to the last provincial assembly under his administration—convoked for the fourth of May, 1775—members from several newly-settled places, hitherto unrepresented, but he neglected older and more important ones, and among these the parish of Concord. Doubtless he wanted, at that crisis, as many men in the assembly as possible who would be more subservient to his anti-revolutionary purposes than any representative that patriotic Concord would be likely to elect.

While the parish was making the most of its municipal privileges in promoting the varied interests of a well-regulated community, the proprietary were contributing effective efforts to the same end. As written in another connection, the proprietors of Rumford succeeded during the years between 1762 and 1775 in adjusting difficulties with their Bow antagonists. It is to be added, that, on several occasions, lands were laid out to requite individuals for losses incurred in the controversy; but a general division of "the common lands" was not made till near the close of the Revolution. Preliminary steps thereto had been taken in 1774, but it was not until 1781 that the purpose was accomplished. On the 5th of December of that year a committee, consisting of Benjamin Emery, Timothy Walker, Jr., and Robert Davis, reported that they had "laid out one hundred and three lots."[3] The report having been accepted, "the proprietors proceeded at once to draw and pitch their lots;"[3] and the same committee received authority "to sell the remainder of the common

[1] Town Records, 131. [2] *Ibid*, 137. [3] Proprietors' Records.

land."[1] So the proprietary lands of Concord had, at last, mostly come into individual ownership. Meanwhile, too, as elsewhere mentioned, Massachusetts, in recognition of the trials of those who had planted and held the perilous outpost of her territorial claim along the upper Merrimack, had granted a new proprietorship of another Rumford, on the banks of the Androscoggin in the woods of Maine, by way of remuneration for "losses incurred in the controversy with Bow."

The proprietors, on the 7th of May, 1771, chose John Kimball clerk; for Benjamin Rolfe, who had held the place forty years, was nearing the end of life. Seven months later, on the 21st of December, he died in the sixty-second year of his age. His prominent efficiency in the settlement, as a plantation, township, district, parish, or non-corporate organization, has been noticed on foregoing pages. The father, Henry Rolfe, having been a leading spirit in planting Penacook and incorporating Rumford, had returned ere long to his Massachusetts home, leaving the son, a young man of liberal education and of good capacity for affairs, to identify himself with a people whose interests he was so faithfully to serve. This son enjoyed from the first the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and retained it to the last. He held all the important offices, frequently two or more at a time. He longest filled the position of town clerk, in which he was, upon declining further service, succeeded in 1769 by Timothy Walker, Jr. Though not a lawyer, Benjamin Rolfe was a capable legal adviser, and satisfactorily discharged the various duties of a civil magistrate. He also had military experience, particularly in the first French and Indian War, with the rank of colonel. By inheritance, and by his own industry and prudent management, he acquired a large property in lands, and, at his death, was accounted the richest man in Concord.[2] Colonel Rolfe had remained single till his sixtieth year, when he married Sarah Walker, the minister's eldest daughter, thirty years younger than himself.[2] The son Paul, born of the brief union, inherited his father's estates, inventoried at four thousand and eighty-two pounds lawful money.[2] Before his marriage Colonel Rolfe "lived in a one-story house"[3] at the Eleven Lots, but after that event he built and occupied the larger and more commodious dwelling which still stands, as a venerable historic relic, and as part of an asylum sacred to the noble charity of relieving orphanage in Concord.

Among those who were teaching school in the parish at that period, such as Abial Chandler, the surveyor, Joseph Emery, Patrick Quinlon and Robert Hogg,[4] with sundry "school-mistresses" whose names

[1] Proprietors' Records.
[2] Bouton's Concord, 555.
[3] *Ibid*, 556.
[4] See Town Accounts in Bouton's Concord, 258.

are not recorded, was Benjamin Thompson, of Woburn, already spoken of as author of a congratulatory address to Governor Wentworth. He came to Concord in 1772, upon invitation of Timothy Walker, Jr. He was then a youth of nineteen, without the advantage of liberal education, but of a scientific and philosophic turn, which had been gratified, three years before, by a course of philosophical lectures at Cambridge. Before this, he had been set to the study of medicine, but only to his disgust; he had then been put at employment in a store, and with much the same result, till, indeed, his widowed mother and other friends became impressed with a belief that he would never fix his mind upon any regular employment by which he could gain a support.[1] But he tried his hand at instruction in Bradford, and with better inclination and success; and coming to Concord, he followed the same pursuit, to popular acceptance.

In the handsome, genial, gifted schoolmaster there was promise of greatness, and his generously endowed nature felt the pricking of concomitant ambition. By his marriage, in his twenty-first year, with the widow of Benjamin Rolfe, means became his with which the better to gratify his liking for personal display and the attractions of polite society. Accompanied by his wife, he journeyed to Portsmouth in a curricle, the most expensive carriage of that day, and won, by his fine manliness of presence and address, much attention in the provincial capital. Governor Wentworth conceived high admiration for the brilliant young man, and soon after commissioned him to be major of the Eleventh regiment of militia. This mark of esteem and confidence was gratifying to the recipient, who had military taste and aptitude. But the appointment brought with it dislike from many who took it as an act of gross favoritism and inexcusable supersedure. Besides, as the favor was conferred by a royal governor, already falling into unpopularity for his support of the crown against the colonies, the favorite major was eyed with not a little suspicion. The Sons of Liberty[2] were on the alert. In their view he who was not for the American cause was against it, and, of that cause, Major Thompson had been heard to speak doubtfully. When, to the disgust and indignation of the people of New Hampshire, their governor undertook to render aid to General Gage, nominal governor of Massachusetts, it seems that Thompson, as Wentworth's petted friend, was induced to lend a helping hand. That he did so is attested by the governor himself, in the following words of a letter written to the Earl of Dartmouth, on the 15th of November, 1774: "I have been success-

[1] Annals of Concord, 55.
[2] An association of zealous friends of the American cause.

ful in prevailing on soldiers deserted from the King's troops at Boston, to return to their duty, through the spirited and prudent activity of Major Thompson, a militia officer of New Hampshire, whose management the General writes me, promises further success."[1] It is likely that this spirited activity of the major upon the wrong side came to the notice of his watchful neighbors, and intensified the popular enmity towards him. When, therefore, he ventured to entertain at his house two British officers of Gage's army in Boston, visiting Concord on furlough, patriotic feeling was so inflamed against him that, to avoid threatened personal violence at the hands of some of the more impulsive Sons of Liberty, he left his home, wife, and infant daughter, never to return to them. He found in his native town of Woburn, whither he had withdrawn, a similar intensity of feeling against him, rendering his stay there unsafe. He strove in vain to efface the mark of toryism which had been set upon him. At the coming of the war, the revolutionary measures leading to which he had not favored, the high-minded young man of twenty-two seems to have been ready, in good faith, to cast in his lot with his countrymen and fight for American liberty. He offered his military services, but suspicion prevented acceptance. Enemies, actuated partly by patriotic motives, and partly by motives less praiseworthy, overbore all his efforts to right himself, till finally he felt obliged to seek security within the British lines.

The promise of capacity for high achievement was not to be verified in his own land; the field for the brilliant efforts of his versatile genius in science, philosophy, military affairs, statesmanship, and philanthropy, lay in lands beyond the sea. In England, France, and Germany, the Concord schoolmaster and major of the New Hampshire militia was, in forty years, to accomplish the great historic lifework of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford.[2]

The allusions to the militia just made suggest that in 1774 the military organization of the province embraced twelve regiments of infantry; three new ones having been recently added to the nine that had existed in the time of the Seven Years' War. Concord was assigned to the Eleventh, and to this was ever afterwards to belong. Andrew McMillan was the first colonel of the new regiment, with Thomas Stickney as lieutenant-colonel, and Benjamin Thompson as major. McMillan having removed to Conway, Stickney succeeded him in the command of the regiment. Concord supplied two companies, of which Joshua Abbot and Abial Chandler were captains; Jonathan Stickney and Ebenezer Virgin, lieutenants; John Shute

[1] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 418.
[2] See Countess Rumford in note at close of chapter.

and Jonathan Eastman, ensigns. The names of the privates have not been preserved, but the number on the alarm list was one hundred and ninety.[1] Governor Wentworth, as captain-general, had sought to improve the militia; but he was soon to see whatever military spirit and discipline he had succeeded in diffusing turned against the crown under which he held commission, and whose interests he was diligent to serve.

Revolutionary events thickened. When on the 8th of June, 1774, the governor dissolved the newly called assembly, because it had appointed a committee of correspondence to effect united action with the other colonies, he thought he had dissolved the committee.[2] But he soon found his mistake when, on the 6th of July, a body of representatives, summoned by that committee, convened in the legislative chamber. Hastening thither with the sheriff of Rockingham county, the representative of the king pronounced this meeting of the people's representatives illegal, and ordered them to disperse. They did not disperse, but taking time to deliberate, simply adjourned in due order to meet at another place. There they decided to request by letter all the towns and parishes of the province to send deputies to a convention to be held at Exeter, on the 21st of July instant, for the choice of delegates to a general congress appointed to meet at Philadelphia early in September.[3] The request was answered by the appearance of eighty-five delegates in the first provincial convention at the time and place designated.[4] The names of the deputies are lost; but it is probable that Timothy Walker, Jr., son of the minister of Concord, was in attendance.[5] Major John Sullivan and Colonel Nathaniel Folsom were appointed to attend the first continental congress, and the sufferings of the people of Boston under the revengeful port bill were commended to the benevolent consideration of the people of the province.

The die of war was cast at Lexington. All have heard the oft-repeated story, how from the hills and valleys of New Hampshire straightway rushed hundreds of heroes to the scene of encounter. Nor were the men of Concord laggards then. Thirty-six volunteers, with Captain Abial Chandler at their head, were soon away for Cambridge, where they tarried a fortnight. Others of their townsmen closely followed. Unfortunately the names of the men of Concord who were thus of the first to fly to arms in the American Revolution are not upon record. Their services, however, were recognized the following December in the vote "That Captain Abial Chandler and those men who went under him to Cambridge, upon the alarm

[1] Bouton's Concord, 258, and note.
[2] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 399-400.
[3] *Ibid*, 400-401.
[4] *Ibid*, 407.
[5] See Town Accounts in Bouton's Concord, 259.

in April last, be paid by the parish at the same rates that other troops in this colony are paid." [1]

While the men of New Hampshire, "fired with zeal in the common cause, were thus rushing to the assistance" of their Massachusetts brethren, "a special convention of delegates" was hastily called from accessible towns to consider the measures "expedient to be taken at" the "alarming crisis." [2] This third convention met at Exeter on the 21st of April—only two days after the Lexington affair—with sixty-eight delegates from the nearest towns in attendance; but by the twenty-fifth the number being swelled by accessions from remoter places reached one hundred and nine. Reverend Timothy Walker appeared as the delegate from Concord. The convention at once met one emergency by a vote requesting "Colonel Nathaniel Folsom immediately to take the chief command of the troops who have gone or may go from this government to assist our suffering brethren in the Massachusetts Bay." [3] Most of the measures considered were, however, left for final decision to another "convention of deputies," already called by the provincial committee to be held on the 17th of May.[4] In compliance with this call the "freeholders and inhabitants of Concord" chose Timothy Walker, Jr., as a deputy to the proposed convention, "for the term of six months from the said 17th day of May current." [5]

Before this fourth convention met the last provincial assembly of New Hampshire convened at Portsmouth on the 4th of May. It contained thirty-seven members from as many towns. Concord and some other of the older and more populous places had not been invited by the governor to send representatives, but three of the newer and smaller ones—Lyme, Orford, and Plymouth—were favored with his writs of election, and sent members. The governor's address was conciliatory, but fell upon unwilling ears. Petitions complaining of the election of members from three towns hitherto unrepresented were read and referred to a committee of ominously patriotic make-up. Besides, a committee was forthwith appointed to request an adjournment to some time early in June next, in order that the members might have an opportunity of fully consulting their constituents respecting the several weighty matters necessary to be considered at the present session. The great motive of the assembly in seeking an adjournment was to await the action and advice of the coming provincial congress; while, besides, there were some persons that had been elected to serve in both bodies. Annoying, humiliating even, though it was to the governor, that the

[1] Town Records, 148.
[2] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 461.
[3] *Ibid*, 454.
[4] *Ibid*, 461.
[5] Town Records, 146.

regular legislature should be put by to get its cue from what seemed to him but a rebellious organization usurping legislative functions, yet he deemed it best to comply with the request, and adjourned the assembly to the 12th of June.

The fourth provincial convention assembled at Exeter on the 17th of May. Never before had any like assemblage in New Hampshire contained so full and fair a representation of the people. One hundred and thirty-three members,[1] from one hundred and two towns and parishes, were in immediate attendance, though the roll of membership finally showed one hundred and fifty-one names.[2] The convention proceeded promptly and boldly to its legislative work. At once it was ordered that a force of two thousand men be raised, including the volunteers already on duty in Massachusetts.[3] The latter were largely comprised in a regiment already under command of Colonel John Stark, who, on the 26th of April, had received commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, to hold "till New Hampshire should act." Of the force now raised a brigade of three regiments was constituted, with John Stark in command of the First, Enoch Poor of the Second, and James Reid of the Third.

A committee of safety was chosen, and endowed with authority to act as an executive body "in the recess of the Congress."[4] A committee of supplies was also raised, upon which much responsibility rested in procuring military stores and provisions, and in borrowing money on the faith of the colony for that purpose.[5] Of this committee, Timothy Walker, Jr., of Concord, was a member.

A British army was occupying Boston; and New England troops had been centering about the distressed town ever since the affair of Lexington. The first and second regiments of New Hampshire, in command of Stark and Reid, having been put in order by the colonial congress, stood ready, at Medford, for any call to duty. In Stark's regiment were companies from Concord and the vicinity, commanded by Captains Joshua Abbot and Gordon Hutchins: the first having, as one of its lieutenants, Abiel Chandler; the second, Daniel Livermore. Captain Aaron Kinsman, then resident in Bow, had a company, with Lieutenant Ebenezer Eastman and a few men from Concord. The Concord officers and men in these three commands numbered between thirty and forty.[6] Captain Joshua Abbot was of good fighting stock, being the son of Nathaniel, a proprietor of Penacook, and a lieutenant of rangers in the French and Indian War. Captain Hutchins had been a resident of Concord for three

[1] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 468-70.
[2] *Ibid*, 665-9.
[3] *Ibid*, 477.
[4] *Ibid*, 478, 485.
[5] *Ibid*, 478, 487.
[6] See lists in notes at close of chapter.

years at the commencement of Revolutionary hostilities. In his store, on the west side of Main street, a few rods south of its junction with the Hopkinton road, or Pleasant street, he had heard of "Lexington." Forthwith he hastened to Exeter, and returned with commission to raise and organize a company for six months. This he did; encouraging enlistments by furnishing "on credit" supplies from his store to families of his hastily enlisted men, and, in consequence, suffering considerable pecuniary loss.[1]

When it was known to the investing camp that the English in Boston contemplated occupying Bunker Hill, an advantageous position in Charlestown, the Americans determined to anticipate the enemy's movement by seizing that height for themselves. Suddenly, in the early morning light of June the 17th, stood revealed on that coveted hilltop, an American redoubt,—the work of one short summer night,—a surprise and a defiance to waking foes below, across the Charles. Early, two hundred men of the New Hampshire regiments were ordered to the hill; later, the main body marched to join them there, and took position in the left wing of the southerly-facing line of defense, along the slope between the redoubt and the Mystic. There they stood behind their breastwork, partly of doubled rail fence filled in with hay mown yesterday; partly of simple stone wall, thrown up by themselves down by the river. Behind this bare wall, on the extreme left, were posted Captain Joshua Abbot, with his Concord company, and Captain John Moor, with the men of Amoskeag.

When, in the blazing heat of mid-afternoon, the enemy advanced, with the fine regiment of Royal Fusiliers upon their right, they were met by so well aimed and deadly a fire from the American line—especially from the rudely sheltered left—that, with thinned and disordered ranks, they beat a precipitate retreat. Rallied and reinforced, they returned to the attack, but only to be hurled back again in death and rout—leaving ghastly windrows of dead and wounded before the rail fence and stone wall. Now the shattered foe, having been rallied and reinforced anew, came up the hill, for the third time, in attempt to turn the left and right of the American line, by simultaneous assault. To turn the left was impossible; the assault being fearfully and effectually repelled by Stark's dread marksmen of the Merrimack and their worthy comrades. But American success on the left did not decide the day; for the redoubt could not be held, with failing ammunition, against the enemy's overwhelming numbers, stoutly defended though it was by Prescott and his gallant men. Retreat became inevitable—a retreat,

[1] Autobiography of Levi Hutchins, 24, 88.

defiantly closed by the men of New Hampshire, who had fought on the victorious left. These were the last to leave the bloody field, where they had sustained one third of the American loss and inflicted three fifths of the British. To the heroic doing of the militia at Bunker Hill, which, in moral significance, made defeat the synonym of victory, the men of Concord contributed their full share; and thus had helped to justify Washington's glad prediction in view of the result,—"The liberties of America are safe." Of the fifteen slain in Stark's command on that day, William Mitchell, of Captain Abbot's company, was one.

The colonial congress reassembled ten days after the event of Bunker Hill to continue, with occasional recesses, its important labors until November; the public interests being entrusted, in recess, to the vigilant Committee of Safety, with the faithful Meshech Weare at its head. Of course military affairs primarily engrossed the attention of the congress. The regiments of Stark and Reid, having, after the battle of Bunker Hill, been joined by that of Poor, which had been retained for home duty, were posted north of Charlestown in the left of the American line investing Boston. These, including the men of Concord in the companies of Captains Abbot and Hutchins, were soon largely enlisted into the continental army.[1] At Bunker Hill there had been some loss of fire-arms, equipments, and clothing in the New Hampshire regiments, though it was comparatively small in the Concord companies. The duty of strictly ascertaining that loss and of making compensation therefor in behalf of the colony was assigned by the congress to Ichabod Rawlings (or Rollins) and Timothy Walker, Jr., and was faithfully and acceptably done.[2] In accordance with the recommendation of the continental congress, the militia, comprising "all men from sixteen to fifty years of age," was divided into twelve regiments, with Colonel Thomas Stickney in command of the one embracing Concord.[3] In September four regiments of minute-men were ordered to be enlisted out of the twelve regiments of militia, consisting of a quarter part of each company. The enlistments from Colonel Stickney's command were assigned to the third regiment of minute-men, of which Timothy Walker, Jr., was appointed colonel. They met for drill every fortnight, and stood ready for service at a minute's warning. Concord had at least one company in this important organization.

It was a busy year for the colonial congress. Portsmouth, down by the sea, had to be provided with adequate means of defense, as had also the western and northern frontiers up along the Connecti-

[1] See Continental Service in 1775-6-7, in note at close of chapter.
[2] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 584-600.
[3] *Ibid*, 577.

cut river and the Canadian border. For the latter purpose, a ranger regiment was organized in midsummer, and placed under command of Colonel Timothy Bedel. Concord was probably represented in this regiment, as it certainly was in another under the same commander, raised early the next year to join the northern continental army and help to retrieve the disasters of the Canadian campaign. There were Concord men in the companies of Captains James Osgood and Ebenezer Greene, in this regiment, for there are recorded the names of eighteen who were taken prisoners in May, 1776, in the "unfortunate affair" of "the Cedars,"[1] a post on the St. Lawrence, thirty-six miles above Montreal.

New Hampshire men, including some from Concord, had previously participated in the operations against Canada. They had been present in the unsuccessful assault upon Quebec on the last day of 1775, when Arnold's force, after its fearful march through the wilds of Maine, had made junction with that of Montgomery, advancing from the Hudson by way of the St. Lawrence. Of those engaged in that assault was Nathaniel Eastman of East Concord, who saw the gallant and lamented Montgomery fall at the head of the assailing force.[2]

The colony had already more than three thousand troops in service, when, about the 1st of December, General Washington, through Brigadier-General Sullivan in command on the left of the line investing Boston, requested more men from New Hampshire on short enlistment. The exigency was a pressing one, for certain Connecticut troops, refusing to remain beyond the period of their enlistment, were about to leave a dangerous gap on the left through which the beleaguered enemy might escape from Boston by land. The colonial congress had dissolved, but the Committee of Safety promptly proceeded to comply with the urgent request of the commander-in-chief. The requisition to enlist, for six weeks, thirty-one regiments of sixty-four men each, officers included,[3] was, in a few days, substantially fulfilled, and between eighteen hundred and two thousand volunteers[4] had rendered again entire the American line on Winter Hill. Nor were these brave "Six Weeks' Men" punctilious as to the period of enlistment, but remained upon duty for nearly double the time, and until the British army was compelled to evacuate Boston, in March, 1776. Concord was not remiss at this exigency, but contributed a company, in command of Captain Benjamin Emery, with John Bradley and Moses Eastman as lieutenants.[5]

[1] Bouton's Concord, 752; see Continental Service, etc., in note at close of chapter; also see N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VIII, 152-3, and Military History, N. H. Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), *pp.* 286-7.

[2] Adjutant-General's Report, 285 (note).

[3] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 675.

[4] Mil. History, N. H. Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), *p.* 277; Hammond's Rev. War Rolls, Vol. I, 209.

[5] Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), *pp.* 277-80.

While the colonial congress of 1775 was largely occupied with military affairs, other matters required and received its attention. The provincial records, civil and judicial, were transferred from Portsmouth to Exeter, now the colonial capital. A census was ordered and taken, whereby the number of people was found to be eighty-two thousand two hundred.[1] Of this number Concord had ten hundred and fifty-two. Events, moreover, forcibly directed attention to the subject of future government. As to this, the advice of the continental congress was sought, and, early in November, was given in a resolution recommending "to call a full representation of the people; and that the representatives, if they think it necessary, establish such a form of government as, in their judgment, will best produce the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the province during the continuance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies."[2] Acting upon this advice, the convention appointed a committee—of which Colonel Walker, of Concord, was one—"to report a method for representation."[3] On the 14th of November the committee presented a report, which was adopted. This provided that every legal inhabitant paying taxes should be a voter; that every person elected as a representative to the colonial congress should have real estate in the colony of the value of two hundred pounds lawful money; that every one hundred families entitled a town, parish, or precinct to one representative,—places, each containing less than that number of families, being classed; that on the basis of the recent census, eighty-nine representatives, authorized by their constituents to serve for one year, might be chosen to meet in congress at Exeter on the 21st of December; and, finally, that the congress should be empowered to resolve itself into a house of representatives, if the form of government assumed by the colony on the recommendation of the continental congress, should require such action.[4] Having provided for duly notifying the one hundred and sixty-four towns, parishes, and precincts of this "method of representation," and for calling meetings of the inhabitants to carry it out, the congress dissolved on the 15th of November, 1775.

Accordingly, on the 5th of December, Timothy Walker, Jr., was elected to represent the parish of Concord[5] in the fifth provincial, or second colonial, congress. Within a week after the meeting of this body on the 21st of December, a committee was chosen to draw up a plan for the government of the "Colony during the present contest with Great Britain."[6] The plan was presented and adopted on the 5th of January, 1776.

[1] Belknap, 363.
[2] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 642.
[3] *Ibid*, 655.
[4] *Ibid*, 657-660.
[5] Town Records, 147.
[6] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 703-4.

The watch for persons manifesting in any way a spirit inimical to the American cause, became more and more vigilant. Town committees of safety were now very generally appointed to transmit to the colonial authorities "the names and places of abode" of all suspected persons, with "the causes and evidence of such suspicions." Accordingly, at the annual March meeting of 1776, "Philip Eastman, Colonel Thomas Stickney, Timothy Walker, Jr., Joseph Hall, Jr., and Richard Herbert" were chosen "a Committee of Safety for the parish of Concord" during the current year. Such a committee was annually elected during the next three years.[1] To secure still more effectually united support to the cause of America, and the detection of all persons disaffected thereto, the continental congress, in March of the same year, resolved "that it be recommended to the several assemblies, conventions, and councils, or committees of safety, of the United Colonies, immediately to cause all persons to be disarmed within their respective colonies, who are notoriously disaffected to the cause of America, or who have not associated, and refuse to associate, to defend by arms the United Colonies against the hostile attempts of the British fleets and armies."[2] To carry this resolve into execution, the Committee of Safety, "for the Colony of New-Hampshire," by "Meshech Weare, Chairman," issued in April, to the selectmen of the several towns and parishes, a circular containing the resolution of the continental congress, and a Declaration, or Association Test, with the following recommendation: "You are requested to desire all males above twenty-one years of age,—lunatics, idiots, and negroes excepted,—to sign to the declaration on this paper; and when so done, to make return thereof, together with the name or names of all who shall refuse to sign the same, to the General Assembly, or Committee of Safety of this Colony."[3] The declaration to be signed was in the following words: "In consequence of the above Resolution of the Hon. Continental Congress, and to show our determination in joining our American brethren, in defending the lives, liberties, and properties of the inhabitants of the United Colonies; We, the subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage, and promise, that we will, to the utmost of our power, at the risque of our lives and fortunes, with arms, oppose the hostile proceedings of the British fleets and armies against the United American Colonies."[4] In Concord this test, or pledge, received one hundred and fifty-six signatures.[5] Nor was there to be found one delinquent name to mar the proud record of patriotic unanimity.

That bold pledge of resistance to British tyranny was but the

[1] See names in note at close of chapter.
[2] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VIII, 204-5.
[3] *Ibid*, 204.
[4] *Ibid*, 204-5.
[5] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VIII, 203-4; see, for signatures, Association Test in note at close of chapter.

natural precursor of the bolder assertion of severance from the British empire. Indeed, the former was a sanction of the latter, and gave assurance that the popular conviction was fast coming to be well up with the advanced thought of those who, from the first, had foreseen and desired the independence of America. The all-important question of assuming independence was not much longer to tarry for decision. Upon that question the continental congress sought from the several colonies an authoritative expression of the popular will. New Hampshire promptly responded by her legislature. On the 11th of June, a committee of six—one of whom was Colonel Timothy Walker, of Concord—was appointed "to make a draft of a declaration of the general assembly for independence of the United Colonies on Great Britain." On the fifteenth a declaration was reported. It was unanimously accepted, as "setting forth the sentiments and opinion of the Council and Assembly," and was ordered to be sent to the New Hampshire delegates in congress. It was a strong, explicit manifesto, which, through its appropriate preamble of reasons for entering upon that most important step of disunion from Great Britain, reached this its bold conclusion: "We do, therefore, declare that it is the opinion of this Assembly, that our Delegates at the Continental Congress should be instructed, and they are hereby instructed, to join with the other Colonies in declaring The Thirteen United Colonies a Free and Independent State; solemnly pledging our faith and honor, that we will on our parts support the measure with our lives and fortunes." [1]

Within three weeks the continental congress put forth that Declaration of Independence—sanctioned by separate colonial action—which announced the birth of another power among the nations of the earth, and made July the Fourth ever to be sacred in the calendar of liberty. Thenceforth New Hampshire was no longer a Colony; it had become a State—one of the thirteen United States of America.

With characteristic energy, New Hampshire yielded full and ready military support to the cause of American liberty and independence. In course of the year 1776 the state had ten regiments in the field; comprising the three in command of Stark, Poor, and Reid, of the regular, or continental, line, and seven of militia reinforcements—including that of Colonel Bedel, before mentioned.[2] Concord men were in Stark's regiment—twenty-five of them in Captain Joshua Abbot's company,[3] and others in that of Captain Elisha Woodbury, of which Daniel Livermore, of Concord, was lieutenant.[4] There

[1] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VIII, 150.
[2] Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), *p.* 295.
[3] See Continental Service, etc., in note at close of chapter.
[4] Joseph B. Walker's address; Proceedings of N. H. Hist. Society, Vol. III, 66.

were thirteen Concord men in Captain Benjamin Emery's company,[1] belonging to Colonel Nahum Baldwin's regiment, of which Gordon Hutchins had become lieutenant-colonel; and five in the company commanded by Captain Benjamin Sias of Canterbury, in Colonel David Gilman's regiment.[1] Concord also contributed eighteen men,[2] at least, to the regiments of Colonels Isaac Wyman and Joshua Wingate, but their names have not been preserved. The militia regiments of Colonels Baldwin, Gilman, Wyman, and Wingate reinforced the continental army in New York; and some of them took part in the active operations of that neighborhood; for Colonel Hutchins led his regiment in the battle of White Plains, fought on the 28th of October, 1776.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British army, Stark's regiment, then in the continental line, accompanied General Washington to New York, whence it was sent to the help of the ill-fated expedition against Canada, originally under the conduct of Montgomery and Arnold. But, as Stark foresaw, efforts in that direction proved futile; the only real success achieved being General Sullivan's skilful withdrawal of the invading force to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Among those who perished of the virulent smallpox which prevailed during and after the retreat, was Abiel Chandler, who, at the Lexington alarm, had led to the front Concord's first band of volunteers in the Revolution, and had subsequently held important official positions in Stark's regiment.[3] Late in the season Stark's regiment and others of the Northern department joined Washington's force on the right bank of the Delaware, strengthening the commander-in-chief for a timely retrieval of ill fortune, and enabling him to crown with victory the old year at Trenton, and the new at Princeton. Men of Concord helped to achieve that success which rent the thick cloud enveloping the patriot cause, and revealed its silver lining of hope.

With the year 1777, thus auspiciously opened, the Continental army was reorganized and strengthened by enlistment for three years, or during the war. A change of commanders occurred, too, in the three New Hampshire regiments. Upon the resignation of Stark, over whom the continental congress had unjustly promoted Poor, a junior officer, to be brigadier-general, Joseph Cilley succeeded to the colonelcy of the "First." The other two regiments interchanged numbering. The "Second," becoming the "Third," was put under the command of Alexander Scammell, as successor to Poor, promoted; while Nathan Hale was made colonel of the "Third"—

[1] See Continental Service, etc., in note at close of chapter.
[2] Bouton's Concord, 753.
[3] *Ibid*, 640; also, Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), *pp.* 265, 266.

henceforth the "Second"—in place of Reid, disabled by blindness. These regiments, in a brigade commanded by General Poor, had rendezvous at Ticonderoga till midsummer.[1] Captain Daniel Livermore of Concord commanded a company in Colonel Scammell's regiment, containing seventeen of his townsmen.[2]

The members of the assembly for 1777 had been elected as the year before, but those of the council had been chosen for the first time by popular vote. One of the five councilors for Rockingham county was Colonel Timothy Walker of Concord, who had earned this promotion by distinguished service in the congress, and in the lower branch of the first legislature, and was twice to be re-elected to the upper house. Colonel Gordon Hutchins succeeded him as a member of the assembly. That council and assembly of 1777, as will soon be seen, had a rare and well improved opportunity to contribute war legislation, decisively promotive of the common cause.

In that crucial year of the Revolution, the favorite plan of the British ministry to separate New England from the rest of the country, by occupying the line of the Hudson, was seriously attempted. In early summer Lieutenant-General Burgoyne came out of Canada, over Lake Champlain, intending to co-operate with Howe and Clinton, who were to ascend the Hudson from New York. Washington, while thinning his own command to strengthen that of the Northern department, hindered Howe from effective co-operation with Burgoyne. The latter advanced southward, and approached Ticonderoga, where were stationed, with other troops, the three New Hampshire regiments of Poor's brigade.[3] Meanwhile, numerous companies were enlisted in New Hampshire, and sent forward to the relief of the threatened fortress. Of these was one commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrish of Boscawen, containing twenty or more Concord men. This company, starting on the 5th of July, had marched seventy-five miles, when it was met by the news that Ticonderoga had been evacuated by the American forces. It was accordingly turned back, and discharged within the week.[4] At the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and the occurrence of untoward events immediately succeeding, the alarm in Vermont was greatly intensified, and the assistance of New Hampshire was earnestly sought. To meet the case, the legislature convened in special session on the 17th of July. Within three days effective measures were matured to render aid in preventing the encroachment and ravages of the enemy.[5] The militia was divided into two brigades, one of which was placed in com-

[1] Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), *p.* 304.
[2] See Continental Service, etc., in note at close of chapter.
[3] See Continental Service in note at close of chapter.
[4] Bouton's Concord, 273-4; Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), *p.* 313.
[5] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VIII, 634.