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STATE HOUSE, 1816-1865.

HISTORY

OF



CONCORD

NEW HAMPSHIRE

FROM THE ORIGINAL GRANT IN SEVENTEEN
HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE TO THE
OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

PREPARED UNDER THE
SUPERVISION OF THE
CITY HISTORY COMMISSION

JAMES O. LYFORD, Editor



VOLUME I

AUTHORIZED BY THE CITY GOVERNMENT JANUARY 14TH, 1896

THE RUMFORD PRESS,
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1903

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THE HISTORY COMMISSION
OF CONCORD.

ORDINANCE CREATING CITY HISTORY COMMISSION.

CITY OF CONCORD.

IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIX.

AN ORDINANCE

Providing for a History of the City of Concord.

Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Concord as follows :

That Amos Hadley, Howard F. Hill, Benjamin A. Kimball, James O. Lyford, Lyman D. Stevens, and John M. Mitchell be and the same are hereby appointed and constituted a committee of which the mayor shall be *ex officio* a member and chairman, all to serve without pay, to employ some competent and satisfactory person to write the history of Concord to the present time and to procure its publication, said committee to devise some plan or project whereby the city, as such, shall be saved from considerable expense in the matter, subscriptions to be obtained to the work, and data and material collected for the same; and for said purposes the sum of two hundred dollars is hereby appropriated from any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, subject to the order of the duly-elected treasurer of said committee upon its organization, and to be expended under the direction of the committee.

The said committee to be known as the City History Commission, the members thereof to serve until others are elected in their stead, and any vacancy in said commission from death, resignation, or inability shall be filled immediately by election in the City Council and said Commission shall report progress from time to time to the City Council, and shall incur no expense beyond the sum of two hundred dollars hereby appropriated without first obtaining proper authorization from the City Council therefor.

In Board of Mayor and Aldermen January 14, 1896.

HENRY ROBINSON, *Mayor*.

In Common Council January 14, 1896.

Passed in concurrence.

HARRY R. HOOD, *President*.

PREFACE.

The first public consideration of a history of Concord to supplement that of Dr. Nathaniel Bouton was at a meeting of the Commercial club in the winter of 1893. The subject was brought to the attention of the club by Postmaster Robinson, and received favorable consideration. No action was taken, however, until December, 1895, when in consultation with several citizens Mr. Robinson, then mayor, suggested that some expression of the public be obtained by petition. Following out this suggestion Isaac Andrew Hill prepared and circulated the following petition:

TO THE HONORABLE HENRY ROBINSON,
Mayor of Concord:

As mayor of our city and as president of the Concord Commercial club, we beg to call your attention and to ask your co-operation as far as may be proper, to the subject of a history of Concord.

It is now nearly half a century since Dr. Bouton completed his work, and the book is now long out of print, and almost impossible to buy.

Since 1853 we have become a municipality. We feel that the time is now ripe for the preparation of a history embodying these great changes, both material and personal, and we respectfully request you to call the attention of the aldermen and common council to this most desirable undertaking.

BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL,	FRANKLIN D. AYER,
JAMES S. NORRIS,	E. J. AIKEN,
LEWIS DOWNING, JR.,	WOODBRIDGE ODLIN,
JOHN M. HILL,	LYMAN D. STEVENS,
JOHN KIMBALL,	JOHN WHITAKER,
LELAND A. SMITH,	DANIEL B. DONOVAN,
JOSEPH B. WALKER,	MILON D. CUMMINGS,
GEORGE A. CUMMINGS,	CYRUS R. ROBINSON.
EDSON J. HILL,	

This formal presentation of the project was read on December 10, 1895, before a convention of the city council, and was referred to a special committee composed of Mayor Robinson, Aldermen John F. Webster and David F. Dudley, and Councilmen George W. Bunker

and Charles S. Piper. This committee reported favorably January 14, 1896, to the city council, introducing an ordinance, drawn by the mayor, providing for a history of Concord, appointing a commission to carry out the undertaking, and appropriating two hundred dollars to develop a plan of the history. The commission consisted of the mayor, *ex officio*, chairman, Amos Hadley, Howard F. Hill, Benjamin A. Kimball, James O. Lyford, Lyman D. Stevens, and John M. Mitchell.

This commission met at the office of Benjamin A. Kimball at the passenger railway station Saturday morning, February 1, 1896, and perfected an organization by the choice of James O. Lyford as secretary, who was subsequently chosen editor. An executive committee was appointed consisting of the mayor, James O. Lyford, and Howard F. Hill. The executive committee was directed to prepare and recommend to the commission a general plan of the history.

The second meeting of the commission was held February 10, 1896, at which the executive committee reported its plan, which was discussed by the commission, and then it was voted to ask the city council to appropriate two thousand five hundred dollars for the preparation of the history, the appropriation to be in the nature of a loan of the city's credit, the commission to secure subscriptions to that amount before asking for any further appropriation. At a regular meeting of the city council February 11, 1896, the request of the commission was granted and the appropriation made.

The plan of the history, as outlined by the commission and followed in the preparation of the work, provided for a general narrative, giving the story of the settlement of Concord and its growth from the date of its founding to the close of the year 1896. The general narrative was to be supplemented by a topical treatment of those subjects which could be better considered separately than in the general story. As the work progressed it was found that more time would be required to complete the history, and the date of closing it was extended to the beginning of the new century. Subsequently the various writers were engaged and the patient examination of data went forward. In the meantime a prospectus of the history was prepared and the soliciting of subscriptions begun. Within a year, and before any of the manuscript had been submitted

to the commission, subscriptions to the amount of three thousand three hundred dollars were secured, showing the popular interest in the subject.

The commission was appointed to serve without compensation, and no member thereof has drawn anything from the city treasury for his services as commissioner, while two, at least, have contributed financially to the success of the enterprise. All members of the commission are engaged in active business, yet it would be difficult to find a commission whose members have attended meetings with more regularity and punctuality. From the beginning of the work the commission has held at least two hundred and fifty meetings, and these meetings cover five city administrations,—those of Mayors Robinson, Woodworth, Martin, Sargent, and Corning. The meetings have been held at the office of Mr. Kimball, which he early gave to the use of the commission.

It has been the object of the commission to produce the history without material expense to the city beyond the loan of its credit. To this end the commission has sought voluntary contributions from those who were in a position to make them, and for such literary labor as it has given compensation the price paid is far from adequate for the time spent and the material prepared. To secure this result the contributions and employments have had to be subsidiary to other duties, which necessarily has delayed the completion of the work. This has not been without its advantages, for it has secured greater accuracy and condensation of statement. Since the first manuscript was ready for examination the work of each writer has been read to the full board for comment and criticism. In this work of examining manuscript the commission has had the assistance of the following citizens, who have attended its meetings in response to an invitation from the commission and have acted as associate members: Lewis Downing, Jr., Joseph B. Walker, Henry McFarland, Charles R. Corning, John C. Ordway, and Giles Wheeler.

The following articles are the gifts of the authors :

Physical Features of Concord . . .	Joseph B. Walker.
Physical Development of Concord.	Joseph B. Walker.
Canals, Stage Lines, and Taverns . .	Henry McFarland.
Concord as a Railroad Center . . .	Henry McFarland.

Medical History	Jacob H. Gallinger.
Church History	James O. Lyford.
State Hospital	Joseph B. Walker.
Margaret Pillsbury Hospital	James O. Lyford.
Hospital for Women and Children	James O. Lyford.
Dentistry	James O. Lyford.
Schools, Public and Private	John C. Ordway.
Concord Literary Institution	John C. Ordway.
Methodist General Biblical Institute	John C. Ordway.
Newspapers	Frank W. Rollins.
State Prison	Joseph B. Walker.
Concord in the Civil War	Howard F. Hill.
St. Paul's School	James O. Lyford.
St. Mary's School	Thomas C. Bethune.
The Rolfe and Rumford Asylum	Joseph B. Walker.
The Governor's Horse Guards	James O. Lyford.
Fish and Game	Frank Battles.
Official Roster of Concord	James O. Lyford.

The special topics have relieved the general narrator, Amos Hadley, of the necessity of breaking the thread of his story by turning aside to give details on such subjects, which often detracts from the merits of a history, while the writers who have dealt with these special subjects have had opportunity to give a continuous account of the themes which they have treated. In addition to this there is a variety of style in the writing, which it is hoped will make the history more pleasing to the public.

The history is the joint production of citizens of Concord, some of them natives and all of them long-time residents. The illustrations have been in charge of Henry B. Colby, and have been prepared under the supervision of Benjamin A. Kimball. To obviate any question of discrimination, no portraits of individuals living or dead have been used. The illustrating has been of places and buildings of historic interest, public buildings, and such scenes of the past and present as posterity would desire to have preserved. The reading of the revised proof has been the contribution of Edward N. Pearson.

The spirit of this undertaking has been to give as complete, readable, and accurate a history of Concord as possible, exploiting

no enterprise and no individual, but preserving in compact form all those facts and incidents which present and future generations will find useful, instructive, and entertaining. How well the commission has succeeded the public can best judge when this book is in their hands.

CHARLES R. CORNING (*ex officio*),
 AMOS HADLEY,
 HOWARD F. HILL,
 BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL,
 JAMES O. LYFORD,
 LYMAN D. STEVENS,
 JOHN M. MITCHELL,
City History Commission.

To the secretary and editor, James O. Lyford, credit should be given for the labor he has performed and the capacity he has shown in the preparation of this history. His contributions to its pages are but a part of his work. The plan of the history, combining a general narrative with topical treatment of special subjects, is his, and the burden of securing voluntary contributions, conducting correspondence, arranging material, and attending to the many details, has fallen upon him. The ability with which he has discharged these duties has contributed in no small degree to the success of the undertaking.

CHARLES R. CORNING.
 AMOS HADLEY.
 HOWARD F. HILL.
 BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL.
 LYMAN D. STEVENS.
 JOHN M. MITCHELL.

ACT OF LEGISLATURE CREATING HISTORY COMMISSION OF CONCORD.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND
THREE.

AN ACT

To Incorporate the History Commission of Concord.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General
Court convened:*

SECTION 1. That the mayor of Concord, Amos Hadley, Howard F. Hill, Benjamin A. Kimball, James O. Lyford, Lyman D. Stevens, and John M. Mitchell, their successors and assigns, shall be and hereby are made a body politic and corporate by the name of the History Commission of Concord.

SECT. 2. This corporation shall receive, when published, all copies of the History of Concord, authorized by said city by ordinance passed January 14, 1896, and ordinances and resolutions supplementary thereto, and shall have the custody and control thereof, and shall provide for their sale, fixing the price thereof with the approval of the City Councils of Concord, and account to said city for all moneys received therefrom.

SECT. 3. This corporation is empowered to appoint an agent or agents to carry out its work and to fix their compensation.

SECT. 4. Any vacancy in the incorporators shall be filled by the city councils upon recommendation of the remaining members.

SECT. 5. The mayor of Concord, Amos Hadley, Howard F. Hill, and James O. Lyford, or any two of them, may call the first meeting of this corporation not later than May 1st, 1903, and at said meeting or any adjournment thereof may take such measures as are necessary to complete its organization.

SECT. 6. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

[Approved March 24, 1903.]

The incorporators of the foregoing act met April 4, 1903, and organized by the choice of Lyman D. Stevens as president, Howard F. Hill as clerk, and Benjamin A. Kimball as treasurer. Notice of the acceptance of the act of incorporation and of the organization was filed with the mayor and City Councils, who accepted and approved the same April 13, 1903.

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HISTORY OF CONCORD.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

TOPOGRAPHY, STREAMS, PONDS, FRESHETS, FORESTS, MINERALS,
ARTESIAN WELL, LOCALITIES.

JOSEPH B. WALKER.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The township of Concord, which has a length from north to south of about eight miles and a breadth of about seven and three quarters, embracing an area of about thirty-nine thousand acres, forms a section of the Merrimaek valley. Its surface, for the most part moderately uneven, slopes inward from its sides to the original flood plain of the river, which divides it into two unequal parts, leaving on its east side a little more than one third, and on the opposite a little less than two thirds, of its whole area.

Its highest elevations are found in its northeastern and northwestern sections. Some of these rise to heights of over five hundred feet above the sea level, the highest being the summit of Rattlesnake hill, which the United States Coast Survey has found to have an altitude of seven hundred and eighty-three feet. Inasmuch as the low-water mark of the river is two hundred and twenty-five feet above the ocean, it will be perceived that the city's different elevations above that point vary from its level up to five hundred and fifty-eight feet.

Six considerable basins hold the waters of as many ponds: Great and Little Turkey ponds, having a combined area of two hundred and seventy-four acres, Long pond of three hundred and thirty-nine acres, Little pond of five acres, Horse Shoe pond of fifteen acres, Turtle pond of one hundred and forty-six acres, and Snow's pond of sixty-two acres. The four first mentioned lie in the westerly part of the township and the two last in its easterly section. These, together with the rivers and brooks, afford a water surface of about two thousand acres.

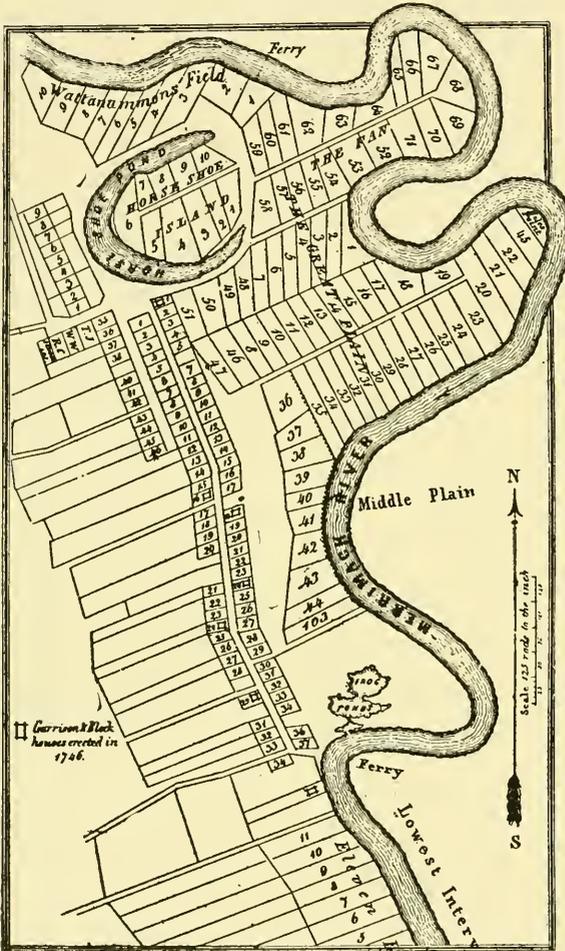
Precisely how, by ice and other eroding forces, the hand of Omnipotence carved into its present form that portion of the earth's crust which lies within the boundaries of Concord, we know but in part. As yet we see through plausible conjecture darkly, and it little becomes one to strain his vision in vain speculations beyond the lim-

its of its present power. Some of the operations of these forces, however, are patent to superficial observation, and of these it may be allowable to speak.

When, in prehistoric time, the great glacier which had filled the Merrimack valley withdrew, it left behind it an extensive plain of modified drift, composed mostly of sand.

This, varying greatly in width, extended from north to south through the entire township, occupying an area of nearly nine thousand (8837) acres.

This vast sheet of sand, varying in its thickness from one to one hundred and fifty feet, formed for a time the flood plain of the Merrimack. But such was its composition that the river began at once to deepen its channel and transport its excavations to the lower levels along its course and at its entrance to the sea. *Pari passu* with this sinking of its bed, the northwest winds swayed laterally its current from east to west, and from west to east, alternately.



Course of Merrimack River in 1726.

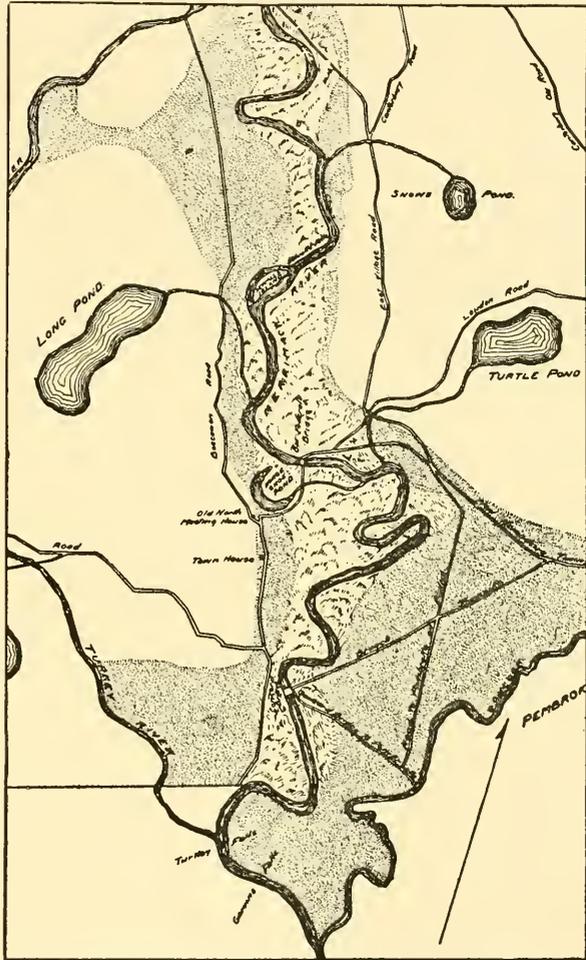
The action of these forces, operating in combination with gravity, formed in time new flood plains, each succeeding one being lower than its predecessor. Of these, the remains are yet visible in the broad steps which rise above the interval.

This sinking of its bed continued until the river encountered the solid material of the earlier formation, upon which the glacier had spread the expanse of modified drift before mentioned. But, while

the ledges in the former arrested the farther depression of the river's channel, it interfered but slightly, if at all, with its lateral movements. Since then it has been swayed back and forth, as before mentioned.

So serpentine, in time, became the river's course, within the limits of this township, that the Indians affixed to the locality the descriptive name of "Penny Cook," the crooked place. Since its depression ceased, the present interval has been its only flood plain. This varies but little in extent or character of surface, and has an area of about four and a half thousand (4547) acres.

Through this,—
 "like Bacchus reeling and drunken,"
 the river has staggered on its uncertain way, making six different loops in as many miles, abrading in high water its southerly bank, and, in unsatisfactory compensation therefor, filling with sand such opposite portions of its channel as in this movement it has abandoned. Upon the flats thus formed, willows and other alluvium-loving plants have sprung up, to arrest in flood times the silt suspended in its waters and there precipitate it; thereby raising these low surfaces to elevations corresponding to the general level of the interval.



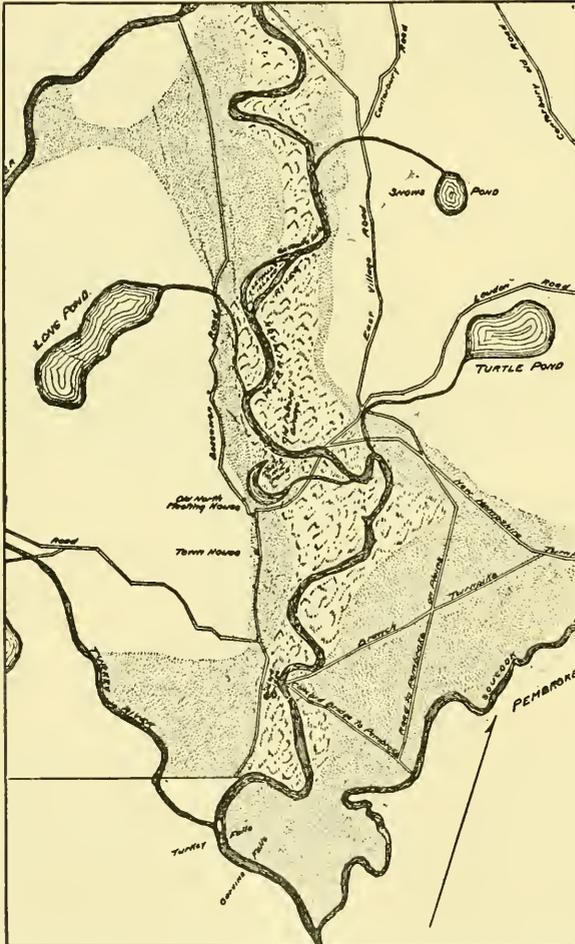
Leavitt's Plan of River's Course in 1804.

Many of the wanderings of the river over its most recent flood plain may be easily traced and with an interest always attaching to

indisputable geologic records. Some of the most marked changes of its course may be seen by comparing with one another the five accompanying plans, covering a period of one hundred and seventy-four years:

1. Plan of the Surveyors of the Township, 1726.
2. Plan of Jeremiah Leavitt, 1804.
3. Plan of Loammi Baldwin, drawn from surveys of the river made for the Sewall's Falls Canal Co. in 1836.
4. Plan made in 1855 by Stephen C. Badger for Bouton's History of Concord.
5. Plan of Will B. Howe, city engineer, of the River and Flood Plains, in 1900.

A comparison of Leavitt's plan with that of Baldwin, made thirty-two years later, shows remarkable changes during that period. On the

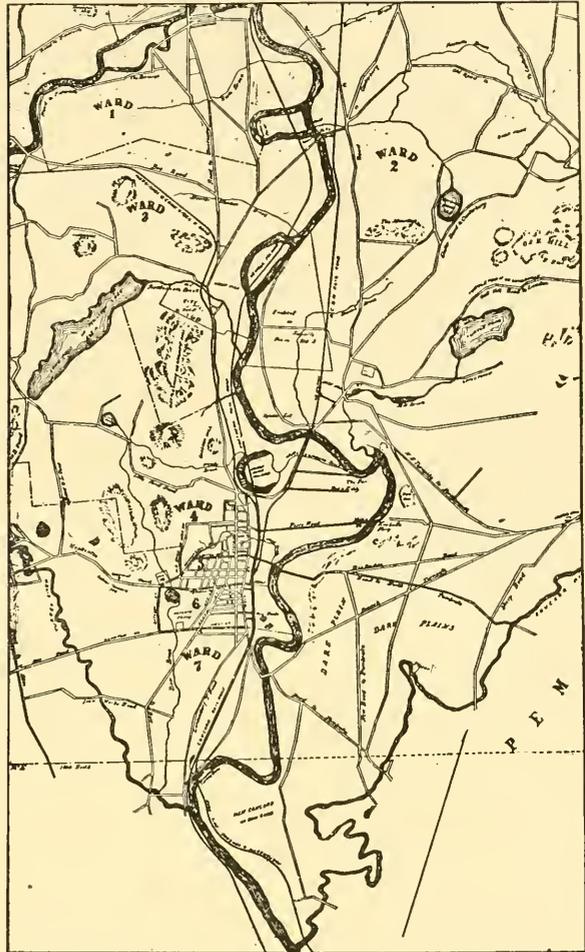


Loammi Baldwin's Plan of River's Course in 1836.

11th of August, 1828, the river cut for itself a new channel across the eastern end of the tongue of land projecting westward from Sugar Ball interval, and thereby transferred thirty acres of land from its eastern to its western shore. Three years later, in 1831, it reversed this action by severing about five acres from Hale's point, on its west side, and leaving it on the other. This straightening of its course by the obliteration of the two most notable bends has done much to destroy the significance of the name of "Pen-

ny Cook," originally attached to this locality. Horse Shoe island is another instance of similar severance and transfer by the river of some seventy-five acres from its east to its west side, at some remote date in the aboriginal period. This pond plainly indicates a previous river channel now largely obliterated by decayed aquatic vegetation and silt.

During the last sixty years, the river has moved eastward from its former bank, near the south end of Main street, 1500 feet and south-easterly 1200.¹ Twice since



Badger's Plan of the Course of Merrimack River in 1855.

1885 has the Wyatt house, upon the bluff opposite that point, been moved back on account of the river's encroachments.

In 1855 a tract of land situated in the upper part of Wattanumon's field, bought by the late Benjamin Farnum of the heirs of Capt. Eliphalet Emery, had an area of forty acres. Measured in June, 1900, it was found to contain but about twenty-seven acres, the river having in the meantime washed away thirteen, being an average of about twenty-nine one hundredths of an acre each year, and correspondingly increased the flat upon its opposite shore. Tradition says that this transfer was initiated by the removal of the bushes which once lined its southerly bank.

Since 1726 the largest portion of seven lots formerly abutting upon the Fan road have been washed away and about thirty-five

¹ Measurements of Maj. Lewis Downing, Jr.

acres, formerly upon the south side of the river, must now be sought for on its north side or in its channel. According to the survey of the interval, made in the year just mentioned, the river was distant from the East Concord road, by way of the Fan road, two hundred and twenty-three rods. Its distance is now (June, 1900) but one hundred and fifty. During the last seventy years the Fan point has moved eastward some fifty rods, and the bluff opposite has receded a like distance.

A marked change in the river's course has occurred at Penacook, a few rods below the Northern Railroad station. Here many acres have been washed away from the northerly side of the Rolfe interval, while its easterly side has been greatly enlarged at the expense of the land adjoining the river's opposite shore.

One result of the turning of the entire volume of the river into its east channel, at the upper end of Sewall's island, has been a severe abrasion of its east bank for a distance of half a mile or more and a corresponding accretion to its opposite shore of some twenty-five acres.

Another has been a later infringement of the river upon its western shore, just below the south end of this island, whereby land to the amount of three or four acres has been washed away and serious injury done to the fields below by covering their rich soil with coatings of barren sand.

A large portion of its former channels on the west side of Sewall's island and of Goodwin's point, from which the Northern Railroad excluded the river in 1846, has since been filled with sand and decayed vegetation. Eventually but few traces of its occupancy will remain.

It is interesting to observe upon the river's present flood plain its more recent changes of course. Those of prehistoric dates, however, are mostly obscure, and, like the movements of the aborigines, can be traced with difficulty and uncertainty.

The changes of the river's course thus far mentioned have been natural changes. Allusion should not be omitted to an artificial one, made, and before alluded to, by the Northern Railroad in 1846, whereby the peninsula known as Goodwin's point, of about forty acres, was cut off by the river's diversion to a new channel excavated across its junction to the main land.

The abrasions above mentioned have been often arrested by coating the slopes of endangered banks with rubble. In a few years bushes generally take root beneath it, around which sand gathers and renders them sufficiently firm to successfully resist all assaults of floods and ice, and breakings no longer occur. About fifty years

ago some one hundred and twenty-five rods of the river's south bank above Federal bridge was thus protected, and no loss by washing has since taken place. Like action, with like results, has been taken at other exposed sections.

From the foregoing statements it will be seen that the surface of Concord consists, approximately, of :

Post-tertiary drift, of various elevations	23,666	acres.
Modified drift, mostly of plain surface	8,837	“
River alluvium	4,547	“
Water areas	2,000	“
	<hr/>	
Whole area	39,050	“

The soil varies, from the dry and porous sand of the pine plains and the fine humus-bearing alluvium of the interval, to the more or less rocky and clayey formations of the post-tertiary age.

Somewhat more than half of the land in Concord is suitable for tillage, while the remainder, too rough for the plough, is well adapted to grazing and to the production of wood and timber. Here and there, on limited areas, the underlying rock formation protrudes above the surface and supplies material for one of the city's greatest industries. Millions of cubic yards of choicest granite have been taken from Rattlesnake hill, and millions of millions more await the quarryman's drill.

The importance of the subject seems to warrant farther allusion to the soils of Concord. There are four leading varieties :

1. *The alluvial soil of the interval.* This is fine grained, fairly moist, granitic, and contains assimilable plant food sufficient to produce moderate crops of ordinary farm products without amendment. It is free of stones and easily manipulated. Adequate fertilization renders it highly productive.

2. *The modified drift soil of the plains.* This is of coarser texture than the foregoing, is more porous, contains but little humus, is easily affected by droughts, holds manures in a loose grasp, and is subject to early frosts. It is better adapted to cereals than to grasses. It is a little more easily wrought than the land of the interval. With proper culture, it yields moderate crops of rye, oats, corn, buckwheat, grass, and roots.

3. *The upland soil.* This is usually warm, friable, retentive of moisture, well supplied with humus, and adapted to the production of almost all ordinary farm crops. But it is often pretty full of stones when first cleared of the forest. Until these are removed, its manipulation is laborious and expensive.

4. *Mucky Soils.* Frequent tracts of these, of varying areas, are

found in all considerable sections of Concord. Some of them consist of decomposed vegetation and the wash of surrounding hills, some of decayed aquatic plants, mingled with river silt. They are all more or less rich in nitrogen and some of them in potash. When properly drained, they make grass fields of much value. As yet, but few of them have been very thoroughly improved.

The soil-sheet which covers the underlying rock formation of Concord varies much in thickness. The latter undulates in sudden elevations and depressions, and the stratum of earth resting upon it conforms, more or less, to these. At the works of the Page Belting Company, on Penacook street, the surface of the bed rock has been found at a depth of about eighty feet below that of the ground; at Toof's laundry, just west of Main street, between School and Warren streets, at fifty-seven and a half feet; at the Concord & Portsmouth Railroad bridge, at Turkey Falls, at about twenty feet.

It may be further remarked of the surface of Concord that it rises on each side from the river's level by three broad steps to elevations of from four to five hundred feet on its western and the northern half of its eastern border. Along the southern half of the latter it sinks to the level of the Soucook river, which forms the city's southeastern boundary.

The first step upwards from the Merrimaek to the interval makes a rise, varying from three or four to fifteen feet. The second from the interval to the plain makes another of from a hundred to a hundred and twenty feet. From the plain the ground ascends in irregular slopes to the side lines before mentioned.

The surface of the two first steps is nearly level, the variations therefrom rarely exceeding ten feet. That of the third is very uneven. On the west side of the river it is characterized by three parallel ranges of hills and intervening valleys, the crests of the former sometimes rising into conspicuous summits designated by particular names.

Along the first or most easterly range, on the west side of the Merrimaek, are found Rum, Parsonage, Dagody, and Rattlesnake summits, rising to the respective altitudes of five hundred, six hundred and seventy-five, six hundred and forty, and seven hundred and eighty-three feet above the level of the sea.

In the second are found the summits known as Silver hill, having a height of four hundred feet; Jerry hill, of seven hundred and twenty-five; Pine hill, of eight hundred and ten; and Horse hill, of seven hundred and sixty.

Along the third range, which skirts the Hopkinton line, rise Stickey hill, having an altitude of five hundred feet; Dimond Hill, of six hundred and eighty; and Beech hill, of seven hundred and seventy-five.

On the east side of the river the high ground is confined to a single chain of hills, commencing near Sewall's Falls and sweeping around easterly and southeasterly, in a semi-circle to the Soucook. In this are found the rounded elevations known as the Mountain, Oak hill, and the broken ground, having in the order of their mention altitudes of seven hundred, nine hundred and thirty, and seven hundred and twenty feet.

STREAMS.

Merrimack River. The principal river of Concord is the Merrimack. The headwaters of its most northern west branch are found about the bases of the Pemigewasset, Profile, and Flume mountains, in Lincoln and Franconia; while those of its most northern east branch may be traced to the feet of Mount Willey, in Bethlehem, and of the mountains in Waterville and Livermore.

Along its banks and those of its main tributaries, in aboriginal times, lay important Indian trails from the mountains to the ocean. These formed sections of one of the great Indian routes from the Canadas to the Massachusetts coast. As the red man receded westward, they were broadened to carriage highways, to be paralleled in time by steam and electric railroads.

From the top of Sewall's Falls dam to the foot of Garvin's Falls, the Merrimack makes a descent of fifty feet, furnishing to Concord a single water-power of about fifteen feet at the falls first mentioned. Its volume, which has an average summer width of about four hundred feet, is considerably increased within this city's limits by the waters of the Contoocook, which enter it at Penacook, and by those of several minor streams along its banks.

The population of the Merrimack valley, if it be allowed to consist of the two tiers of towns which line its banks from its main forks at Franklin to its mouth at Newburyport, is probably denser than that of any other extra-urban section of the United States. While, in 1890, the population of New Hampshire numbered 41.31 persons to the square mile, of Massachusetts 278.41, and of Rhode Island 318.44, that of the Merrimack valley was 471.

Contoocook River. The stream next in size to the Merrimack is the Contoocook. It enters the city near its northwest corner, and after flowing southerly and easterly in a tortuous course of about seven miles, joins the Merrimack at Penacook. It has an average width of some two hundred feet, and from the top of the dam at Contoocook River Park to its outlet it makes a descent of one hundred and eleven feet, furnishing at different points four important water-powers. To these the flourishing village just mentioned is largely indebted for its prosperity.

Turkey River. Turkey river, a much smaller stream than the Contoocook, drains the ponds bearing this name. It has a varying width of some twenty to thirty feet, and a length of about three miles. At the end of a total fall of a little more than three hundred feet, it joins the Merrimack in Bow, near the north line of that town, having furnished six mill privileges along its course, the upper four of which are in Concord. Of these, only two are now utilized. Formerly the four at and near St. Paul's School were occupied by a grist-mill, a clothing mill, and two sawmills.

This stream has interesting associations with literary celebrities. Upon its bank Nathaniel H. Carter, Concord's earliest and sweetest poet, was born, September 17, 1787. During the last half century it has had intimate relations with the boys of St. Paul's School, similar to those existing between the Thames and the boys of the ancient school at Eton. Half a mile from it Dr. John Farmer, in his day the most distinguished historian and genealogist in New England, breathed his last, on the 13th day of August, 1838. In the same house, some five years later, passed from earth the spirit of the gifted Mary Clark, on the 9th day of May, 1841.

Soucook River. The Soucook forms the southeastern boundary of Concord, separating it from Pembroke and belonging in part to each township. From the point where it first touches the territory of the latter in a straight line to its mouth, the distance is about six miles and three quarters. By the stream it is a little over ten. It has an average width of some forty-five feet and furnishes two small water-powers of seven and nine feet fall, respectively, and in its entire course makes a descent of one hundred and eight feet.

Mill Brook. This stream receives the overflow of Turtle pond and, after pursuing a westerly and southwesterly course for some two miles and a quarter, enters the Merrimack near East Concord village. In this distance it falls nearly one hundred feet. While its volume is not large, it affords three small mill powers, two of which were improved as early as 1729, the first utilized in Concord.

Hackett's Brook. This is a small stream, supplied by the overflow of Hot Hole and Snow's ponds. From the former to the river, which it enters just above Sewall's falls, it makes a descent of two hundred and thirty-three feet.

Bow and Wood's Brooks. These, starting in a single stream from the east side of Little pond, take separate courses at the junction of the Little pond and Woolson roads. The first pursues a southeasterly course for about four miles through the woods, the county jail lot, the state hospital farm and other estates, to Turkey river, in Bow. The latter passes easterly through the woods, Blossom Hill

cemetery and other lands for a distance of about a mile and a half, to Horse Shoe pond. Some fifty years ago it furnished power to a small sawmill located a few rods east of the main entrance to Blossom Hill cemetery. Of late years the removal of the forest has restricted its flow to a portion only of the year.

In addition to these streams there are others in different parts of the city, varying in length from one to three miles each, of which the limits of this chapter allow no extended mention. Of this number are Wattanunnon's brook, which connects Horse Shoe pond with the Merrimack; Ash brook, which rises at the foot of Beech hill and joins Turkey river near St. Paul's School; Beaver Meadow brook, which drains the bog at West Concord; Willow Hollow brook, which enters the Merrimack from the west about a mile south of Penacook; Burnham's and Bowen brooks, which also discharge their waters into the Merrimack at East Concord, and others of yet minor importance.

Various causes have operated to the reduction of the several volumes of these streams. They all carry less water than formerly. Yet the statement is made that, upon the Merrimack and its tributaries, more cotton is spun and woven than upon any other river in the world; a fact which accounts for the important towns and cities which occupy its banks, at intervals, all the way from Lake Winnepesaukee to the sea.

PONDS.

In depressions among the hills may be found the seven ponds before mentioned, each of sufficient area to claim a brief mention. Of these two are in the northeasterly section of the city, one, Snow's pond, lying between the Mountain and Oak hill; and Turtle pond, situated about a mile south of it, between Oak hill and the Broken ground. The former has an elevation of one hundred and ninety-five feet above the river, an area of sixty-two acres and a watershed of four hundred and ninety-two. The latter lies ninety-nine feet above the Merrimack, has an area of one hundred and forty-six acres and a watershed of fourteen hundred and fifty. On the west side of the river, in the southwest section of the city, are two ponds, respectively designated as Turkey and Little Turkey. They lie near to each other in the depression between Silver, Stickney, and Dimond hills. The first has an area of two hundred and thirty-nine acres and a watershed of fifteen hundred and seventy-one. The second has an area of thirty-five acres and a watershed of five hundred and fifty-five. The former lies one hundred feet above the river and the latter ninety.

In the depression surrounded by Rattlesnake, Jerry, Pine, and Parsonage hills, a little west and north of the centre of the city, lies Long pond, the largest within its limits, one hundred and seventy-

nine feet above the river. It has an area of three hundred and thirty-eight acres and a watershed of nineteen hundred and twenty.

In a small hollow, high on the Rattlesnake range, is found a small body of water known as Little pond. It covers some five acres and lies within a watershed of about thirty-five.

Just above the north end of Main street, in a former channel of the river, may be found a semi-circular body of water known as Horse Shoe pond. It originally had an area of some sixty acres. By the growth of aquatic vegetation, successive deposits of river silt in times of inundation and drainage, its surface has been reduced to about fifteen acres and its original form changed from that of a horse shoe, whence has come its name, to that of a semi-circle. It is fed in part by springs and in part by Wood's brook, which carries to it a portion of the outflow of Little pond and the drainage of some of the southeastern slopes of Rattlesnake hill. It has an elevation above the summer surface of the Merrimack of about three feet.

All of these ponds, with the exception of Long pond, are wholly or partially surrounded by low, wet, and level meadows, composed largely of decayed vegetable matter, the accumulation of unknown periods, which have encroached upon their original areas. Of this process Horse Shoe pond furnishes a marked example.

To the ponds already mentioned might be added a small one at Fort Eddy, formed by the Merrimack, in 1828, when it cut for itself a new channel; and another at Sugar Ball, produced in the same way, three years later.

In addition to these are several artificial ponds, the largest of which are the Asylum pond, made in 1848 by the damming of Bow brook, which has an area of about six acres; the semi-circular pond near Sewall's Falls, made by the Northern Railroad in 1846 by a transfer of the river to a new channel cut for it across the base of Goodwin's point; and the pond on the west side of Sewall's island, formed at the same time by this railroad, which closed the west channel of the river and forced its whole volume into that on the east side of the island.

FRESHETS.

The Merrimack has ever been subject to occasional overflows, resulting from heavy rains or melting snows upon its watershed and those of its tributaries. These have varied in height from a few feet up to a score or more, and inundated more or less of its interval. In some instances the interval has been entirely submerged.

Of these freshets we possess but imperfect records. Tradition says that one of the highest occurred about 1784 and also that, in 1799, the timber of the house now occupied by Dr. William G.

Carter (No. 244) at the north end of Main street was floated to its destination on the waters of a freshet.

Benjamin Kimball, who lived for many years near the east bank of the river at Sugar Ball, and there kept a ferry, makes mention in his diary of a winter freshet in January, 1772, which broke up the ice in the river and strewed it far and wide over the interval. He also records the occurrence of two other ice freshets; one on the 5th of April, 1819, and the other on the 10th and 11th of February, 1824; the first of which swept away Federal bridge and the second a part of it.

Of the first of these, the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette* in its issue of April 13, 1819, remarks: "The heavy rain of Sunday night last week (April 4) producing a sudden breaking up of the ice in Merrimack river, the northerly bridge in this town and the turn-pike bridge at Isle Hooksett was rendered impassible by carrying away three piers in the former and one pier in the latter. Preparations had been made for the erection of a new bridge in this town, in the anticipation that the old one would be unfit for use after the present season; so that the inconvenience, though great, will be only temporary."

Of the latter the same paper says, on the 16th of February, 1824: "On Thursday last a flood, the most tremendous ever known in this part of the country, took place. The extreme cold of the preceding week was followed on Tuesday and Wednesday by southerly winds, which increased to a gale on the evening and night of that day, during the greater part of which rain descended in torrents. The solid coat of ice which covered the ground, while melting it added to the quantity of water, prevented the earth from receiving it, and the whole rushed toward and filled the smaller streams, pushing thence into the river; in a few hours the thick ice giving away, swept bridges and everything else in the way into the mass of undistinguished ruin. . . . The cakes of ice, some of which are more than two feet in thickness, lie pile on pile on the interval ground in this vicinity. . . . The following is the best information of damage we have been able to gather: . . . Concord lower bridge, two stone piers and a part of the body of the bridge carried off. Concord upper bridge (new), one wooden pier and about two thirds of the body carried away."

Mr. Kimball further states that, in 1826, during the 30th of August freshet, the river rose twenty feet above low-water mark, and that, upon its subsidence, three days later, forty-seven men were engaged in digging potatoes at Sugar Ball that they might prevent the loss of them by decay.

Dr. William Prescott says (Bouton's Hist. Concord, p. 773) that the April freshet of 1850 submerged the whole interval; while twenty years later Mayor John Kimball remarks in his address to the City Council that the ice freshet of 1872 "did serious injury to four of the seven bridges across the Merrimack and Contoocook rivers."

Twice, certainly, within the last fifty years has high water washed away so much of the road-bed of the Concord & Montreal Railroad, between the Concord station and its East Concord bridge, as to render it impassable for nearly a week in each instance.

In a communication to the *Concord Daily Monitor*, January 29, 1894, H. N. Robinson of Pittsfield says: "I remember a Mr. Moulton, who lived near us, saying that he rowed his boat into several houses in East Concord, and in one he had run the nose of his boat into the brick oven. I can remember the ice piled high on the Free bridge road, between the bridge and the hill to the east, some four feet deep; left there by a mid-winter freshet. The last of these high freshets which I recall was in October, 1868, when the railroad between Concord and East Concord was submerged."

The recent freshet of 1895 covered the iron of the Northern Railroad at Penacook street to a depth of from three to four inches, and the water about the Rolfe and Rumford Asylum rose to within eighteen inches of the first floor of the institution. This freshet, the highest within the remembrance of persons now living, covered the entire interval in the central part of the city with the exception of some ten square rods of the summit of Wattanummon's hill. The water of the freshet of 1896 rose nearly as high and covered most of the river's flood plain.

ELEVATIONS.

Dates.	Elevations in feet above datum line.
1851	18.99
1859	17.98
1862, April 22	19.64
1865, March	18.93
1869, April 22	18.22
1869, Oct. 5	20.18
1870, April 20	19.90
1873, Oct. 22	16.68
1874, Jan. 9	16.78
1878, Dec. 12	20.09
1886, Jan. 6	16.60
1895, April 17	21.65
1896, March 2	21.53
1897, July 15	17.48
1900, April 20	16.12

The foregoing list of the flood elevations above the city's datum line (low-water mark) at the Concord bridge, since 1851, a period of forty-nine years, has been kindly furnished by Frank A. Merrill, assistant chief engineer of the Boston & Maine Railroad.

To this may be added, for facility of consultation, the additional partial list of freshets which, with two exceptions, occurred previous to 1851.

1772. A great flood.

1784. Tradition reports a very high freshet this year.

1799. A freshet upon whose waters the timber of Dr. W. G. Carter's house was floated to its destination.

1818. A freshet which carried off Federal bridge.

1820, Oct. 17. Great inundation of the interval.

1824. Federal bridge partially carried away.

1826, 1828, and 1831. Very high freshets, causing important changes of river channel.

1841, Feb. 8. Federal bridge and Free bridge both badly damaged.

1850, May 1 and 6. Federal bridge injured and embankments of B., C. & M. Railroad washed away.

1865. Sewall's Falls, Federal, Free, and Concord bridges damaged by freshet.

1868, October. B., C. & M. Railroad embankment between Concord and East Concord submerged.

While the above list does not contain a record of all the Merrimack river freshets occurring at Concord during those forty-nine years, it gives the several elevations above the city's datum line of fifteen of the more notable ones, the highest having been twenty-one and sixty-five one hundredths feet, while the lowest was sixteen and twelve one hundredths, and the average eighteen and seventy-two one hundredths.

These inundations are usually attended with results both good and evil. They temporarily obstruct travel, wash away valuable land in some places, and in others bury it beneath sheets of barren sand. Occasionally, division fences, farm animals, and growing crops are injured or destroyed. At the same time they elevate the surfaces of low grounds, leave upon the lands submerged deposits of silt of more or less value, and, if their advent be in spring, they increase materially the coming grass crop.

Some thirty years ago, serious complaint was made by some of the farmers upon the interval above Concord, of the withholding in reservoirs of considerable portions of the spring waters which had before contributed to the inundation of their fields, which was done for the

benefit of the manufacturing companies at Manchester and lower points along the river's course. In their view, they were deprived of a natural benefit attaching to their land and had received no compensation for it. The inequality of the parties interested prevented any reference of the grievance alleged to the legislature or to the courts and its importance has never been determined.

It is, however, an undoubted fact that much value attaches to grass lands from a thorough wetting of their soil in early spring, which renders them moist for a long period thereafter. To such the Merrimack inundations are of much benefit, making them, when properly drained, perennially productive of fair crops of second-class hay without fertilization.

Regarding the value of the sedimentary deposits left upon these lands by freshets, various opinions are held, based largely upon loose observations of different persons. That they vary more or less goes without saying. How much of the benefit received results from water and how much from silt can be settled only by the most careful examination by competent persons of particular cases. Such are yet to be made.

An analysis of three specimens of river silt collected upon Horse Shoe island in 1896, made at the New Hampshire Experiment Station, in Durham, indicates that, at this locality, their fertilizing value is not great.

It is to be regretted that the records of the exact times, heights, and characteristics of the Merrimack river freshets are so imperfect; a fact due in part, doubtless, to a general lack of appreciation of their importance and the want of some established scale by which their varying elevations may be determined, similar to the Nilometers of Egypt, used to mark the varying heights of the Nile. But the records which we have suffice to show that our ordinary freshets attain elevations of from five to ten feet above the river's low-water mark, and that the higher ones rise to eighteen and twenty. At these latter heights the interval in the central part of the city is nearly all submerged.

The height of the water in the time of a freshet is not the same over all submerged localities. It varies to the amount of one or two feet and in some instances even more. When the river overflows its southern bank at the upper end of Wattanummon's field, and is swept onward by its current and a northwest wind, which generally prevails at such a time, forcing the water into the triangle formed by the embankments of the Northern and of the Boston, Concord & Montreal railroads, it is found to be considerably higher on the west than on the east side of the latter road. It was to the action of these forces

that the carrying out the section of its embankment, before mentioned, was due. Various causes produce similar but lesser irregularities of surface at other places. The following are records of the heights of water in the Merrimack river during the flood of April 17, 1895, furnished by Mr. Merrill:

At East Concord passenger station	24.12
At new bridge near N. E. Granite Co.'s sheds, west side of track	24.22
At new bridge near N. E. Granite Co.'s sheds, east side of track	22.59
Opposite Concord passenger station	21.65
600 feet south of gas house bridge	21.32
2,900 feet south of gas house bridge	18.79
At Bow Junction	16.32

The above elevations are all above the city datum, low water at the lower bridge, by Governor Weston's survey.

FORESTS.

When the first settlers came to Concord they found its territory covered by primeval forest, with the exception of its water surfaces and small portions of its interval, which the Indians had cleared and on which their squaws had raised small crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins. Limited sections also produced the indigenous grasses, still found on the low, sandy soils near the river, which the plow but rarely, if ever, reaches, called by the earlier generations "old interval grasses," and by the botanists various species of "Andropogon."

Besides shrubs of little worth, the Concord forests still contain thirty-three different species of native trees of commercial value. In them may be found:

The Basswood (*Tilia Americana*).

Four species of Maple—The Sugar or Rock Maple (*Acer saccharium*), the Red Maple (*Acer rubrum*), the White Maple (*Acer dasycarpum*), and the Striped Maple (*Acer Pennsylvanicum*).

The Black Cherry (*Prunus Serotina*).

The Sassafras (*Sassafras officinale*).

Two species of Elm—The American Elm (*Ulmus Americana*) and the Slippery Elm (*Ulmus fulva*).

The Oilnut or Butternut (*Juglans cineria*).

The Walnut (*Carya alba*).

Three species of Oak—The White Oak (*Quercus alba*), the Yellow or Black Oak (*Quercus tinctoria*), and the Red Oak (*Quercus rubra*).

Two species of Ash—The White Ash (*Fraxinus Americana*) and the Brown Ash (*Fraxinus sambucifolia*).

The Beech (*Fagus ferruginea*).

The Chestnut (*Castanea vulgaris*).

The Lever Wood (*Ostrya Virginica*).

Four species of Birch—The Black Birch (*Betula lenta*), the Yellow Birch (*Betula lutea*), the White Birch (*Betula papyrifera*), and the Grey Birch (*Betula alba*).

The Black Willow (*Salix nigra*).

The American Aspen (*Populus tremuloides*).

Three species of Pine—The White Pine (*Pinus strobus*), the Pitch Pine (*Pinus rigida*), and the Red Pine (*Pinus resinosa*).

The Black Spruce (*Picea nigra*).

The Balsam Fir (*Abies balsamea*).

The Hemlock (*Tsuga Canadensis*).

The Hackmataek (*Larix Americana*).

In early days grand aboriginal pines of great size were cut for masts and drawn to the river's bank to be thence floated to the ship-yards near its mouth. One hundred oxen, gathered from a large neighborhood, were sometimes employed to move such from the forest. "Masting," as it was termed, was a rough, laborious, and somewhat hazardous business. A large mast rolled into the river represented what was then a considerable amount of money. If it encountered disaster on the way to its destination, a serious loss befell its owner. The late Simeon Abbott once remarked that on one occasion a prominent mast master¹ of Concord followed on horse back along the river's bank a valuable mast stiek, which he was transporting to its destination, as far as Amoskeag Falls. Here it floated athwart the current, struck a rock in mid-channel and was broken in two parts. This ruin of the mast was the ruin of its owner. He relied upon the money which he expected to receive for it for the payment of debts he had no other means of discharging. Disheartened, he turned from the river and was never seen again.

"The next famous master was Capt. Reuben Kimball. The manner in which he carried on the business was as follows: Taking a strong team in the winter, of twenty yoke of oxen or more, with sleds and an adequate number of men, he went into the woods and camped. His men were divided into sections for particular parts of the work, called swampers, teamsters, choppers, peelers, and tailsmen. The swampers cleared the way; choppers cut down the trees; peelers peeled off the bark; teamsters drove the oxen; and two tailsmen walked beside the hind team, and in case at any time the tongue of the sled, in passing a hollow place, run so high as to lift the hind oxen up by the neck, then the tailsmen seized the tails of the oxen

¹ The first mast-master of whom we have particular knowledge was Lieut. John Webster. . . . Timothy Walker remembers that Lieutenant Webster cut a mast in Northfield which measured thirty-eight inches in diameter at sixty feet from the butt, and took one hundred and four oxen, or fifty-two teams, to draw it.

and drew them outward, so that in coming down the tongue of the sled would not strike them."—Bouton's History of Concord, *pp.* 537, 538.

The Rev. Mr. Walker, the town minister, in his diary for 1764, says :

"Jan. 17. At night Prince, with one yoke of oxen, went into y^e mast camp.

"Jan. 18. Mr. Webster hauled his great mast at night.

"Jan. 20. Prince returned from masting."

In early days, when wood was consumed in large quantities and forest clearings were in progress, collections of ashes were made and the manufacture of potash was prosecuted to some extent.

Judge Timothy Walker had a potashery in the rear of his garden, the well of which remains in good condition to this day. In his diary for 1766 he remarks :

"February 10. John Colby brot a L. of ashes from C^t Page's.

"June 23. Jⁿ Colby went to Haverhill with a load of Potash."

There was but little other than the small local demand for lumber previous to the construction of the canals, at the various falls of the Merrimack. Consequently masts and potash were, until then, the only forest products which could be conveyed to a market. Upon the opening of these the transportation of lumber was made possible and that industry was greatly promoted. They came too late, however, for the manufacture here of rosin, spirits of turpentine, pipe staves, and other wood products, once extensively pursued on and near the sea-coast. The want of practicable transportation facilities had before prevented the establishment of these industries so far distant from a market.

Fifty years ago there might have been found in Concord a considerable number of very ancient white pines of colossal dimensions and great ages. Some of them contained from two to three thousand feet of lumber, board measure. They were nearly or quite coeval with the settlement of New Hampshire by the English. Now and then one might be found whose preservation was due, perhaps, to having once borne the mark of the broad arrow placed upon it by the Surveyor of the King's Woods, when New Hampshire was a British province, to indicate its reservation as a mast tree for the royal navy.

These giants of the woods, commonly called "old growth pines," to designate them from younger trees of the same species, which, far from small, had diameters of from two to three feet, a foot above the ground, although long past their prime a half century ago, were still

stalwart in their great age. Forest Nestors, erect, of commanding stature, stately, grand and majestic, they towered above all their fellows, bearing green coronals which daily received the sun's earliest greetings, and reflected his latest rays as he descended below the horizon of the west.

In all probability, not one of those old patriarchs of the woods now survives within the limits of Concord. Like the Indian, of whom they were companions in youth, they have passed in the great progression of the world's movements, and the places which once knew them will know them no more.

The wood and timber of Concord forests grows less rapidly than is generally supposed. The writer found some years ago, by counting the rings and measuring the butts of forty white-pine logs, averaging about fifty feet in length, taken from various localities, that their average diameter was twenty-two and eighty-two one hundredths (22.82) inches, their average age eighty-six and seventy-six one hundredths (86.76) years, and their average contents three hundred and sixty-three (363) feet, showing an average growth of four and two tenths (4.2) feet a year, board measure.

A similar examination of twenty chestnut logs, averaging thirty feet in length, showed their average diameter to be twenty-one and four tenths (21.4) inches, their average age seventy-four (74) years, and their average contents two hundred and ninety-six (296) feet, having increased at an average rate of four (4) feet a year.

Twenty red-oak logs of an average length of thirty feet, and an average diameter of eighteen and two tenths (18.2) inches, had an average age of seventy and one tenth (70.1) years, and contained on an average two hundred and fifty-three feet, having grown at the rate of three and six tenths (3.6) feet each year.

Five hemlock logs, averaging thirty-five feet in length and seventeen and two tenths (17.2) inches in diameter, had an average age of seventy-seven (77) years, and an average measurement of two hundred and seventy-one (271) feet, having increased at the rate of three and a half (3 1-2) feet a year.

MINERAL RESOURCES.

The mineral resources of Concord have been iron, clay, potash, and granite.

Iron. In a section of the city known as the Iron Works, small quantities of iron were manufactured many years ago, and the same was also done at Forge pond at West Concord. Where the ore was generally obtained does not appear. Some of it, however, was taken from a spot near the Sheep Davis road on the Plain. It has also been

found at the foot of Oak hill, near Turtle pond. This industry, never of great importance, has been described in another chapter.

Clay. The best of clay is found in several localities. It underlies the superincumbent formation at depths so inconsiderable as to render it easily accessible. Beds of it have been utilized near Mill brook, in East Concord, on Turnpike street near the Margaret Pillsbury hospital, and farther south, near the Bow line, upon the State Hospital farm, near the foot of Dimond's hill, and elsewhere.

Bricks were made in Concord quite soon after its settlement. They were somewhat smaller than those now used, being thinner, with one side a little thicker than the other, and not quite so hard. Some, made as early as 1734, and perhaps before, are still doing good service to-day. Though not an extensive industry, the manufacture of bricks has always been an important one, and has partially met the local demand.

Fifty years ago, considerable quantities of brown pottery were manufactured in the vicinity of St. Paul's School and disposed of in Concord and neighboring towns. Twenty years ago flower pots, jugs, vases, etc., of attractive forms were produced, evincing not only good taste but skill and fidelity on the part of the manufacturers.

Granite. The granite industry dates from the early part of the last century. In its early days the undressed stock was obtained from surface boulders. These yielded large quantities of choice stone, one to the amount of eleven thousand cubic feet. When this source of supply failed, ledges were uncovered and regular quarrying was commenced. Top sheets, more or less stained, were originally made use of and were split into the required forms by steel wedges driven into narrow holes made by flat drills. The round drill was in but little, if any, use seventy years ago. Gunpowder was not much used until deep quarrying began.

The erection of the walls of the state prison in 1812 and those of the state house in 1816-1819, brought Concord granite into notice and created a demand for it. It was quarried in considerable quantities for building purposes and prepared for use by the convicts of the state prison, whence it was shipped by the Boston & Concord Boating Company to Boston, and thence to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans.

For some years the dressing of stone was the chief employment of the state prisoners. When, about 1840, the convict labor was transferred to other industries the stone business was assumed by private parties. Prominent among these was Luther Roby, who for many years pursued it extensively. Gass & Johnson, Benjamin Speed, and Alexander Nichols also followed it.

These supplied the local demand and sent stone, both dressed and in the rough, to other places. The United States post-office at Portsmouth and the Horticultural and Merchants bank buildings in Boston afford fair specimens of the stone sent from the Concord quarries some thirty to forty years ago. Inasmuch as the history of this industry is ably described elsewhere, it is unnecessary to say more of it here than that the greatest mineral resource of Concord is to be found in the granite ledges which form so large a part of Rattlesnake hill, exhaustless, and thus far but partially developed.

Potash. Before the Revolution and for many years after, the manufacture of potash, elsewhere mentioned, was pursued to some extent in Concord. In the clearing of land for farming purposes, large quantities of ashes were produced. This fact led to the establishment of the business which continued to be prosecuted until the scarcity of the raw material rendered it unprofitable.

By the reduction of the alkali of this waste product to the concentrated form of potash, its transportation to a market became practicable. Mr. Richard Herbert carried on this business down to about 1825. Sixty years before that time, Judge Timothy Walker, as before remarked, had a potash manufactory on his premises, which was occupied for a considerable period. Its well, like that of the patriarch Jacob, in the Valley of Shechem, is in good preservation at this day.

ARTESIAN WELL.

Concord has but one artesian well. This is located about one hundred and fifty feet south of School street and midway between Main and State streets.

In 1897 and 1898, John H. Toof, wishing to obtain superior water for his laundry, sank such a well to the depth of thirteen hundred and twenty-five feet. The bed rock was struck at forty-nine feet below the ground's surface, and thence the drilling proceeded for the remaining distance of twelve hundred and seventy-six feet, through a coarse granite formation which varied considerably from time to time in the mixture of its elements. At one point a stratum of pure quartz was encountered fifteen feet thick, which tested severely the temper of the drills and slackened the progress of the work.

Water was reached in small quantity at fifteen feet below the rock's surface, and in larger measure later at the depth of nine hundred and thirty-five feet.

This well has a diameter of six inches and yields each day between five and six thousand gallons of pure water by a pumping of ten hours. This is raised from a point three hundred and twenty-five feet below the ground's surface and has a uniform temperature of

seventy-one degrees Fahrenheit. Thus far, experience has indicated that this amount marks the well's capacity, which is unaffected by atmospheric conditions of moisture or temperature.

The quality of the water is of perfect clearness, is soft, and answers admirably the purpose for which it was sought.

The sinking of this well has demonstrated the fact that if at some future time the water from Long pond shall fail, from pollution, insufficiency, or other cause, Concord's citizens have in reserve an inexhaustible supply of pure water to which they may freely resort.

LOCALITIES.

Concord, like other New England towns, contains various localities which were better known in former times than now. While these are of some interest to the general reader, they are of much importance to a careful student of this city's history. A part of the following descriptions of these has been taken from Dr. Bouton's History of Concord, pages 4 to 7. The localities on the west side of Merrimack river are as follows:

"1. *Horse-Hill* is the name of the territory included in School District No. 1, lying northerly of Contoocook River;—so called from the practice, in early times of the settlement, of turning young horses and cattle there to pasture, in spring and summer. Oliver Hoit was the first settler there, in 1772.

"2. *Mast Yard* on the Contoocook River, about a mile and a half from Horse Hill bridge; so called from the heavy timber that used to be hauled thither from adjacent forests and rolled into the river, to be floated thence into the Merrimack and down to the Atlantic Ocean. Opposite Mast Yard, about a mile southerly, is *Broad Cove*, in School District No. 4.

"3. *Dagody* or *Dagodon Hill* and *Brook*, on or near the northerly boundary line between Concord and Boscawen; so called from a man named Dagodon, who formerly resided there. The brook is famous for trout fishing. Lieut. Marshall Baker, when a young man, on a fishing excursion to this brook, in his haste to catch a large mess, took off his pantaloons, tied a string around the bottom of the legs, buttoning the waistband and opening them with sticks, set them for a fish-pot at the mouth of a little dam which he threw up. Then, driving the fish down the stream, he caught in a short time about ninety fine trout, one weighing over three pounds.

"4. Within the Horse Hill territory, partly in Boscawen, is a *Little Pond*, sometimes called Catamount, abounding more with snakes and turtles than with fishes.

"5. The *Borough*, School District No. 2, settled originally by the

Elliot; now the residence of old Mrs. Lydia Elliot, at the age of 102 years. Among the ancient men distinguished in this locality in former times and known by their honorary titles were 'Governor Elliot,' 'Lawyer Elliot,' and 'Judge Baker,' grandfather of his Excellency, Nathaniel B. Baker.

"6. *Hoyt's Brook*, which crosses the road to Boscawen, about one mile south of Fisherville.

"7. *Beaver Meadow Brook*, about a mile south of Hoyt's Brook. Near this is Beaver Meadow *bog road* to Horse Hill.

"8. *Sand Banks*, about a half mile easterly from Hoyt's brook, where logs and timber were rolled into the Merrimaek River. Capt. Joseph Pratt, of Oxford, with a two horse sleigh, drove off this bank one night by accident, and, though precipitated to the bottom, escaped without material injury.

"9. *Horsing-Downs* was the name given to a long, narrow neck of land lying at the foot of Sand Banks on the east side, as the river formerly ran, but since cut off by turning the river for the track of the Northern Railroad, better known now as *Goodwin's Point*.

"10. *Dustin's Island*, at the mouth of Contoocook River,—the scene of the famous exploit of Mrs. Hannah Dustin, who killed and scalped her Indian captors.

"11. *Sewall's Island and Falls*, so called from Judge Samuel Sewall, of Massachusetts, who formerly owned the premises.

"12. *Rattlesnake Brook*, running from Long Pond through West Village.

"13. *Rattlesnake Hill*, so called on account of the snakes of this species that formerly had their dens here, well known as Granite Hill, about two miles northwesterly from the Main Village.

"14. *Parsonage Hill*, so called from the eighty acre lot laid off to the parsonage right, west of Isaac Farnum's.

"15. *Long Pond*. (See Ponds.)

"16. *Pine Hill*, belonging to the farms of Nathan K. and Jeremiah, S. Abbot, west of Long Pond, is estimated to be the highest point of land in Concord.

"17. South and westerly of Long Pond is a range of hills, of which the highest is '*Jerry's Hill*,' so called from Jerry, or Jeremiah, Bradley, who formerly owned the land. From the summit of this hill a grand and picturesque view is had far to the north and east, taking in the Franconia Mountains, White Hills, Red Hill, and on the southwest the grand Monadnock. North of Jerry's is a hill having a large and curious cave on the southwest side of it.

"18. *Little Pond*, or District No. 6, is so called from a small pond, situated northeast from Nathan Ballard's. This neighborhood was

settled about 1789, by Nathan Ballard, Nathan and Henry Chandler, and Eben Fisk on farms bought of the estate of Col. Paul Rolfe.

“19. *Beech Hill*, on the westerly line between Concord and Hopkinton, so called from the abundant beech wood there found.

“20. *Dimond's Hill*, about four miles westerly of the Main Village, on Hopkinton road, so called from Ezekiel Dimond, a large landowner, who formerly resided on or near the place where Joseph S. Abbot now lives. In 1828 Mr. Nathan Call moved a two story dwelling house, thirty by forty feet, on wheels, with forty yoke of oxen, from Hopkinton to Concord.¹ In descending this hill, then much steeper than at the present time, he put three yoke of oxen before and the remainder behind, to hold back. It took four days to move the house. The distance was about five miles.

“21. *Ash Brook*, running at the foot of Dimond's Hill, through the farm of Atkinson Webster, into Little Turkey Pond.

“22. *Fush Market*,² on the Hopkinton road, three miles from Main Street, origin of name not known, long distinguished for excellent brick and earthenware there manufactured.

“23. *Powell's Hook*, at the ravine near the upper mills in Millville, so called from one Powell, a drummer, who lived near there.

“24. *Millville*, a name recently given to the settlement where Moses Shute resides, including the house and land of Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Boston, which house was the first of brick in Concord and was built by Jacob Carter, father of Jacob Carter, now postmaster. This house and farm were recently given by Dr. Shattuck for the purpose of a school, to be called ‘St. Paul's School.’

“25. *Runnell's Mills* were situated on the stream from Great Turkey to Little Turkey Pond on the road to Stickney's Hill. Formerly well known, these mills have fallen into entire decay. *Stickney's Hill*, about a mile southwest of Runnell's Mills, so called from first settlers of the name.

“26. *Boy Road*, running from Concord through the bogs of Turkey Pond to James Hall's, thence to Dunbarton. Before reaching Mr. Hall's this road crosses Tury brook and *Peter's* or *Bela's* brook, the latter so called from former owners of land.

“27. *Rum Hill*, including the high land northwesterly of road to Hopkinton, owned by Benjamin Gale and others, about a mile and a half from the State House, so called from a drunken carousal and fight which took place there in early times, at a coal pit.

“28. *Eleven Lots*, extending, according to the first survey, from

¹ This house now stands on the east side of State street, the second house south of Pleasant street.

² Extends along the old Hopkinton road from Ash brook to Turkey river, at Powell's Hook.

the residence of the late Countess of Rumford to near the old Bow line.

“29. *The Bend* (that is in Merrimack River) near the southern boundary line and taking in a small section of Bow. On the bank at this bend is a beautiful view, north, of the Main Village.

“30. *Iron Works*, southwest part of the town, including School District No. 18. In the Revolutionary War the ‘Iron Works’ were owned by Daniel Carter, Daniel Gale, and Dr. Philip Carrigain. A forge was built in the lot easterly of the bridge which now crosses Turkey River, where iron was wrought from native ore.

“31. *Frog Ponds*, on the interval east of the residence of the late Gov. Hill, who owned the premises and made various experiments to improve them. Name derived from the ‘serenades’ of their principal inhabitants.

“32. *Hale’s Point*, the extreme point of land on ‘Ferry Road,’ by Richard Herbert’s, named from Joseph Hale, who in early times owned the land. From the ‘Point’ across the river was formerly a ferry, extensively known as ‘*Kimball’s Ferry*.’ Hale’s Point was cut off by a great freshet about 1831, and the ferry is discontinued since the opening of the Free Bridge road.

“33. *Fort Eddy*, about half a mile north of Hale’s Point, on land owned by Richard Bradley, opposite Sugar Ball. According to tradition this was the location of an old Indian fort.

“34. *The Fan*. A tract of land bordering the river, north of Fort Eddy, valuable for natural mowing and deriving its name from a fancied resemblance in shape to a lady’s fan. Chiefly owned by the late Abiel Walker.¹

“35. *Wattamunnon’s Brook*, the principal feeder and outlet of Horse Shoe Pond on the east, crossed by a bridge and so called from the name of an Indian chief who owned and cultivated the land adjacent. There is an outlet from both ends of the Pond.

“37. *Wood’s Brook*, the little stream from ‘*Little Pond*,’ crossing the Boscawen road north of Richard Bradley’s, and formerly turning the ‘dry saw mill’ which was built there, deriving its name from David Wood, original proprietor.

“38. *Paradise*, about forty rods northerly from Wood’s Brook, so named from a beautiful grove and the scenery around it, including a charming view of the interval and meandering of the river on the east. It was owned by Capt. E. S. Towle. The grove being recently cleared away, it may be called ‘*Paradise lost*.’

“39. *Blossom Hill*, a pleasant eminence covered with a fine growth, opposite ‘Paradise.’

¹ Mr. Walker was hardly “chief” owner. The larger part was owned by Richard Bradley and Samuel Coffin.—EDITOR.

“40. *The Gulf*, or *Steep Hill Bridge*, on the main road to Boscawen, about twenty rods south of the railroad crossing, near Benjamin Farnum's. East of this Gulf is *Farnum's Eddy*, so called from a current or whirl in the river.

“41. *West Brook*, formerly ‘Meeting-house Brook,’ rising in swamp land west of the State Prison, crossing Main Street near the house of the late John West, senior, whence the name. The space between this brook and ‘Tan-yard Brook’ was neutral ground between the north and south end boys.

“42. *Clay Pits*, and tan yard brook (which runs under the road), in the valley of Mr. Ivory Hall's house. The late Capt. Richard Ayer carried on an extensive tannery on the west side of the road; and clay of good quality was formerly dug here. Opposite the tan-yard stood the old hay scales, and here was ‘the great elm tree,’ marked on the plan of Main Street.

“43. *Bow Brook*, partly flows from Little pond, runs by the new Jail and the Insane Asylum, and empties into Turkey river.

“44. *Free Bridge* and *Free Bridge Road*, across the Merrimack and interval, nearly opposite Center Street. This road was first opened and bridge built in 1839.”

“Localities on the east side of the River, beginning on the northern line at Canterbury.

“1. *Barnham's Brook*, running from Canterbury by Chandler Choate's to Merrimack river, opposite the eastern point of Rolfe's interval.

“2. *Hackett's Brook*, so called from a man of that name who once leaped across it, and then turning around, said to *himself*—‘I'll bet a mug of flip you can't do that again, Hackett.’ Then attempting to leap it again, as his feet struck the opposite bank, he fell backwards into the brook. The brook has its principal source in ‘Hot Hole pond,’ easterly on the Loudon line; empties into the Merrimack just north of Sewall's Falls bridge. On this stream is situated Lovejoy's Mills, so called, and also a saw-mill near its mouth.

“3. *Snow's Pond*. (See Ponds.) *Oak Hill* is a high eminence east of Snow's pond, or northerly of Turtle pond. (See pages 543, 544.)

“4. *Hot Hole Pond*. (See Ponds.)

“5. *Snaptown*, the section comprising School District No. 14, in the northeasterly part of the town, near Loudon line. The origin of the name is uncertain. One tradition is, that it is derived from a man by the name of Blanchard, who had a habit of *snapping* his eyes, or winking quick: on which a woman remarked, that ‘she should think the children in the neighborhood would snap.’ Another tradi-

tion is that an early settler in the locality, thinking himself *crowded* by others who moved in within a half mile of him, was cross or *snappish*.

"6. *The Mountain*, comprising School District No. 21, and extending from the dwelling house of Jacob Hoit to the residence of Abraham Bean and John L. Tallant.

"7. *Bowen's Brook*, crossing the road to the Mountain in the valley near Meshech Lang's; origin of name not ascertained.

"8. *Turtle-town*, comprising School District No. 15, derives its name from the large pond in that vicinity, which abounds with turtles. (See Ponds, page 543.)

"9. *Apple Town*, southerly of Turtle pond, supposed to derive its name from the abundance and excellence of apples there raised.

"10. *Leather Lane*, the section from the fork of the road to Apple-town to the old burying ground in the East Village.

"11. *The Fort*,—including the East Village—deriving its name from the 'Irish Fort,' or from the garrison of Capt. Ebenezer Eastman, which stood directly west of the residence of Israel W. Kelley, Esq.

"12. *Squaw Lot*, westerly of Federal Bridge. (See Indian History.)

"13. *Mill Brook*, the outlet of Turtle pond, affording a fine water power in the East Village, on which the first saw and grist mill were built, in Concord, 1729.

"14. *Death's Hill*, on the Portsmouth turnpike, near the school house on 'Dark Plain,' a short, steep ascent, which the road now runs around on the south and east side, derived its name from the circumstance that a traveller, with a loaded team from Portsmouth, was killed in going over it by a hogshead of molasses rolling from his wagon.

"15. *Sugar Ball*, the first prominent sand bluff northerly of Kimball's Ferry, or Samuel Clifford's residence, and opposite Fort Eddy. On this, according to invariable tradition, stood the old Penacook fort.

"16. *Mount Pleasant*, a high and steep sand bluff, about eighty rods northwesterly from Sugar Ball, recently so called from the extensive and beautiful view it affords of the interval of the Merrimack and the Main Village; of hills of the West parish and scenes more distant.

"17. *Garvin's Falls*, formerly the residence of the Garvin family, including a portion of the 'Southern Bow gore.' In the ancient records it is known as the *Penny Cook Falls*, and not, as on the map, 'Soucook Falls.'

“18. *Head's Mills*, on the Soucook river, near the old line of Concord, a little north of the old road to Pembroke, about two miles from Concord bridge.

“19. *Placer*, a favorite place of resort in the summer, at a great bend in Soucook river.”

To the foregoing may be added the following localities not mentioned by Dr. Bouton :

1. *Pond Hill*, the bluff at the north end of Main street, overlooking Horse Shoe pond, the interval, and the distant mountains. It was formerly a popular place of resort of pedestrians and used as a parade ground by the military companies of Concord. Here, also, for a time, was located the town pound. Since its depression by the Concord & Claremont Railroad, some fifty years ago, and the subsequent erection thereon of the ice house, it has been rarely visited except for business purposes.

2. *Wattanummon's Hill*, the slight eminence above the highway at the crossing of Wattanummon's brook by the Concord & Montreal Railroad. It is the highest land on the interval of the central part of the city, and is not known to have ever been submerged by a freshet.

3. *Brimstone Hill*, the southern termination of the terrace upon which has been built most of the compact part of the city at the south end of Main street, at the intersection of Turnpike and Water streets near the old Butters tavern.

4. *Tucker's Ferry*, the ferry of Lemuel Tucker, at East Concord, located, when in use, upon the site of Federal bridge, to which it gave way.

5. *Merrill's Ferry*, the ferry of Deacon John Merrill, near the south end of Main street, about one hundred and fifty rods above Concord bridge, discontinued upon the erection of that bridge.

6. *Bradley's Island*, originally a tongue of land on the east side of the Merrimack, attached to Sugar Ball interval, transferred to the other side of the stream, in 1831, by a freshet which cut for the river a new channel across the base of it. Portions of the old channel are now filled up and it is no longer an island but a peninsula.

7. *St. Paul's School*, the delightful hamlet two miles west of the state house, which takes its name from the important school to which its origin is chiefly due.

8. *Rolfe's Eddy*, a small bay of still water on the south side of Contoocook river, near its junction with the Merrimack, where sawed lumber was formerly held within booms for rafting down the river.

9. *Christian Shore*, a section of interval at East Concord, half a mile above Federal bridge, embracing, fifty years ago, the farms of

Samuel B. Locke, John Locke, Samuel B. Larkin, and Henry S. Thatcher.

10. *The Break of Day*, a small hamlet on the Dark Plain, near the intersection of the old Portsmouth turnpike and the road to Loudon, some three miles from the state house,—a locality better known and more frequently visited during the Civil War than before or since.

11. *The Broken Ground*, a section of hilly land mostly covered with forest trees, in the northeast part of Concord, lying between Turtle pond and the Loudon road,—a locality best known to woodsmen and hunters.

12. *The Shaker Road*, a road leading to Shaker Village, Canterbury, laid out some fifty years ago, from a point on the old Canterbury road, near the East Concord Congregational church, past the easterly side of Snow's pond to the southeasterly part of Canterbury.

13. *The Dark Plain*, that section of pine plain land which lies opposite the main settlement of Concord, extending from the interval, on the west, to Soucook river, on the east, and from Turtletown, on the north, to Pembroke line, on the south.

14. *Smoky Hollow*, the valley between Pitman and Montgomery streets, through which Tan Yard brook formerly ran, now largely filled up and occupied by stores and dwelling-houses.

15. *Whale's Back*, a glacial moraine, some twenty to thirty feet high, composed mostly of coarse gravel and extending along the westerly part of the compactly settled portion of the city from Washington to Pleasant streets.

16. *Birch Dale*, a locality in the southwest part of the city, near Great Turkey pond, where the late Dr. Robert Hall formerly had medical springs, whose waters he sold in considerable quantities and exported to different parts of the United States. Here he erected a hotel for the accommodation of patients, which was destroyed by fire in 1885 (July 26), causing a loss of about twenty-five thousand dollars.

17. *Sand Hill*, the elevation north of Centre and west of Spring street, from which cannon salutes were formerly fired, before it was covered with streets and houses.

18. *Glover's Hill*, the slope from the interval up to the Dark Plain, situated some eighty or ninety rods southeasterly of Concord bridge, at the top of which John Glover once resided.

19. *The Silk Farm*, a farm situated in the southwesterly part of Concord, at the intersection of the road leading to Dunbarton with that from St. Paul's School to Bow. It was purchased by a company, organized in 1835, for the manufacture of silk, an enterprise which was prosecuted for a few years but failed of success.

20. *Over the River.* In early times, the section now designated East Concord was spoken of as "Over the river," and bore that name until the middle of the last century, when the Boston, Concord & Montreal Railroad was built.

21. *Wattanummon's Field*, a section of interval lying along the southerly bank of the Merrimack, between Farnum's eddy and Federal bridge. It takes its name from the Indian, Wattanummon, who claimed to own it when the first white settlers came to Concord.¹

22. *Horse Shoe Island*, a section of interval, of about one hundred acres, once a peninsula nearly encompassed by the Merrimack, converted to an island by a prehistoric change of the river's course.

23. *The New Colony*, a small hamlet, no longer existing, near the intersection of Franklin and Jackson streets, which was once occupied by a rough class of people, whose manners and morals had not risen to the highest standard of excellence.

24. *Farnum's Eddy*, a sharp turn of Merrimack river into its western bank, at the lower end of Rattlesnake interval. This was converted into a still pond in 1846, by the construction across its mouth of the embankment of the Northern Railroad.

25. *Garvin's Landing*, a place on the east bank of the Merrimack, at the "Bend," below the Concord bridge, where lumber was put into the river to be floated thereon to a market. It took its name from Patrick Garvin, who lived a mile or more farther down, on the opposite shore, in Bow.

26. *Ewer's Mill*, a sawmill on Hackett's brook, in East Concord, six miles from the state house, near the intersection of the roads leading to Canterbury and the old road to Portsmouth. Much lumber was once manufactured at this mill, but of late years the great reduction of the timber supply and the introduction of portable steam sawmills have greatly reduced its operations.

27. *Fisherville*, the former name of Penacook, named for Francis and Freeman Fisher, who introduced cotton manufacturing to this locality about 1836.

28. *The Ivy Field*, a considerable section of unoccupied ground lying west of State and south of Monroe street, near the Rumford schoolhouse. Fifty years ago it was a place of resort for recreation, but it is now occupied by streets and houses.

29. *Dunklee's Fair Ground*, a large tract of open ground, extending on both sides of Broadway from Downing street to Rollins park. Here fairs of the New Hampshire Agricultural Society were held in 1856 and 1857. Here, too, some of the New Hampshire troops were temporarily quartered during the Civil War.

¹ See Bouton's Hist. of Concord, pp. 40-42.

30. *The West Parish*, the northwesterly section of Concord. Known for the last fifty or sixty years as West Concord.

31. *Fosterville*, a short court north of the pumping station of the Concord Water-works, extending from State street to the brow of the hill overlooking Horse Shoe pond. It was laid out some fifty years ago by Reuben L. Foster, and lined with dilapidated houses, transported from different sections of the city. It is now absorbed in the large settlement which has since grown up around it.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT.

FERRIES, BRIDGES, MAIN STREET, SHADE TREES, TYPES OF HOUSES.

JOSEPH B. WALKER.

FERRIES.

Inasmuch as the proprietors of Penny Cook were to live on both sides of the river, a frequent crossing of it would be a necessity. To meet this, preliminary action was taken by the proprietors at a meeting holden on the 15th day of May, 1728. At this meeting it was voted:

“That Mr. Ebenezer Eastman, Mr. Abraham Foster and Mr. Joseph Hall shall be a committee to agree with some suitable person to keep a ferry on Merrimack river, at Penny Cook, in the most convenient place they can find for that purpose: and that they lay out and clear the best way they can to the ferry place, and after they have stated the place where the said ferry shall be kept, that the ferry-man shall have and receive the prices following, viz., For ferriage of each man and horse, six pence: for each horned beast, four pence; and this establishment to remain and be in force for six years.”

A year later, on the 6th day of May, 1729, at a meeting of the proprietors holden at the house of John Griffin, in Bradford, Mass., it was voted:

“That Mr. Nehemiah Carlton be desired to build a ferry boat of about nineteen feet long, and a suitable breadth, to be well timbered, and every way well built, workmanlike, at the charge of the community and to be done by the 20th of May current. Said boat to be delivered at Penny Cook for the use of the society. And a pair of good and suitable oars to be made by the said Carlton, for said boat. Said boat to be well and sufficiently caulked, pitched or turpented, and finished, fit to carry people and creatures.”

And later, at the same meeting, it was also voted:

“That the sum of seven pounds, eighteen shillings and six pence, paid by several persons and several subscriptions to the sum of forty-one shillings and six pence, be put into the treasurer’s hands, and by him paid to Mr. Nehemiah Carlton for the ferry boat when it is finished,—which was accordingly delivered to the treasurer.”

Ten years later still, when the plantation had been pretty fully peopled and had become the town of Rumford, it was further voted:

“That Mr. Barrachias Farnum, Mr. James Osgood and Mr. George Abbot shall be a committee to agree with any person to take the Ferry against Wattanummon’s and make a return of their doings to the Proprietors for their acceptance.”

Some eleven years later (April 26, 1750) the proprietors appointed a committee, consisting of Dr. Ezra Carter, Lieut. Jeremiah Stickney, and Capt. John Chandler, “To dispose of the Ferry against Wattanummon’s Field, so called, to such persons and upon such terms as they shall think will be for the Proprietors’ advantage.”

This ferry seems to have been known for a time as “Eastman’s ferry,” and later, as “Tucker’s ferry” or the ferry of Lemuel Tucker, to whom the legislature, in 1785, granted the exclusive right of ferriage across the river for one mile above and below his house.

There was also another, possibly the one first above alluded to, near the south end of Main street, known as Merrill’s ferry, operated for many years by Deacon John Merrill, who came to Concord in 1729, and upon the organization of the church, the following year, was elected its first deacon. This ferry subsequently became the property of Samuel Butters, and was known as “Butters’ ferry.”

Midway of these two, at the east end of Ferry street, Benjamin Kimball operated a third, between Hale’s Point and Sugar Ball, which was continued in use until 1831.

Of these three ferries, Tucker’s seems to have been the only one operated under the privileges and limitations of a charter, eleven only having been previously incorporated in the entire state. Its charter provided:

“That the sole and exclusive right and privilege of keeping a Ferry over said river in any place within one mile of the now dwelling house of the said Lemuel Tucker be and hereby is granted to and invested in the said Lemuel Tucker, his heirs and assigns, he and they from time to time as the same fall, giving bond, with surety, in the sum of one thousand pounds to the clerk of the Court of the General Sessions of the Peace for the county of Rockingham, that the said ferry shall be well kept and constantly attended.

“That if any person or persons shall for hire or reward, transport over said river within one mile of the said dwelling house, any person, creature or thing, such person so transporting shall forfeit and pay forty shillings for each person, creature or thing so transported, to be recovered by action of debt before any Justice of the Peace in said county, one moiety of which shall go to the complainants, and the other moiety to the county of Rockingham.”

In addition to these, in the early part of the last century, a fourth ferry was established at the south end of Hall street, near the head

of Turkey Falls. It appears to have been a private enterprise, and was managed for a time by Col. John Carter. For lack of sufficient patronage, or for some other cause, its maintenance was not of long continuance.

CONCORD BRIDGES.

For some sixty years after the settlement of Concord the crossing of the Merrimack was upon the ice in the winter, and by ferries at other seasons of the year. At length, however, as population increased and transits became more frequent, a more expeditious and convenient means was called for. In accordance with this demand, at a town-meeting holden on the 30th day of April, 1781, Col. Timothy Walker was made the agent of the town "to Petition the General Court for Liberty to make a Lottery for building a bridge over Merrimack river." The records of the General Court afford no mention of such a petition, and the proposed lottery was never made. To any who may be surprised that the building of bridges, so much needed, should have been delayed so long, it may be said that at the time last mentioned the country was just emerging from the French and Revolutionary wars, uninvested capital was not abundant in Concord, and bridge stocks were not tempting investments. But the demand for bridges increased and at length became imperative.



First Concord Bridge, 1795.

Concord Bridge.

In answer to their petition, in January, 1795, the New Hampshire legislature granted to Peter Green, Timothy Walker, Thomas Stickney, William Dunean, Robert Harris, William Austin Kent, William

Partridge, and William Manly, a charter for a toll-bridge across Merrimack river, at a point just below the Rolfe and Rumford asylum, to be known as the Concord bridge.

The incorporators met for organization at the tavern of Samuel Butters, on the 29th day of the next February, and at that meeting chose all necessary officers and took measures for the immediate erection of the contemplated bridge.

Its construction soon afterwards commenced, and was prosecuted with such energy that it was opened for public travel on the 29th day of the following October (1795), with ceremonies and festivities which indicate the importance with which the event was then regarded. These, lucidly set forth in his official record by Col. Paul Rolfe, the clerk of the corporation, were conducted in accordance with the following programme, previously adopted by the proprietors of the bridge :

“ PROCESSION.

- “ 1st. The 5 Committee.
- “ 2. The Treasurer & Clerk.
- “ 3. The Rev. Israel Evans with Mr. Woods & Mr. Parker.¹
- “ 4. The Proprietors.
- “ 5. The Workmen with the Master Workman at their head.
- “ 6. The Spectators, in regular order.”

The bridge was toll free on this day. Besides the out-of-door exercises, “ the Proprietors and Workmen partook of a repast at the expense of the Proprietors,” at the tavern of William Stickney.

This 29th day of October, 1795, was a memorable one, and, as the clerk tells us in his record, was spent “ in conviviality and mirth, by passing the Bridge, &c.” Precisely what the “ &c.” stands for, and what sacred duties were discharged on this occasion by the three venerable ministers, he has, unfortunately, omitted in his record.

The expense of this bridge, including fifteen hundred dollars paid to Samuel Butters for his ferry, was twelve thousand dollars up to this time. This amount was subsequently increased by outstanding bills and additional outlays to over thirteen thousand.

Federal Bridge.

First Federal Bridge. So satisfied were the people of Concord and vicinity with the great conveniences afforded by this bridge that they called for another, to take the place of Tucker’s ferry at East Concord. In accordance with this desire, on the 28th day of December of this same year (1795), the legislature granted to “ Timothy Walker, Benjamin Emery, William Partridge, Jonathan Eastman,

¹ Rev. Samuel Woods of Boscawen and Rev. Frederick Parker of Canterbury.

Joshua Thompson, and others, their associates," the right, "to erect a bridge over the river Merrimack at any place within the limits of Tucker's ferry, so called, in Concord, and . . . to purchase any lands adjoining said bridge."

It was further provided in the charter that, "For the purpose of reimbursing said proprietors the money expended by them in building and supporting said bridge, a toll be, and hereby is granted and established for the benefit of said proprietors, according to the rates following, namely:—For each foot passenger, one cent; for each horse and rider, three cents; for each horse and chaise, sulky, or other riding carriage drawn by one horse only, ten cents; for each riding sleigh drawn by one horse, four cents; for each riding sleigh drawn by more than one horse, six cents; for each coach, chariot, phaeton, or other four-wheeled carriage for passengers drawn by more than one horse, twenty cents; for each curricule, twelve cents; for each cart or other carriage of burthen drawn by two horses, ten cents, and three cents for every additional beast; for each horse or neat creature, exclusive of those rode on or in carriages, two cents; for sheep and swine, one half cent each; and to each team one person, and no more shall be allowed as a driver to pass free of toll." This charter also provided that this bridge should be completed within three years, and that its projectors should pay to Lemuel Tucker the sum of four hundred and fifty dollars for his ferry, and allow him the free use of it during that period.

The construction of this bridge met with serious delays, and it was not opened to public use until the autumn of 1798. Inasmuch as its fortunes have been very similar to those of its neighbors, and it affords a fair type of the ordinary Merrimack river bridge in this vicinity, it has been thought proper to state a few of its varied experiences in such detail as the limits of this chapter will allow.

Its location was about fifty rods above that of its last successor bearing the same name, and now in use. Its capital stock was represented by one hundred shares, severally assessable in such amounts as its construction might require. Its abutments, piers, and superstructure were of wood, and it was completed in the fall of 1798, at an expense of four thousand dollars.

Second Federal Bridge. After a service of about four years this bridge was swept away, in part, by a freshet. Little disheartened, its proprietors met on the 3d day of February, 1803, and, in language as terse as hearty, "Voted to rebuild said bridge." They also chose Richard Ayer their agent to execute this purpose, and levied a first assessment of ten dollars on each share toward meeting the requisite expense. Mr. Ayer entered promptly upon the execution

of the work assigned him, and completed it in the following September at a cost of about twenty-three hundred dollars (§2,350.22).

The strong current of the river during periods of high water seems to have rendered its south abutment insecure, and the records state that repeated attempts were made to fortify it by placing about it large quantities of stones. But these efforts proved vain, and the bridge was completely destroyed in the spring of 1818.

Third Federal Bridge. This loss of their second bridge seems to have left its proprietors in some uncertainty as to what course to take. Had they viewed their enterprise of again bridging Merrimack river from a financial standpoint only they would, doubtless, have abandoned it. But the necessities of the community, coupled, perhaps, with a little town pride, forbade the idea of any long resumption of the use of the old-time ferry boat.

At a meeting of the proprietors holden on the 1st day of September, 1818, a carefully selected committee of eight was chosen "To examine Federal Bridge and the river within the limits of the grant, and find the best place for building the Bridge, should it be expedient to build."

The next day this committee reported that they were "Unanimously of the opinion that it is expedient to build a new bridge, and that the most eligible place for erecting the same is the old Ferry Place." Their report, signed by Jeremiah Pecker, Richard Bradley, Richard Ayer, Joseph Walker, Samuel A. Kimball, Stephen Ambrose, and Jacob Eastman, was accepted, and, in pursuance of its recommendations, a vote was immediately passed "To build Federal Bridge at the old Ferry Place, and that the directors proceed to erect the same as soon as practicable, and that they also purchase the necessary land for a toll house, and that they build or purchase a toll house as they think most advisable."

In the erection of this bridge it was subsequently decided that a portion of its substructure should be of stone instead of wood, and Jeremiah Pecker was made agent of the proprietors "To erect a stone pier and abutment, to be built with split stone, and that he employ Leban Page to split and lay the stone."

The records indicate that this bridge, including purchased land and toll house, cost about fifty-five hundred dollars. It did good service until the winter of 1824, when, against the date of February 10-11, Mr. Benjamin Kimball made in his diary the following entry: "A great thaw, and on the 12th the ice left the river and carried off Federal Bridge."

The injury to the bridge proved less serious than Mr. Kimball supposed. The ice destroyed one wooden pier, and about two thirds of

the superstructure. Measures were promptly taken to repair the damages and to provide a ferry for use while this work was in progress. It was completed during the summer at an expense of about twelve hundred dollars.

Several votes passed by the proprietors about this time afford refreshing evidence of their probity and prudence.

Upon abandoning the location of their two first bridges they had sold their toll house to James Moulton, Jr. When, subsequently, an adverse claim to this property was made, they at once instructed the directors (September 4, 1825) to examine their former title, "and if they find said Moulton aggrieved to make him such compensation as they may deem equitable." In the same spirit they made good the loss imposed upon the tollman by some unknown person by voting "That the proprietors of Federal Bridge sustain the loss on a one dollar bill, altered to a three, which was received by Mr. Mooney."

The records also afford evidence of a commendable effort to keep all official salaries within reasonable limits. By a formal vote passed September 4, 1827, the directors, treasurer, and clerk were each allowed the sum of four dollars for their services the preceding year.

About this time an evident desire was manifested by persons having frequent occasion to cross the river to do so at the cost of the town. To this the bridge owners responded by offering to all citizens of Concord free passage over their bridge for one year for the sum of four hundred dollars to be paid to them by the town in quarterly payments of one hundred dollars each. The town failed to accept the offer, inasmuch as the majority of its citizens had but little occasion to use the bridge, and did not care to be assessed towards paying the toll of those who used it frequently.

Fourth Federal Bridge. Repaired or rebuilt, as above stated, the third bridge seems to have stood securely for about ten years. In 1834, however, solicitude arose as to its safety, and a committee was appointed to examine its condition and that of the river's bed and report their findings to the stockholders, together with such recommendations as they deemed advisable.

In compliance with the advice of this committee, it was subsequently decided by the stockholders (April 18, 1835) that, "It is expedient to rebuild the ensuing year," and the directors were authorized to make all necessary contracts for labor and materials and hire money to meet the same, to be paid from the future receipts of tolls.

Thus started, the fourth bridge was in time erected, at a cost of thirty-six hundred dollars, as shown by the treasurer's report of 1836.

By this time, the project of building a free bridge was advocated

by citizens of influence, to cross the river a short distance below Kimball's ferry. Inasmuch as this project augured financial injury to the two existing bridges, the proprietors of Federal bridge appointed a committee to oppose it (September 4, 1839), but their efforts proved of no avail.

Thus, to the former assaults of log drivers, floods, and ice was added a large diversion of its former patronage. Never desirable as an investment of capital, Federal bridge now became even less so; yet, with careful management its income remained sufficient, barring accidents, to yield some return to its stockholders.

In January, 1841, an ice freshet made great havoc along the Merrimack, carrying away all of the free bridge, except the west pier, and robbing Federal bridge of one of its piers and two lengths of its stringers.

This damage to the latter bridge was repaired at no very large expense, which, again taking a new lease of life, entered upon fresh contests with the floods which periodically sought its destruction. In these it was successful for about ten years, although the great freshets of 1850 may have impaired somewhat its strength.

Shortly afterward it became by condemnation by the road commissioners as a highway the property of the town, and its proprietors were awarded as damages the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, which was subsequently somewhat increased by a vote of the town. Dissatisfied with its condition, the town removed it and supplied its place with a new one.

Fifth Federal Bridge. This, unlike its predecessors, was a covered arc-truss-bridge of the Paddleford pattern. Its superstructure rested upon piers and abutments of stone. Its cost, when completed, was about fifteen thousand dollars (\$14,830.14). While stronger than any of its predecessors, the construction of its stone work was faulty and led to its destruction by the freshet of 1872.

Sixth Federal Bridge. The power of Merrimack river in times of flood, long ignored, was recognized at length, and the conviction became general that it was unwise to longer waste money upon structures unable to withstand it.

Accordingly, the sixth and present bridge, constructed in 1873, under the general direction of Hon. John Kimball, then mayor of Concord, was built with special reference to endurance. To allow the widening of the river's channel it was made longer by forty feet than its predecessor. Its superstructure was made of wrought iron. Its abutments and piers were constructed of closely fitted stones, laid in cement, so accurately fitted to each other that any impingement upon any part of any pier or abutment would encounter the

resistance of its whole mass. Thus constructed, this bridge has stood unimpaired for twenty-nine years. While its superstructure may need occasional renewals, its foundations bid fair to outlast the new century.

First Free Bridge. The project of a free bridge across the Merrimack did not materialize until 1840. It was started in 1839, as a private enterprise, the money for its construction having been raised by the subscriptions of three hundred and ninety different individuals, for the most part citizens of Concord, Loudon, Pembroke, Chichester, and Epsom. These subscriptions varied in amount from fifty cents to one hundred dollars.

Subsequently, in answer to the petitions of Ira Osgood of Loudon and others, and of Trueworthy L. Fowler of Pembroke and others, the Court of Common Pleas ordered highways from these two towns to be laid out over this bridge to a point in Concord where Bridge street now meets Main street. The damages awarded for the several parcels of land taken for these were assessed upon the towns in which they lay.

Upon the town of Concord was also assessed the sum of sixteen hundred and seventy-eight dollars and fifty cents, being one half of the subscriptions above mentioned, and awarded as damages to the respective owners of the bridge. In short, its cost was borne in moiety by the subscribers before mentioned and the town of Concord. This bridge was the forerunner of all the free bridges across the Merrimack in this state.

Second Free Bridge. After a brief life of about a year it was swept to its destruction by a freshet, on the 8th day of January, 1841, and soon afterwards was succeeded by another of more stable construction, which stood until about 1849, when it was succeeded by a new one of the Paddleford pattern. This in turn gave way in 1894 to the present structure of iron.

Sewall's Falls Bridge. This bridge, which is also a Merrimack river bridge, incorporated as a toll-bridge in 1832 and built soon afterwards, has had experiences similar to those of its associates below it. Three times it has been carried away and as many times rebuilt.

Contoocook River Bridges.

Penacook Bridges. When the first bridge across the Contoocook was built does not appear. Located near the works of the Concord Axle Company, and in Boscawen, it was reached by a highway deflecting from the main road to that town, which, after crossing the river, again joined this road near Johnson's tavern (now the Penacook House). Colonel Rolfe intimates that this location was selected

because the river was narrow there and the expense of a pier could be saved by building at that point.

Upon the straightening of this road, in 1826, a new bridge became necessary and was constructed upon the site of the present iron bridge. This stood until 1849, when it was rebuilt and did service until 1874. It was superseded by an iron one, which, in 1898, gave way to the one now in use.

The Twin Bridges, so called, which cross the river farther down stream, were first constructed in 1850; one in Concord and the other in Boscawen. An island in mid channel serves as a double abutment for the two. The former, originally of wood, was supplanted by an iron bridge in 1898.

Horse Hill Bridge, which spans the Contoocook some two miles and a half above the village of Penacook, was first built at some time previous to 1792 by persons residing on the west side of this river. For many years thereafter the town repeatedly assisted them in its maintenance and finally assumed its entire support. It has shared the fortunes of its neighbors and been often repaired and several times rebuilt, the last time in 1894. No one of the bridges across the Contoocook has ever been a toll-bridge.

Bridges over Turkey and Soucook Rivers.

The limits of this chapter forbid giving in detail accounts of the smaller bridges, which have been built from time to time over Turkey and Soucook rivers. Of these, six now span the former and seven the latter. They have been subjected to accidents of ice and flood similar to those encountered by their contemporaries on the larger streams.

From first to last Concord has had three distinct styles of bridges. The one in use down to about 1850 was termed "the balance beam bridge." It was sometimes supported upon stone and at others upon wooden piers. When the latter were used each consisted of a mud-sill resting upon the bottom of the channel, from which rose a series of square posts planked on both sides and surmounted by a heavy cap. From the up-river end of this mud sill two timbers, one resting upon the other, rose on a slant to the corresponding end of the cap, the upper one being of oak and designed to protect the pier from the assaults of floating ice, log jams, and other river drift.

At right angles across the caps of the piers, and extending at equal distances therefrom, were laid heavy timbers of considerable length and some fourteen by sixteen inches square, termed "balance beams." Their office was to stiffen the stringers, which consisted of large timbers resting upon them and extending from one pier to the next.

Upon these rested the floor timbers of the bridge. To still farther increase the rigidity of these stringers, as they were termed, a third series of heavy timbers, reaching from pier to pier, were sometimes laid upon and firmly bolted to them and their underlying balance beams, thereby making the three virtually one. By this means vertical vibrations were mostly prevented.

The second style of bridge, which succeeded to the first about the middle of the last century, was a lattice bridge, supported on stone piers and covered with a light, long shingle-roof. Vertical vibration of bridges of this style was sometimes prevented by the addition to the lattice sections of wooden arches, supported by the piers.

The third style of bridge, first introduced some twenty-five or thirty years ago, is the one in present use;—an open, iron truss bridge, supported upon solid stone piers provided with sharp, sloping ice cutters upon their upper ends. These vary greatly in their details, but similar principles of construction may be found embodied to a great extent in each.

Four different means have been devised by which transit is made from one side to the other of a stream: the ford, the tunnel, the ferry, and the bridge. With the two last, Concord has had a long experience. With the two first she has had none. Her streams have been too deep to ford, and as yet, neither her wants nor her resources have warranted a tunneling beneath them.

Thus, since 1796, down to the present time some twenty different bridges have spanned the Merrimack alone, within the limits of Concord. Had the fathers possessed the knowledge of bridge architecture which we have and the pecuniary means of using it, their earliest structures might have been more permanent.

MAIN STREET.

Main street, called by Concord people eighty years ago "The Street" and by outsiders, "Concord Street," was for many years Concord's principal village street. It was four hundred and sixty-five (465 2-3) rods long, and extended from Horse Shoe pond to the brow of the hill above Merrill's ferry.

It was the first thoroughfare laid out in the town, and upon it abutted sixty-eight of the one hundred and three house lots, of one acre and a half each, which were assigned to the original proprietors in the division of their plantation lands. It was not quite straight, inasmuch as the ground's surface required two slight bends; one at a point near the east end of Montgomery street, and another near that of Fayette street.

As first laid out it was ten rods wide, but this width proving

undesirable the lot owners were allowed to advance their front lines two rods, thereby reducing the street's width to six rods, or ninety-nine feet, at which it has since remained. By so doing the proprietors acted better than they knew, and furnished their posterity with a highway adequate, and no more than adequate, for future needs.

Across this street ran, for many years, three small brooks, which drained the low ground lying west of these house lots. The first, West's brook, crossed it at the east end of Chapel street; the second, Tan Yard brook, near Montgomery street; and the third still farther south, near Freight street. For these streams water courses were made, since buried, by repeated elevations of the street, to the depth of some ten or a dozen feet below its present surface. Of those the two first mentioned are in use to-day.

For an hundred years the mercantile and other business of Concord was transacted upon this street, mainly at the north end of it. Upon it was erected the block house, in 1726, which served for nearly a generation the triple office of meeting-house, town house, and schoolhouse, until its supersedure by the old North meeting-house in 1751. In 1790, eight years after the legislature had begun to hold occasional sessions in Concord, the town in co-operation with public-spirited citizens erected a town house, upon the site now occupied by the court house and city hall; largely for the accommodation of the General Court. Here, the legislature subsequently held all its sessions until 1819, when the present state house was finished. In 1806 the Concord bank was chartered, and under its act of incorporation two banks of the same name were organized, popularly designated as the Upper and Lower banks. The former subsequently developed into the Merrimack County bank, and in 1826 erected the brick building now owned and occupied by the New Hampshire Historical society, then, with the exception of the state house, the most imposing structure upon the street. A few years later, farther south and opposite the state house, the Eagle Coffee House was built, for some years the finest hotel in New Hampshire.

The establishment of the enterprises represented by these structures, together with the openings of river and rail transportation from Boston, drew southward the centre of business to a point near the state house. Hence, it has since gradually moved to one a little to the south and may now be found at or very near the intersection of this street with School or Warren streets.

Three other establishments of importance to a New Hampshire village two generations ago were located on, or at the head of, this street. The first was the post-office, introduced to Concord in 1792,

which subsequently followed the drift of business and never had a permanent abiding place until 1890, when it was established at its present location on State street. The second was the public hay scales, near Tan Yard brook, which, by means of a windlass, raised from the ground a load of hay or other bulky article and allowed its weight to be read from a scale beam in an office near by, while the third was the town pound, which stood on Pond hill.

The length of this street, nearly a mile and a half, gave rise to North End and South End rivalries. Naturally the sentiments of the fathers were adopted by their sons. These fought and bled in the interests of their respective sections, which extended from the North End south to West's brook, and from the South End north to Tan Yard brook, the section between these being neutral ground. A boy from either end caught on the wrong side of this was liable to hostilities he would have done well to avoid. For many years the bone of contention was an old iron cannon. This was repeatedly captured from each other by the contending parties. At length the South-enders, having it in possession, concealed it in the stable of the Phenix hotel. Here, their opponents eventually discovered it chained to a beam. Having by stealth gained possession of it, they transported it to Horse Shoe pond and sunk it. Like the precise resting-place of Moses, the place of its burial is known to no man. As the town increased in business and population local animosities grew less and less, until they ceased to exist.

Along this street the great out-of-doors pageants have from time to time been displayed—martial, funereal, religious, and civic. A generation ago, more or less of the New Hampshire regiments which departed for or returned from the Civil War marched up and down it. In earlier times, from 1784, when the legislature met for the first time under the new state constitution, down to 1831, the members of the General Court annually went in solemn procession up this street to the Old North church, to listen to the Election sermon delivered on the occasion. Most graphically has Dr. Andrew McFarland described one of these, as follows :

“ But the grand occasion for the Old North was the annual election sermon. To those who can go back in memory to the time when there was at least a show of recognizing divine agency in the direction of state affairs this pulpit deliverance and the parade attending it must ever stand as an event of a lifetime. It is the state's one great holiday, and Concord swarms with the ingathered multitude. On Wednesday the General Court organizes ; but Thursday is the day of all days, for then the governor takes his seat. Main street, from the state house to the extreme North End, is lined

with booths ('tents' so called) active in traffic of sheet gingerbread, early apples, and ginger beer, not to speak of the plentiful array of decanters full of more heady liquors; for temperance societies were of much later birth. From his perch on a maple limb close to the church door the writer awaits the coming pageant. It has already left the state house, for does not the cannon every minute proclaim the fact from the brow of Sand hill? Now, faintly on the air comes the low boom of the big drum, afar down the street in advance of all other sound. Nearer it comes every minute, but still alone, till at length the higher notes of the key-bugle can just occasionally be made out. There is an almost undefinable consciousness of other sounds, for the very winds seem to hold their breath. The more distinct strain of each musical piece announces the approach of the slow moving column at the head of the street, and a skirmish line of small boys heralds the grand advance. And now, with burst and swell of martial melody—big drum and little drums, bugles, clarionettes, fifes, cymbals, and triangles—every man of them at his best—Fisk's corner is turned, and the grand spectacle opens out with all of war's pride, pomp, and circumstance. What a test of stretched sheep-skin—what wind! Mark the cymbal-player, head thrown back and swaying from side to side, breast well forward, the glittering disks waved high in air, with a flourish and a shake, as he brings the two together with a resonant clang, to the admiration of all small boys. The Concord Light Infantry leads the van; white pants, blue coats, most uncomfortably buttoned to the chin; felt-topped leather caps, and tall, stiff plumes of white, roofed with plumage of brilliant red. What martial mien in the captain! (Seth Eastman, I think) head erect, eyes sternly fixed on nothing just in front, body stiff as a halberd, sword firmly to right shoulder, toes well turned out! Shades of heroes and warriors! How can mortal man descend to common week-day affairs from such a pinnacle of glory! This is but the escort and the grand central figures are now in sight. Governor Pierce (father of the President) and his aids, all showily mounted, the portly form of the bluff old governor in the centre of the platoon, continental cocked hat in hand, bowing right and left to the acclaiming thousands, with his aids in all the splendor of half-moon chapeaux, ostrich feathers, red and yellow sashes, buff breeches and most formidable, knee-high military boots. Now the sensation is at full height. Cannon are booming, martial strains fill the air, horses neigh, the welkin reeds with the prolonged shoutings of the multitude, and billows of dust envelope every thing.

“When close to the tree, where this chronicler sits, the captain comes to a sudden halt; pivots round on the soles of his boots to

face his company, sword uplifted with the short, quick command: 'Right and left of sections file to the front! Halt! Inward face! Present arms!' Meanwhile the cavalcade has dismounted, and the chargers are given to the keeping of ready-to-hand boy, expectant of a pistareen when the sermon is over. The governor and his suite, the honorable council, senate and house of representatives, two and two, with heads uncovered, advance between the files of soldiery; the band plays the salute; officers stand with sword-hilt to the eyes; the flag waves; and the venerable sanctuary swallows up the long procession, when the services follow, in which the boy of the period takes, as I fear, but little interest."¹

It is a matter of some surprise that the colonists of the little plantation of Penacook, in the wilderness, should have given to their main street such generous breadth as they did, and that they made their second street no less than eight rods wide. It is more so that their successors, nearly a hundred years later, should have given to the extension of this latter street a width of but fifty.

Indeed, those fathers of ancient Penacook did better than they knew. Little dreamed they, when establishing the lines of their main street upon which most of their dwellings were to stand, that it was to form a section of one of the great highways of travel from the Canadas to the sea, and become, in time, the chief avenue of the capital of a sovereign state, over which busy throngs and imposing pageants were to move; or that, within a few generations, science, coupled with inventive skill, would harness the lightning to palatial carriages to be moved thereby upon it continually and, quite likely, perpetually.

It is impossible, at this late day, to ascertain all the changes of buildings and their occupants on this street during the one hundred and seventy-five years it has been in use. Some of these, however, have been preserved, and, a short time before his decease, the late Lewis Downing, Jr., a native and constant resident of Concord for more than eighty years, prepared for this history the following plan of the buildings upon it in 1827, and attached to these the names of their occupants at that time.

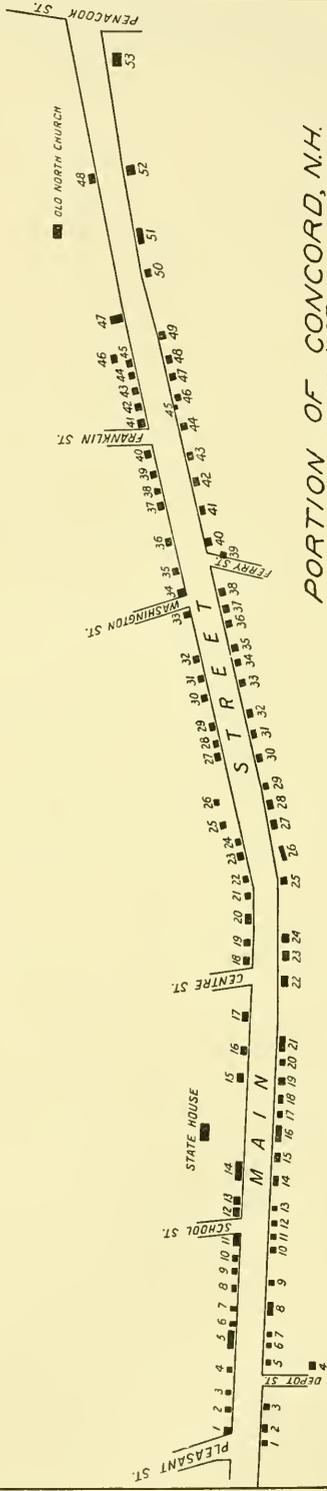
¹ One Hundredth Anniversary of First Cong. Ch., pp. 67, 68.

EAST SIDE OF MAIN ST.

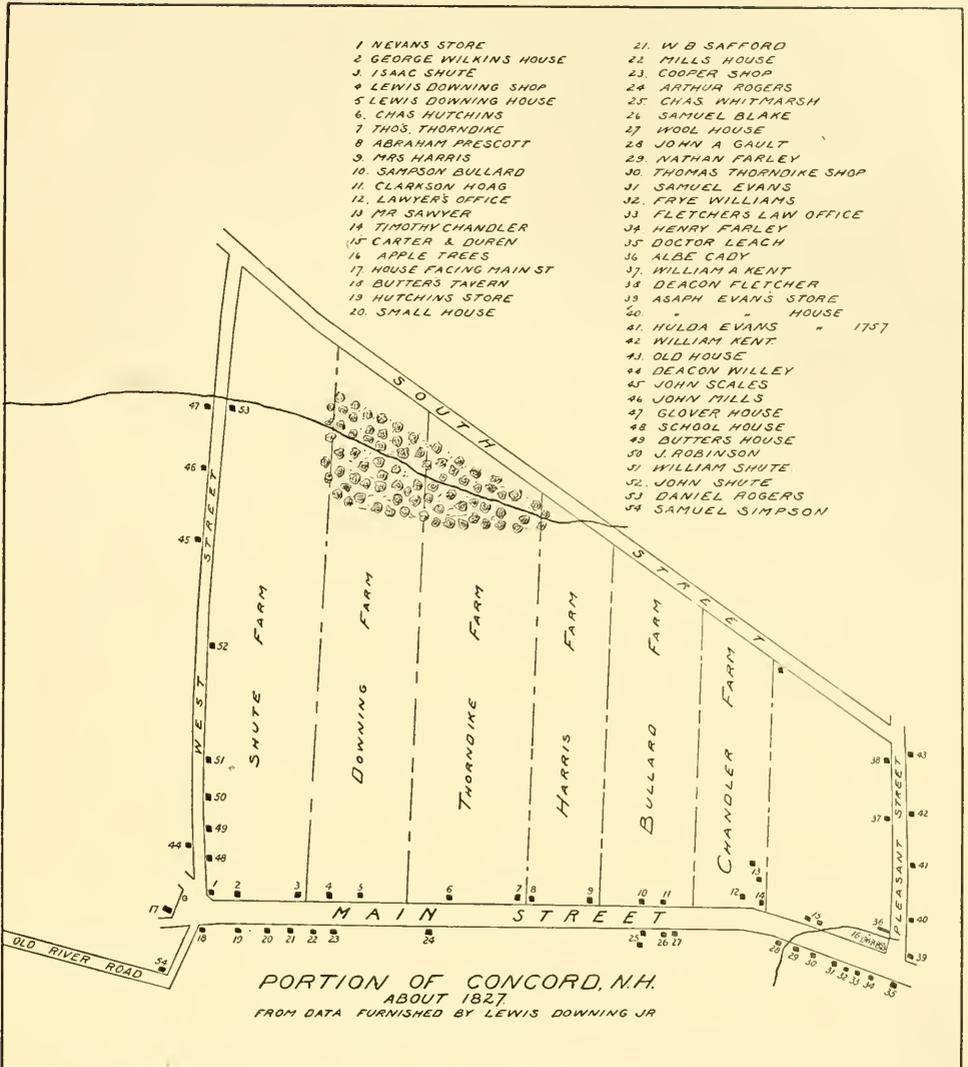
1. JOSEPH S. ABBOT.
2. HOSEA FESSENDEN, HOUSE.
3. SHERBURNE WIGGIN.
4. SAMPSON BULLARD'S DISTILLERY.
5. LEACH BUILDING.
6. SAMUEL CLARK, RESTAURANT.
7. HUTCHINS & TALLANT, STORE.
8. PHENIX HOTEL.
9. GEORGE HUTCHINS, STORE.
10. CURRIER & HALL, BOOK BINDERS.
11. JOHN TENNEY, STORE.
12. ISAAC HILL, SHOP HOUSE, IN REAR.
13. JOSEPH LOW, HOUSE.
14. JONATHAN WILKINS, HOUSE.
15. STEPHEN BROWN, SHOP.
16. WILLIAMS BLOCK STORES.
17. EAGLE COFFEE HOUSE.
18. BARTLETT HOUSE & STORE.
19. STICKNEY BLOCK STORES.
20. HODGDONS RESTAURANT.
21. LONG WOODEN BUILDING STORES.
22. JOSEPH P. STICKNIFY, HOUSE.
23. GOY STEARNS HOUSE, STANDING.
24. IVORY MALL.
25. JOHN DOLIN, SHOP.
26. JOHN DOLIN, HOUSE.
27. JOHN WHIPPLE, HOUSE.
28. DR. PETER GREEN, HOUSE.
29. MRS. R.D. PRESTON, HOUSE & SCHOOL.
30. ASA McFARLAND, HOUSE.
31. DR. SAMUEL MORRILL, HOUSE.
32. GOK. DAVID L. MORRILL, HOUSE.
33. JOSEPH CARTER WEST, STORE.
34. JOSEPH CARTER WEST, STORE.
35. N.H. SAVINGS & MERRIMACK CO. BANKS.
36. REV. NATHANIEL BOUTON, HOUSE.
37. CHARLOTTE HERBERT, HOUSE.
38. RICHARD HERBERT, TAVERN.
39. SAMUEL HERBERT, HOUSE.
40. HERBERT STORE, STANDING.
41. HERBERT, HOUSE.
42. DR. PETER AENTON.
43. WILLIAM WEST, HOUSE.
44. PHILIP CARRAGAN, HOUSE.
45. FRANCIS. BARBER, SHOP.
46. WASHINGTON HOTEL.
47. PETER ELKINS, SHOP.
48. ALICE FLANDERS, HOUSE.
49. SAMUEL A. KIMBALL, HOUSE & OFFICE.
50. JOSEPH WALKER, HOUSE.
51. JUDGE TIMOTHY WALKER, BARN.

WEST SIDE OF MAIN ST.

1. ASAPH EVANS, STORE.
2. WILLIAM MENT, STORE.
3. MORRILL & SILSBY, STORE.
4. N.H. OSGOOD, STORE.
5. BENJAMIN GALE, TAVERN.
6. CONCORD BANK.
7. WILLIAM VIRGIN, SHOP.
8. JAMES S. ANBORN, SHOP.
9. JAMES S. ANBORN, HOUSE.
10. LOW & DAMON, SHOP.
11. BENJAMIN DAMON, HOUSE.
12. WILLIAM LOW, HOUSE.
13. COLUMBIAN HOTEL.
14. DR. BROWN, DRUGS.
15. JOHN EMMONS, HOUSE.
16. PORTER BLANCHARD, "
17. PORTER BLANCHARD, SHOP.
18. OLD GARRISON, HOUSE.
19. DR. THOMAS CHADBOURN.
20. MUNROE BROS., SHOP.
21. SUSAN S. KNEELAND, HOUSE.
22. JOHN TEEL, SHOP.
23. SARAH DEARBORN, HOUSE.
24. JOHN STICKNEY, TAVERN.
25. NATHAN STICKNEY, TAVERN.
26. ISAAC SWEETSER, "
27. JOHN WEST, "
28. LEWIS DOWNING, SHOP 1813.
29. JAMES MOORE, HOUSE.
30. NATHANIEL G. UPHAM, "
31. DR. EZRA CARTER, "
32. IVORY HALL.
33. JOHN TITCOMB, SHOP.
34. JAMES HOOK, HOUSE.
35. NATHANIEL ABBOT, "
36. CHARLES WALKER, OFFICE.
37. ROBERT DAVIS, SHOP.
38. TYLER ROBINSON.
39. JOHN GEORGE, HOUSE.
40. BENJAMIN KIMBALL, SHOP.
41. FRANCIS N. FISK, STORE & HOUSE.
42. TIMOTHY WALKER, BRICK HOUSE, STANDING.



PORTION OF CONCORD, N.H.
ABOUT 1827
FROM DATA FURNISHED BY LEWIS DOWNING, JR.



SHADE TREES.

Concord abounds in shade trees, mostly elms and rock maples. The former are indigenous to the interval, where they grow in great perfection, attaining large dimensions, and, under favorable conditions, ages of from an hundred to an hundred and fifty years. They also flourish equally well on that part of the plain upon which the compact part of the city stands. The latter are natives of the uplands, and when transplanted grow well for a time, but their lives are much shorter than those of their associates, shorter, probably, by one half.

Shade trees began to be planted along the streets of Concord at

quite early dates. The earliest recorded planting was nearly synchronous with the collapse of the attempt of the proprietors of Bow to capture the township. Its citizens then felt that the title to their homesteads had been rendered secure, and that any improvements of them which they might make would be for their own enjoyment and not for that of unjust claimants.

The oldest shade trees yet standing of which an authentic record has been preserved are the five elms at the north end of Main street, near the house of the writer of this chapter. They were set out by the Rev. Timothy Walker the next spring after his third return from London, whither he had gone as agent of his people to prosecute an appeal to the king in council from a judgment of the superior court of New Hampshire in favor of the proprietors of Bow. Upon his majesty's reversal of that judgment, December 29, 1762, the inhabitants of Concord were quieted in the titles to their landed estates, and felt encouraged to improve and adorn them.¹

In his diary for 1764, against the date of May 2d, Mr. Walker makes this brief entry, "Sat out 8 elm trees about my house." Five of these still survive, one hundred and thirty-seven years after their removal from the interval at ages, probably, of a dozen to fifteen years.

Three of these are yet in vigorous health. Two are gradually approaching the limits of their respective careers, while the lives of the other three have sunk into oblivion for the want of a timely historian.

The finest tree in the city is the graceful elm at the north end of Fisk street, often called the Webster elm. It was set out by Capt. Enoch Coffin and his brother, Col. John Coffin, about 1782, the year in which Daniel Webster was born (January 18, 1782). Hence, doubtless, the name sometimes given to it.

The trees on the west side of Main street, between the residence of William P. Fiske and the east end of Church street, were planted in 1818 by the late Samuel A. Kimball, who also planted the sturdy willows on the north side of the East Concord road, near the buildings of the Page Belting Company, in 1831. There are ten of the latter, and their respective circumferences at three feet from the ground are: 1st (westernmost), thirteen feet and five inches; 2d, thirteen feet and four inches; 3d, ten feet and ten inches; 4th, ten feet and five inches; 5th, twelve feet; 6th, thirteen feet and one inch; 7th, eleven feet and four inches; 8th, ten feet and six inches; 9th, twelve feet; 10th, eleven feet and one inch.

The ten have an aggregate of circumference amounting to one hundred and eighteen feet, an average of nearly twelve to a tree, at

¹ Moore's Annals of Concord, p. 99.

their present age of about eighty years. The smaller willows standing eastward were set out by the writer in 1895-'99.

The elms in front of the lot of Dr. George M. Kimball were planted by his great uncle, Hazen Kimball, at a date unknown, but somewhat earlier, evidently, than that of the planting of those on the opposite side of the street.

The noble row of elms in front of the ancient building once known as the Washington hotel were set out by Dr. Ebenezer H. Goss in 1774, and those in front of the house of Henry Robinson are believed to have been placed in their present position soon after the close of the Revolutionary War. Those which line the west side of Main street between Franklin and Pearl streets were planted by Charles Walker, about 1802, in front of his house, erected about that time.

The stalwart elms on Main street, near the east end of Thorndike street, were planted at an early day by Timothy Walker, a relative of the first minister. Many others of advanced ages might be mentioned, notably those in front of the Rolfe and Rumford asylum, planted, doubtless, by Col. Benjamin Rolfe about the time he built the main structure of this house, in 1764; the great elm near the corner of South and Clinton streets; and the tough old veteran on Pleasant street opposite the house of Dr. F. A. Stillings.

Most of the elms on the lot of the Walker schoolhouse were set out in 1832 by John D. Abbot and paid for by subscription. The largest of those in the yard of John H. Stewart were probably planted by Capt. Benjamin Emery. The younger elms at the north end of Main street were for the most part set out by the writer of this chapter about 1850. The flourishing elms on the south avenue of Blossom Hill cemetery were planted by the cemetery committee about twelve years later.

The trees thus far mentioned are mostly elms. But, as before intimated, rock maples have been the favorite shade trees of many. Hazen Kimball planted a fine row of these just north of the elms before alluded to as set out by him, but only one of these survives. In his *History of Concord*, published in 1856, Dr. Bouton says that the rock maples on Centre street, between State and Main streets, were at that time about twenty years old, making their present age about sixty-six, and that both the maples and elms in the state house yard are older by some ten years.

Besides elms and maples, trees of other species have been planted for ornament and shade. There were formerly standing on State and Main streets five sycamores, three of which still remain,—one in the front yard of George H. Marston, one near the foot of Montgomery street, and the majestic one near the house of Dr. George M.

Kimball. Various other kinds have also been planted from time to time, but in no great numbers. In the southeast section of the State Hospital grounds may be seen a magnificent grove of large white oaks, some thirty in number, evidently of great age and presumably remains of the great primeval forest which once covered Concord's whole territory.

Since the publication of Dr. Bouton's history, forty-five years ago, many magnificent elms have, for various causes, been removed. Among these were the six he mentions as standing near his house, the large ones on the west side of State street, near the east end of Walker street, the monster on Stickney hill, one of the largest, and perhaps the largest, Concord has produced, and the Downing elm, near the residence of the late Lewis Downing.

The growth of the five venerable elms before mentioned, which have shaded a section of the north end of Main street for one hundred and thirty-seven years, is shown by the following comparison of circumference measurements at heights of three and six feet from the ground in 1764, 1856, 1864, 1871, and 1901:

CIRCUMFERENCES.

1764-1901.

Trees.	1764.		1856.		1864.		1871.		1901.									
	3 ft. from ground.		3 ft. from ground.		3 ft. from ground.		3 ft. from ground.		3 ft. from ground.									
	Ft.	In.																
1st..	0	9	16	0	14	0	16	4	14	10	16	10	15	3	18	5	16	4
2d..	0	9	12	4	12	3	13	5	12	10	14	1	13	5	15	10	15	2
3d..	0	9	9	0	9	3	9	2	9	4	9	4	9	6	9	9	9	10
4th..	0	9	13	0	12	0	13	2	12	3	13	3	12	7	14	0	13	0
5th..	0	9*	12	9	12	2	13	6	13	0	14	4	13	5	15	4	14	6

* The 1st is the southernmost tree and the 5th is on west side of the street. The size of the first measurement at the time of their setting out has been assumed.

INCREASE OF CIRCUMFERENCES.

1764-1901.

Trees.	1764.		Inc. in 92 years. 1764-1856.		Inc. in 8 years. 1856-'64.		Inc. in 7 years. 1864-'71.		Inc. in 30 years. 1871-1901.									
	3 ft. from ground.		3 ft. from ground.		3 ft. from ground.		3 ft. from ground.		3 ft. from ground.									
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.								
1st..	0	9	15	3	13	3	0	4	0	10	0	6	0	5	1	7	1	3
2d..	0	9	11	7	11	6	1	1	0	7	0	7	0	7	1	9	1	9
3d..	0	9	8	3	8	6	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	5	0	4
4th..	0	9	12	3	11	3	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	4	0	9	0	5
5th..	0	9	12	0	11	7	0	9	0	10	0	10	0	5	2	0	1	1

It will be observed that the first, second, and fifth have surpassed in growth the third and fourth, a fact due largely to their standing

farther away from neighboring trees than the other two. To this circumstance the first owes its far-extending crown, which has an east and west diameter of seventy-four feet.

The entire length of Main street is seventy-six hundred and eighty-three feet. Between Centre and Pleasant streets, for a distance of thirteen hundred and twenty feet, no trees now remain. Along the remaining sixty-three hundred and sixty-three feet trees to the number of two hundred and eighty-nine shade the sidewalks, one hundred and fifty-nine on the street's east side and one hundred and thirty on the opposite. These stand at average distances from each other of forty feet on the former side and forty-nine on the latter.

Under such circumstances proper trunk developments and comely crowns cannot be attained. A well-developed elm, of an hundred years, requires as many linear feet along the street, and a well-formed maple of seventy-five years, three fourths as many.

The history of Concord's shade trees may, possibly, throw some light upon the question as to the allotted age of the American elm (*Ulmus Americana*). As before stated, the Rev. Mr. Walker planted elms before his house in 1764, one hundred and thirty-seven years ago, five of which now remain. If it be assumed that they were fifteen years old at that time, their present age is one hundred and fifty-two. Three of them are in vigorous health and seem good for another half century. The other two will probably end their careers ere half that period has elapsed. While it is by no means safe to generalize from single facts, the history of these trees, so far as it goes, suggests some one hundred and seventy-five to two hundred years as, under favorable circumstances, the allotted age, in Concord, of the American elm.

And just here another question arises. Whence came to Concord this custom of lining a street with shade trees? Doubtless from the older Massachusetts towns in which its earliest settlers had been reared. Whence to the latter came this custom? Doubtless from the parks and villages of the old English fatherland.

The attractiveness of Concord's streets is not wholly due to their smoothness as highways of travel and the comely houses which adorn them, but in a good measure also to the graceful lines of trees which overshadow them.

HOUSES.

Some ten to a dozen types of houses have been erected in Concord during the period following its settlement as a plantation down to the present time.

1. *The Log House.*

The first, intended for temporary use, was necessarily built of logs, as no sawmill was erected until 1729, three years after the settlement of the town had commenced. The building first erected was the block house, to be used as a meeting-house, town house, schoolhouse, and, if need be, as a fortress for protection against



The Log House.

attacks of the Indians. Its construction, commenced in 1726, was completed the next year. Its site was the north corner of Main and Chapel streets.

2. *The Framed Cottage of One Story.* How many of the early houses of Concord were of logs there is no means of determining. From a statement of the condition of the plantation, bearing date October 20, 1731, it appears that no less than eighty-five dwelling-houses were at that time wholly or partially finished,



The Framed Cottage.

and that a large part of these were framed structures. The type of many of these was doubtless that of the simple one-story cottage, whose rooms—surrounding a single central chimney—were easily warmed. As this arrangement met the wants of the frugal life then prevailing in this remote community, it was very generally adopted.



The Gambrel Roof House.

3. *The Gambrel Roof House.* A third type of dwelling introduced to Concord very soon after its settlement was the gambrel roof house, a type brought from the older towns of Massachusetts where its people had been born, and whence they had recently emigrated. Houses of this description were usually of two stories, about forty feet long and half as wide. They were covered by a roof known as a "gambrel roof," which descended on both sides from the ridge line in two unlike slopes to the eaves. To this was sometimes attached a rear addition of one story of like construction. While its outlines were not particularly pleasing and its form suggested a ship turned upside down, it was roomy, and, owing to its capacious attic, came near being a three-story house.



The Box Trap House.

4. *The Box Trap House.* Another style of house erected quite early in Concord was a house of a somewhat greater depth than length, which generally faced the south, regardless of location and surroundings. It was of two stories in front, and of one in the rear.

From the eaves of the front side the roof rose by a pretty sharp pitch to the ridge line, and descended thence on the other in a more gentle slope to the top of the back wall. While no technical name may have attached to houses of this model, their end elevations so forcibly suggest an ordinary box trap set for game, that this designation has been assumed for the want of a better one.

Mr. Wilson Flagg appropriately remarked, in 1872, of this style of house and of the elm which so often shaded it: "In my own mind, the elm is intimately allied with those old dwelling-houses which were built in the early part of the last century. . . . Not many of these venerable houses are now extant; but wherever we see one it is almost invariably accompanied by its elm, standing upon the open space which slopes down from its front, waving its branches in melancholy grandeur above the old homestead, and drooping as with sorrow over the infirmities of its old companion of a century."¹



The Two-Story Square House.

¹ Woods and By-Ways of New England, p. 86.

5. *The Two-Story Square House.* This affords another type of dwelling introduced to villages and large farms early in the last century. It was usually well built by well-to-do proprietors, a fact which accounts for the good condition in which it is generally found. The most marked features in its construction are a large, square chimney in its centre, bisecting its ridge line as it emerges from the roof, around which the rooms of both stories are so arranged as to allow fireplaces in most or all of them. Admission on the front side is through a shallow entry between the chimney and the outside door, while access to the second story is had by a stairway of so many rectangular turnings



The Nearly Flat Roof House.

as to make it a matter of some uncertainty whether a person, starting from the bottom in a sober condition, would be able to walk without staggering when he had reached the top.

6. *The nearly Flat Roof House, without Gables,* also came into use about the same time as the type last mentioned. Its roof, pitching from a short ridge line in four directions, was pierced by a chimney at each end of the building. This style seems to have been a faint imitation of the three-story colonial mansions of the coast towns, many of which still survive in perfect



The Gable Front House.

preservation, and attest the prosperity of the country about the time of their erection. Its depth was that of a single room, and its main entrance was midway of its front wall. It was quite often enlarged by the addition of an L in its rear.

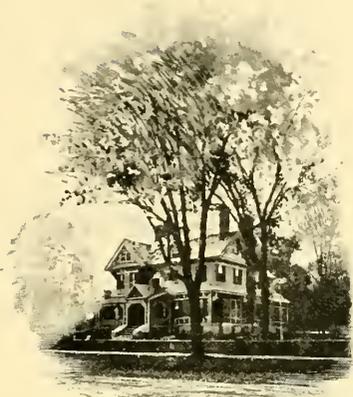
7. *The Gable Front House* made its first appearance about seventy years ago. Unlike the former, its front elevation was formed by having a gable end face the street. From this it extended back in form of a parallelogram until the desired room was secured. The front entrance was generally through a re-



The Mansard or French Roof House.

cessed porch which opened on one side to a long, narrow hall, which afforded immediate access to the rooms of the first story, and by a straight stairway to those above. Scores of these are still in use, but few have been built in recent years.

8. *The Mansard or French Roof House.* This type began to be erected in Concord just before the Civil War, but in no great numbers, inasmuch as it was expensive and best adapted to the wants of towns where large estates abounded. It may be said of this style of house that it allows of imposing elevations and the utilization of almost every cubic foot of interior space.



The Queen Anne House.

9. *The Queen Anne House.* This was introduced some thirty years ago. It allows greater freedom of architectural treatment than any other. Its steep roofs, numerous gables and dormer windows, its porches, piazzas, and L's, often give to a house of this type the appearance of a cluster of buildings which have gradually grown by degrees into an harmonious whole, rather than of a building of one design and construction. Concord has several good

specimens of this type, of which it is unnecessary to say that, while no two of them are alike, they all bear a typical resemblance to each other.

10. *The Colonial* is another type of about the same period as that of the style just mentioned. It is not a new one. It is, rather, the renaissance of the old colonial mansion so common a hundred years ago, modified by the addition of porticoes, verandas, and bay windows—a type more showy and palatial than any heretofore mentioned. Its contrast with the log cabin forcibly suggests the great advance in wealth and improved housing in this city since its settlement, while the intermediate styles mark the steps along which these have been reached.



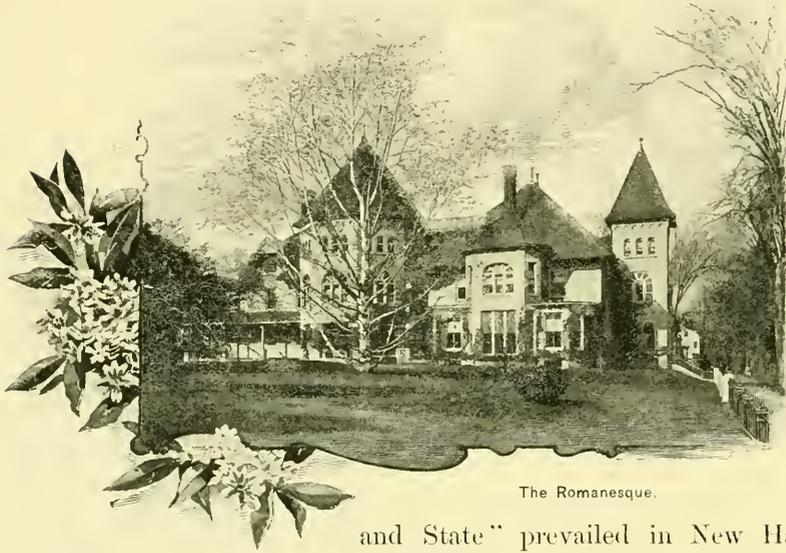
The Colonial.

11. *The Romanesque.* Of this style, which succeeded to the Grecian and other styles in vogue upon the downfall of the Roman empire, Concord can show but few examples. It is highly picturesque, and, in general appearance, foreign. It also varies greatly in minor points in the different European countries in which it has been developed.

In England charming specimens of it in its simpler forms may be found classed as Norman. It is not well adapted to the more common requirements of domestic life, and is most often chosen for buildings of a public character and for imposing private mansions.

By a more particular examination of the diversities in styles of the Concord dwellings, the foregoing number of types might be enlarged, but it seems unnecessary. It should, however, be stated that there was a kindred variation in the types of the town's meeting-houses.

The first consisted of a simple, one-story structure of logs, which served as a town house, schoolhouse, and meeting-house. The second, built for the standing order, when



The Romanesque.

“Church and State” prevailed in New Hampshire, was originally seen in a two-story, square structure, having walls pierced by numerous large windows, and subsequently enlarged by exterior additions and a steeple. To this type, soon after the passage of the toleration act, succeeded a third of one story, with long side windows, gable front, and steeple. Of the various renaissance types which have succeeded, the limits of this chapter forbid particular description.

FISH AND GAME.

FRANK BATTLES.

The ancient plantation of Penny Cook, the township of Rumford, now the flourishing city of Concord, and its immediate vicinity, from a topographical standpoint has been, and still is, admirably adapted to the propagation and growth of many of the most valuable of the edible animals, birds, and fishes. The varied woodland growth on the surrounding hillsides, interspersed with the necessary swales and brushy pastures, afford abundant protection and food for the ruffed grouse, commonly known as the partridge, and the woodcock,—two of the most important game birds of the state,—while in the same covers foxes, coney rabbits, squirrels, raccoons, freely breed and flourish. The numberless sparkling streams, which have their origin in the springy soil of these elevated localities, form natural breeding places and homes for the peerless brook trout, always eagerly sought. The half dozen or more ponds within the city limits, and many others in close proximity, have furnished in the past, and yield to-day to the persistent fisherman, handsome strings of the more common yet highly esteemed pickerel, perch, and pout; and in a few of them, as well as in the Merrimack river, the result of transplanting from other waters, black bass may be said to be numerous.

Animals and birds recognize no human boundaries over which they must not roam or fly, and the fish inhabiting the waters in this vicinity are not cognizant of any town lines which may extend to, or cross, their domain. So that whatever is said of the fish and game of this immediate locality is equally applicable to the section about Concord as well. It may be stated that the all-round sportsman can safely make his headquarters in Concord, from which within an easy distance he will be sure of pleasure to a reasonable extent, unless he wishes to engage in deer hunting or to try his luck with landlocked salmon. Deer are now frequently seen in Merrimack county, and in several instances have invaded the precincts of Concord, but they are protected by the law the year round in this part of the state. The efforts to stock the waters of Concord with landlocked salmon are of recent date, but even now show satisfactory results.

If the reader will examine the records made by the authorities in years long gone by he will find that the titles of the land lying on the Merrimack river, which back to about 1732 was divided into dis-

tricts, were conveyed in the crude though unmistakable language of the times, and that the boundary lines of many such districts began and ended with such and such a tree, giving the name, whether of white pine, red oak, or other variety; and it requires no stretch of the imagination to infer that when the Indians first came upon and decided to remain on what is now the rich arable interval land bordering upon the river, they found it covered with a bushy growth with here and there an area of woods, consisting of pine, maple, oak, walnut, and other species.

As the character of the American Indian ever prompted him to eke out his existence with as little labor as possible, one of the first acts on his arrival in the neighborhood was to burn over the lands for the double purpose of clearing valuable space on which to raise his absolutely necessary corn, and to change original rank growth to succulent verdure, in order that the deer inhabiting the woods adjoining might be enticed into situations which would render their capture a comparatively easy matter. That the Penacook tribe, domiciled in the main as they were for years on territory which is now included within the limits of Concord, subsisted largely on fish and game will be readily admitted from the nature of things; but, with the advent of the white man, in accordance with established methods of civilization, records and narratives of current events and conditions were begun and continued, so that from the day of his coming there is at hand information from which the student can inform himself concerning the happenings of any particular period of time. From these records, antedating, of course, the memory of persons now living, much of interest relating to fish and game of those early days and their capture for food may be culled.

The gunner of to-day follows his pointer or setter with nothing to divert his attention from the pleasure he is enjoying. The fox and rabbit hunter listens undisturbed to the music of his hounds in the most unfrequented places. The coon hunter, during the darkest nights, plods through the trackless forests and over rocky pastures, ascends the tallest trees to kill his quarry, with no possibility of harm coming to him. The angler enters the water or crawls along the slimmest places with no thought of danger. The sportsman of other days or the head of the family in quest of food did not, however, roam the woodlands with the same immunity or without sense of fear. In the early times the country about this beautiful city abounded in savage and obnoxious animals and vermin.

In the records referred to it is learned that determined efforts on the part of the settlers to rid the country of pests were absolutely necessary, not alone to insure their own safety, but for the protection

of their stock as well; and organized hunting parties were the order of the day for many years, to scour the woods and destroy as many as possible of the bears, catamounts, wolves, and rattlesnakes which infested the township. These efforts were encouraged to the fullest possible extent by the town officials, who were authorized by vote of the inhabitants year after year to pay a bounty on all such animals and reptiles destroyed. The sum paid for the killing of wolves varied with different years from three pounds to one pound for a full-grown wolf and from one pound ten shillings to ten shillings for a whelp. For each rattlesnake killed there was paid from sixpence to a shilling. Year after year the warfare was kept up, with the result that the settlers finally had the satisfaction of seeing the "varmints" practically exterminated, the rattlesnake lasting the longest, as it was well into the forties of the nineteenth century ere it ceased to be a pest in some localities. Who now, as he dwells in the city of his choice, enjoying the comforts which he can obtain here and which are made possible by the efforts of the rugged yeomanry he calls his ancestors, can but admire their perseverance in the face of obstacles which to-day would be considered unsurmountable?

There is no doubt that the early settlers and their immediate descendants depended largely on fish and game to supply their tables. There was a sameness and plainness in their daily fare, to say nothing of its limited quantity, which made the fish and game they could readily catch and kill the only luxuries with which they could supply their larder. Deer were fairly plentiful; hares, grouse, and wild pigeons were abundant; the river at the proper season was alive with salmon and shad; the brooks contained large numbers of trout; and the ponds yielded liberally of the coarser native varieties of fish. These conditions continued until the march of progress and the increase of population marked the beginning of the manufacturing era, when the building of dams across the river diminished the large run of salmon and shad to their spawning places at the headwaters. The gradual increase in the number of these structures, some of them so built as to absolutely prevent the passage of fish, finally caused them to disappear completely from the Merrimack, although it was not until the year 1898 that the salmon gave it up entirely, several fish of that species, gigantic in size, having been seen that year in the river abreast the city.

The passenger pigeons, which our forefathers and their descendants to within a few years held in such high esteem, and which inhabited the entire country east and west in such immense numbers as to be reckoned by the million, have been exterminated by the ruthless slaughter carried on among them at their roosting, breeding, and feed-

ing grounds, so that to-day the only specimens which certainly exist are in confinement.

With these exceptions, and that of the upland plover (all migratory species), the quantity of fish and game around Concord will compare favorably with that of any ancient day of which there is any record. This statement may be questioned, but is based upon an active experience of nearly fifty years in the woodlands of New England and other sections of the country in pursuit of game and fish, and in corroboration it may be said that during each of several days' shooting in the fall of 1900 as many partridges were started as had ever been noted in any one day of previous years. The same abundance has also been noted in other recent years, and it is believed that partridges are as plentiful as ever and will continue to be abundant so long as pine forests grow and laws to prevent snaring and trapping are enforced. Occasionally there has been a year when some disease has reduced their numbers, and it has then taken two or three seasons to fully recover the losses, but the conditions are still most favorable to their propagation.

The woodcock, another migratory bird, has rapidly decreased in numbers apparently with the advance of civilization, but the season of 1900 witnessed a remarkably large flight of these birds. The same abundance has been observed at intervals of a few years apart, with proof almost every year that a large flight had passed along, making but a brief stop in this vicinity. In any event, the fact that this variety breeds exclusively in the north and is killed by the thousand in the south during the winter, shows that they are still very much in evidence, although on their southern passage they may some years elude the Concord wing shots.

The "highlander," or upland plover, to within twenty-five years, passed over the intervals by hundreds on their southern flight from their breeding places on the hills in the adjacent north. They are still more than abundant in the west and are by no means scarce here.

It may seem extravagant to assert that there are as many trout in this vicinity as there were a hundred years ago, but is it not so? In olden times the farmer or his boy went to the brook and took out enough for a mess and was satisfied. To-day the fisherman makes a day of it and cleans up the brook for the time being. There are hundreds of fishermen now where there was only the farmer or his boy to fish in those days, and still the trout hold out, as there are many fine strings taken in every year very close to Concord.

Black bass have superseded the pickerel in many waters, but this has been accomplished by the hand of man in the line of supposed

benefit. Large sums of public and private moneys have been expended in the artificial propagation of food fish to keep up the supply. These expenditures have been going on now for a number of years with varying degrees of success towards obtaining the desired result. Within the past few years, also, quite extensive efforts have been made to introduce into this, as well as other sections of New Hampshire, valuable game birds other than the native varieties, notably the quail and pheasants. The hopes of those interested, so far as the quail is concerned, have been more than realized, as flocks of these beautiful little birds are reported in all directions, and not a few of them have been brought to bag during the last three or four shooting seasons. The result of raising and liberating pheasants around Concord and other localities in New England has been very far from satisfactory. The experiment, however, has not proved a complete failure, although generally believed to have been so.

To sum up then, with the changes that have been noted and with the additional statement that the coney rabbit has driven out and supplanted the hare and that the gray squirrels have not held their own against the woodman's slaughter of the chestnut forests, the visitors to the woodlands and the waters of this vicinity in this the beginning of the twentieth century, will not find it so vastly different in its natural history from what his ancestors found it at the beginning of the preceding one. Wherever original forests, second growth and wild uninhabitable lands are found, there will flourish animals and birds, the edible with the worthless, and in the public ponds of the state, under wise protection, valuable fish will breed and thrive.

In no part of the state has greater interest been taken in fish and game than in Concord and its immediate vicinity. Here was organized the first practical fish and game league of the state. It is true there was an earlier league organized in Cheshire county, but it was limited in its character and was largely a social organization. Years ago, in the palmy days of the late John B. Clarke, there was a state league, and work attempted under that well-known pioneer was of practical value. Later on, the Merrimaek County Fish and Game League was organized February 15, 1883, with the writer as temporary chairman, who outlined the possibilities in the line of sport that might be derived through concentrated action on the part of those interested. The meeting for organization was held at Union hall, White's opera house, and was largely attended. The organization was perfected by the choice of Thomas A. Pilsbury of Concord as president, Walter Aiken of Franklin, Henry McFarland, and Dr. F. A. Stillings of Concord, vice-presidents, John M. Hill of Concord, treasurer, and James M. Morris of Concord, secretary, with an execu-

tive committee representative of various sections of the county. The activity of this league and the co-operation of the other leagues of the state, with the wise counsel and valuable assistance of the state commissioners, have secured a code of laws for the protection of fish and game, legislation wise in its inception, because of the intimate connection of sport of this character with the largely increasing summer business of New Hampshire.

By way of appendix to the foregoing it should be said that several fine salmon were taken with rod and reel in Long pond during the season of 1902, the largest one, weighing just above fifteen pounds, being captured by Harrison A. Roby.

GENERAL HISTORY.

NARRATIVE SKETCH.

AMOS HADLEY.

CHAPTER I.

SCENE OF THE HISTORY.—ABORIGINAL OCCUPATION.

The scene of the following historical narration lies within that portion of the present domain of New Hampshire which anciently bore the name of Penacook. This appellation of varied orthography, with civilized softening of savage gutturals, was sometimes applied to a region whose limits cannot now with certainty be defined. That region probably extended, in undefined width, along both sides of the Merrimack river, with the mouth of the Soucook, or the Suncook, in its southern line of demarcation, and that of the Contoocook in its northern. Out of this tract was subsequently carved for civilized settlement, a restricted grant having definite bounds, and bearing the same name—Penacook, as the Indian called “the crooked place,” formed by the singularly picturesque meanderings of the Merrimack, or “the place of the rapid current.” In this locality have occurred the events of savage and civilized occupation which make up the History of Concord.

In Penacook was the special abode of the Indian tribe bearing that name. The historic light of the seventeenth century falls only in flecks upon aboriginal life in the valley of the Merrimack, as the summer sunlight, in that distant day, must have flecked the wigwam or the pathway of the dusky hunter in the dark, primeval forest. It is historically certain, however, that the tribe occupying the soil of the present Concord was the leading one among kindred tribes that dwelt along the Merrimack and tributaries northward to Lake Winnepesaukee and beyond, and southward to the great bend near Pawtucket Falls. Those subordinates bearing such specific names as the Winnepesaukees, the Ossipees, the Amoskeags, the Souhegans, the Nashuas, and the Wamesits, or Pawtuckets, may, perhaps, be more properly characterized as bands than as tribes, and all of them Penacooks, with headquarters at the seat of the leading tribe. Possibly, too, the Indians living by the Merrimack, eastward to the sea—including the Squamscoots and the Piscataquas, with the Aecomintas and others along the western edge

of Maine, and others still, as the Wachusetts upon the northern rim of Massachusetts—were kindred to the Penacooks, as surely they were confederate subjects of the same grand sachemship.¹

The Penacooks, warlike representatives of the Algonquins, were in irreconcilable feud with the Mohawks, the fierce representatives of the Iroquois. In the days of their strength, these men of the Merrimack not only waged defensive war on the incursions of their traditional foes from beyond the Hudson, but sometimes avenged themselves in war offensive. At their first historical appearance, about 1621, they had been much weakened by war, and other causes—among which may have been the dread disease of 1616, which prevailed along the seashore and at an unknown distance inland. Tradition, without assigning dates, locates three ancient forts at the headquarters of the Penacooks: one upon the west bank of the river in Fort Eddy plain; another upon the east bank opposite, on the crest of Sugar Ball bluff; the third also on the east side of the Merrimack, near Sewall's island. Undoubtedly the Sugar Ball fort, occupying its excellent position, had for its special object defense against the Mohawks; and with it is connected the story of a desperate battle. As was not unusual, the Mohawks were paying these eastern parts a visit of mischief, and a party of them had suffered repulse in an encounter with the Penacooks. The latter, in precaution against their persistent foes, withdrew, men, women, and children, within the fort on Sugar Ball, along the strongly-built walls of which were stored their baskets of newly-harvested corn. The Mohawks, the more enraged for their repulse, appeared in force on Fort Eddy plain, and took threatening position. A time of mutual watch and of mutual defiance passed; for the Penacooks dared not "fight in the field, nor the Mohawks to attack the fort."² Then it was that a Mohawk was seen carelessly strolling across Sugar Ball plain, southward of the bluff, and at its foot. The decoy drew out of the fort warrior after warrior, in hot pursuit, while he sped away to the river. Meanwhile, the main force of the wily Mohawks, having crossed the river above, had, by a roundabout march, drawn near the Penacook stronghold, and hidden there. With a war-whoop more startling than that of the pursuers in the plain, they at last sprung from their ambush upon the fort, now thinned of defenders. But the warriors, lured into deceptive chase, were not slow to return, and to join obstinate battle for the possession of their fortress and its precious contents.

Tantalizing tradition tells not definitely the result. It leaves, however, the inference of an indecisive battle, in which both sides suffered

¹ See St. Aspenquid, in note at close of chapter; also, Potter's *Manchester*, 28.

² Bouton's *Concord*, 20.

severely; the baffled "Mohawks leaving their dead and wounded on the ground"¹ with those of the demoralized Penacooks. The diversity of skulls among the human bones unearthed in later times, in what is supposed to have been a burying-ground, northward of the fort, denotes a promiscuous burial of the Algonquin and the Iroquois dead. The traditional statement, "that from the fatal day the already reduced force of the Penacooks was broken into fragments, and scattered,"² seems exaggerated in view of what is known from other sources of information. The day may have been one of serious disaster; and may help to account for the weakened condition of the Penacooks in 1623, as well as tend to suggest the date of the battle as being toward the end of the sixteenth century or early in the seventeenth.

When, in 1620, the first permanent English settlement in New England was made at Plymouth, the strong chieftain, Passaconaway—or Papisseconewa, the "Child of the Bear"—was, as he had been for years, at the head of the Penacook nation, or confederacy. He is first historically mentioned by Christopher Levett, "His Majesty's Woodward, and one of the Council of New England," who, late in 1625, visited David Thomson, at his new plantation, taken up, that year, at Odiorne's Point, or Pannaway, in permanent occupation, as the first English settlement in New Hampshire. In a diary of this visit to the region of the Piscataqua, Levett records that he saw an Indian, whom he calls "Conway," in a natural English abbreviation of the real but lengthy Indian name. That the chief sachem of the Penacooks should have been in that vicinity at that time seems reasonable, both from his custom of making visits, or taking up temporary residence, among the subordinate saganoreships in the region by the sea, and from the special interest he must have felt in the new white settlement within his domain.

He was now perhaps fifty or sixty years of age. To have gained the position of power and influence which he undeniably held with his warlike people, he must have been efficient upon the war-path, and the scalps of defeated foes must have hung from his wigwam pole. He had probably led in the wars, offensive and defensive, of which mention has already been made. And from all that is known of him, the inference seems just, that a superior discernment and moderation, together with an extraordinary skill in the arts of the juggler and the incantations of the medicine man, striking the imagination of the untutored red man as miraculous, and that of the superstitious white man as devilish, had quite as much to do in establishing his power, as his prowess in war. Morton, an ancient and

¹ Bouton's Concord, 20.

² Bouton's Concord, 26.

contemporary historian, quaintly writes of him : " That sachem is a Powah—that is, a witch, or sorcerer, that cures by the help of the devil—of greate estimation amongst all kind of salvages. There hee is at their Revels—which is the time when a greate company of savages meete from severall parts of the countree, in amity with their neighbours—hath advanced his honor in his feats or juggling tricks, to the admiration of the spectators, whome hee endeavoured to persuade that hee would goe under water to the further side of a river to broade for any man to undertake with a breath ; which thing hee performed by swimming over, and deluding the company with casting a mist before their eies that see him enter in and come out, but no part of the way hee has bin seene. Likewise, . . . in the heat of summer, to make ice appear in a bowle of faire water : first, having the water set before him, he hath begunne his incantation—and before the same hath been ended, a thicke cloude has darkened the aire, and on a sodane a thunder-clap hath bin heard that has amazed the natives ; instant hee hath showed a firme peace of ice to floate in the midst of the bowle in the presence of the vulgar people, which doubtless was done by the agility of Satan, his consort."¹ With such power over the imagination of the red men of the forest, Passaconaway had inspired them with the reverential belief that he was endowed with supernatural powers, and that he who could do those wonderful things, and such others, as " make a dry leaf turn green, water burn and then turn to ice, and take the rattlesnake in his hand with impunity,"—must have control over their destinies, and, consequently, should have their obedience. Indeed, it was the case of the greatest mind finding its fit place as the ruling one.

Passaconaway was not at first a friend of the English who came to possess the Atlantic coast ; he disliked them as dangerous intruders, and would fain have prevented them from " sitting down here." He tried against them his mystic arts, but no sorceries could avail against the white man's encroachments. In 1631, the English settlements in his neighborhood were not so strong as necessarily to have precluded the idea of their extermination by war from the mind of the jealous chieftain. But his discernment and moderation now swayed his conduct ; he was too " politic and wise a man"—as the Apostle Elliot has characterized him—to resort to war. Military considerations do not seem to have actuated his early pacific policy ; for he had at least five hundred warriors at his command—a body of fighting men, who, practising the savage tactics of ruse and ambuscade, though in small force, were equivalent, for the destructive purposes of the Indian campaign, to many times the same number of white troops employing the usual

¹ Force's Hist. Tracts, Vol. 2 ; " N. E. Canaan," 25-26.

methods of civilized warfare. He could have put the eagle's "feather in the scalp-lock," and urged the hostile onsets of his fighting men, to the present woe of Hilton's Point and Strawberry Bank, and even of the three-hilled Boston in the strong colony of Massachusetts Bay. But he refrained: for with the clairvoyance of superior wisdom he appears to have realized the inherent strength of Anglo-Saxon civilization, that should go on conquering and to conquer, whatever aboriginal savagery might do to hinder. He bowed to the inevitable, and accepted such terms as destiny offered. In his forecast, war with the English was sure destruction to his race; and that forecast certainly found terrible verification, in 1637, in the annihilation of the Pequots. Hence Passaconaway's pacific intention, deliberately formed, was permanent, being strengthened, as the years went on, by a desire to keep the friendship of his English neighbors, and secure their protection against the hostile "Tarratines of the east and the Mohawk of the west." He overcame jealousy, and became willing to sell lands, with "fishing, fowling, hunting, and planting" rights reserved. As early as 1632 he cheerfully delivered up to Massachusetts an Indian who had killed a white trader. He also learned thoroughly the hard lesson, how to bear and forbear: for those whose favor he always sought to conciliate did not always reciprocate in acts of kindness or justice. Thus, in 1642, upon a false alarm of an Indian conspiracy, the Massachusetts authorities sent forty men to disarm Passaconaway, quietly abiding in his wigwam in the vicinity of Ipswich or Newbury. Prevented by a storm from reaching the sachem, the armed messengers contented themselves with investing the wigwam of his son, Wonolaneet, and dragging him away, together with his squaw and little child. Breaking from the rope by which he was led along, Wonolaneet attempted to escape, but, narrowly eluding the shots fired after him, was recaptured. Thereupon, the authorities, fearing that the outrage inflicted by their reckless agents upon the family of Passaconaway might disaffect him, sent him an apology, coupled with an invitation "to come to Boston and converse with them." To this, the chieftain made the reply, not lacking in dignity: "Tell the English, when they restore my son and his squaw, then I will, of my own accord, render in the required artillery." "Accordingly," says Governor Winthrop, "about a fortnight after, he sent his eldest son, who delivered up his guns." The same year, too, he gave his consent to the sale of lands at Pentucket, or Haverhill, "to the inhabitants thereof." But while putting away resentment, and showing an obliging disposition toward his white neighbors, "The Merrimack Sachem" did not hurry to come formally under the government of Massachusetts, and it was not till 1644 that he, with his sons,

“subscribed to articles” of submission. This result had been earnestly desired by the ambitious colony, which had just brought into a forty years’ union with itself, the then thinly inhabited region of New Hampshire, represented by its four settlements at Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton.

Though now a subject of Massachusetts, Passaconaway held to the manners and customs of his race. In the planting season, when the “oak leaf became as large as a mouse’s ear,” he found one favorite abode on Penacook (or Sewall’s) island, and another at Naticook near the mouth of the Souhegan. There and elsewhere along “the great river,” on the fertile intervals, were the fields of corn,—with beans, pumpkins, gourds, and melons interspersed,—which repaid rude cultivation by considerable crops. The withe-handled clam-shell hoe, wielded by a strong squaw, with a papoose strapped upon her back, proved a not very indifferent cultivator; and an alewife or two, or even a shad, placed in the hill was no ineffective fertilizer.

In the fishing season, the Penacook sachem, with sagamores and peoples, took temporary abode at Amoskeag or Pawtucket, where the salmon and other fish swarmed, or at Abquedankee,¹ as the Indians called “The Weirs,” where abounded the shad, having parted company with the salmon at the meeting of the Pemigewasset and Winnepesaukee confluent of the Merrimack. It was a lively season of utility and pleasure for the “salvages,” then gathered and quartered in the nomadic villages of wigwams, simple of construction, easily set up and easily removed.

It was during the fishing season of 1648 that John Elliot, the “Apostle of the Indians,” in his work of “gathering companies of praying Indians,” visited Pawtucket Falls, and here met Passaconaway, with two of his sons. Elliot writes: “This last spring, I did meet old Papassaconaway, who is a great sagamore, and hath been a great witch in all men’s esteem, and a very politic wise man. The last year, he and all his sons fled when I came, pretending feare that we would kill him. But this year, it pleased God to bow his heart to hear the word. I preached out of Malachi I:11, which I render thus to them: From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, thy name shall be great among the Indians; and in every place prayers shall be made to thy name,—pure prayers,—for thy name shall be great among the Indians. . . . After a good space, this old Papassaconaway [did] speak to this purpose:—‘That indeed he had never prayed unto God as yet, for he had never heard of God before as now he doth.’ And he said further: that he did believe what I taught them to be true, and for his own part, he was

¹ Potter’s Manchester, 33.

purposed in his heart henceforth to pray unto God, and that he would persuade all his sonnes to do the same—pointing at two of them who were then present, and naming such as were absent. His sonnes present, especially his eldest sonne,—who is a sachem at Wadehusett,—gave his willing consent to what his father had promised, and so did the other who was but a youth. And this act of his was not only a present motion that soon vanished, but a good while after [he] said that he would be glad if I would come and live in some place thereabouts and teach them, and that if any good ground or place that hee had would be acceptable to me, he would willingly let me have it.”

Though Passaconaway seems himself to have been well convinced of the excellence of “praying to God,”—as the Indians called “all religion,”—yet “he had many men who would not believe,” or harken to him, and he “earnestly, importunately invited” Elliot “to come and live there, and teach them;” urging that ministrations more frequent than “once a year” were necessary to convince them. And the request was urged with such “gravity, wisdom, and affection” that the Apostle’s heart yearned “much towards them,” and he had “a great desire to make an Indian town that way”—up along the Merrimack.

Subsequent years must have been quiet ones for the aged chieftain, since nothing is heard of him for ten years. In 1659, Major Richard Waldron, of Dover, who was much engaged in Indian traffic, met, at their invitation, Passaconaway and several other sagamores, at Penacook, where they were with “a great many Indians, at the fort which was by the river’s side.”¹ The next year, 1660, there was a great gathering of Indians at Pawtucket Falls. They were of those subject to the authority of the “great sachem of Penacook.” Passaconaway was there, venerable and venerated; and feeling that the end of a long life was near, spoke, at the feast, impressive words of fatherly advice. The substance of that farewell speech, which was heard by an Englishman² present, has been transmitted thus in history³:

“I am now ready to die, and not likely to see you ever met together any more. I will now leave this word of counsel with you, that you may take heed how you quarrel with the English; for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed and rooted off the earth, if you do: for I was as much an enemy to the English on their first coming into these parts, as anyone whatsoever; and I did try all ways and means possible to have destroyed them,—at least, to have prevented their sitting down here,—but I could no way effect it [meaning by his incantations and

¹ N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. I, 290. ² Daniel Gookin. ³ Hubbard’s New England.

sorceries]; therefore I advise you never to contend with the English nor make war with them."

In sad sequel to such pathetic words of unrepining appeal, came those of two years later, when the old chief, former lord of the Merrimack valley, but now threatened with utter dispossession, through English grants, petitioned the government of Massachusetts, on this wise: "The petition of Papisseconnewa in the behalf of himself, as also of many other Indians who now for a long time, o'rselves [and] o'r progenators [were] seated upon a tract of land called Naticot, . . . now in the possession of Mr. William Brenton of Rode Iland, marchant, . . . by reason of which tracte of lande beinge taken up as aforesaid yr pore petitionr with many others is in an onsetled condition. . . . The humble request of yr petitionr is that this honerd Courte wolde to grante vnto vs a parcell of land for o'r comfortable citation; to be stated for o'r Injoyment, as also for the comfort of oths after us." In answer to this petition of the aged and impoverished sachem, whose submission to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts had been anxiously sought and gladly accepted, twenty years before, the Court judged "it meete to grant to the said Papisseconneway, and his men or associates about Naticot, above Mr. Brenton's lands, where it is free, a mile and a half on either side Merrimack river in breadth, [and] three miles on either side in length;" including, at the suggestion of the surveyors, "two small islands,"¹ on one of which "Papisseconneway had lived and planted a long time,—and a small patch of intervale land on the west side of the river, by estimation, about forty acres, which joineth their land to the Souhegan river."² On this contracted estate, the old chieftain probably spent the remnant of his days, ever faithful to the English and praying to their God,—now his. It is supposed that his death occurred at the age of a hundred years or more, and between the years 1663 and 1669³: certainly, at the latter date, his son Wonolancet held the sachemship.

Six children of Passaconaway are mentioned in historical records, four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Nanamocomuck, was, for a while, sagamore of the Wachusetts; the second, Wonolancet, was sachem of the Penacooks; of the two other sons, Unanunquoset and Nonatomenut, little or nothing, save their names, is known. One of the daughters married Nobhow, the sagamore of Pawtucket; Wanunchus,⁴ or Wennehus, the other, became the wife of Montowampate, or James, as called by the English, sagamore of Saugus.

¹ See note at close of chapter.

² Mass. Archives, cited in Potter's *Manchester*, 61-2-3.

³ See note at close of chapter.

⁴ See Wanunchus, in note at close of chapter.

The latter marriage, which, as "The Bridal of Penacook," the poetic genius of Whittier has treated with fancy's graceful touch, has in its simple facts historic interest. According to Thomas Morton, who wrote in 1632, the young "sagamore of Saugus, when he came to man's estate, made choise of a lady of noble discent, daughter of Papasquieo, the sachem or sagamore of the territories neare Merrimack river—a man of the best note and estimation in all those parts, and . . . a great nigromancer,—and with the consent and good liking of her father," took her "for his wife. Great entertainment hee and his received" in Penacook, "where they were fested in the best manner . . . according to the custome of their nation, with reveling, and such other solemnities as is usual amongst them. The solemnity being ended," the father caused "a selected number of his men to waite upon his daughter" to the home of "her lord and husband—where the attendants had entertainment by the sachem of Saugus and his countrymen." At length, the young wife having "a great desire to see her father and her native country, . . . her lord, willing to pleasure her, . . . commanded a selected number of his owne men to conduct his lady to her father; where, with great respect they brought her, and having feasted there awhile, returned to their owne country—leaving the lady to continue there at her owne pleasure, amongst her friends and old acquaintance. . . . She passed away the time for a while, and, in the end, desired to return to her lord." Her father sent messengers "to the younge sachem, his sonne-in-law, to let him understand that his daughter was not willing to absente herself from his company any longer" and to request "the younge lord to send a convoy for her. But hee, standing upon teames of honor, and the maintaining of his *reputatio*, returned to his father-in-law this ansvere: that when she departed from him, hee caused his men to waite upon her to her father's territories, as it did beome him; but, now [that] shee had an intent to returne, it did become her father to send her back with a convoy of his own people: and that it stood not with his reputation to make himself or his men so servile [as] to fetch her againe. Papasiquieo, having this message returned, was iraged to think that his son-in-law did not esteeme him at a higher rate than to capitulate with him about the matter, and returned him this sharpe reply: That his daughter's bloud and birth deserved more respect than to be so slighted, and, therefore, if he would have her company, hee were best to send or come for her. The young sachem, not willing to undervalue himselfe, and being a man of stout spirit, did not stiek to say that he should either send her by his owne convoy, or keepe her, for he was not determined to stoope so low."

“So much,” adds Morton, “these two sachems stood upon tearme of reputation with each other, [that] the one would not send her, and the other would not send for her, lest it should be any diminishing of honor on his part that should seem to comply; [so] that the lady,—when I came out of the country,—remained still with her father.”

How long Wanunchus remained away from her punctilious lord, Montowampate, or how she returned to him, is not known. But she was back with him in August, 1632, when a hundred “eastern Indians, called Tarratines,” coming “with thirty canoes, assaulted, in the night, the wigwam of the sagamore of Agawam,” at Ipswich, where Montowampate, or James, and his wife, Wanunchus, were on a visit. “They slew seven men, wounded James, and carried others away captive, amongst whom was the wife of James.”¹ The captives, however, were soon returned, with expectation of ransom.

The next year, “James, sagamore of Saugus, died of small-pox, and most of his folks,” as says Winthrop. It is not thought that Wanunchus died with her husband, for she seems afterwards to have been “a principal proprietor of lands about Naunkeage, now Salem.” A widow, after a chequered wedded life of five years, and still young, it is not an improbable surmise that she returned to her father at Penacook, where, certainly, were living, half a century or more later, 1686, two squaws, her granddaughters.²

As already seen, Wonolaneet, the second son of Passaconaway, had by 1669—possibly four or five years earlier—succeeded his father as sachem of the Penacooks. He was born, probably, about 1619. His name, which signifies “breathing pleasantly,” and which was received, it is supposed, according to the Indian custom, after reaching manhood, surely befitted his character. Mention has been made of his outrageous capture, in 1642, at the false alarm of Indian conspiracy. Afterward for years he dwelt upon the small island of Wickasauke, in the Merrimack, above the present Lowell. This pleasant home he was licensed by the General Court of Massachusetts, at his own request, to sell in 1659, to John Webb, in order to obtain money for redeeming his elder brother, Nanamocomuck, from imprisonment on a surety debt. For this generous act of brotherly kindness, he was granted a hundred acres “on a great hill about twelve miles west of Chelmsford, because he had a great many children and no planting grounds.” Six years later, by new adjustments, Wickasauke was restored to him; and there he was living when he became sachem. After that event he seems to have had permanent residence awhile at Penacook.

¹ Hubbard's *New England*, cited in Bouton's *Concord*, 34.

² Felt's *Salem*, cited in Bouton's *Concord*, 34.

In 1669 or '70, he removed, with at least a part of his tribe, "to Pawtucket, and built a fort on the heights southeast of the river." This fort was only for refuge and better protection, especially against the Mohawks. That at Penacook was also kept in repair, and some of the more resolute and warlike of the tribe doubtless permanently occupied it and its neighborhood. Wonolancet had his home in the "desirable position" on Wickasauke, but continued to occupy, in their season, the planting grounds at Souhegan and Penacook, and the fishing-places at Amoskeag and elsewhere up the river. Whether or not his change of permanent residence had immediate connection—as elsewhere stated—with the deadly fight at the Penacook fort, before described, it is certain that he preferred an abode and refuge further down the river and nearer the compact English settlements.

Wonolancet was a man of peace,—an Indian with the warlike and revengeful element left out of his nature or eradicated from it. He would, as best he could, defend against Indian foes; but against the English he would never offend, however grievously provoked,—following in this both his own convictions and the injunctions of his father. But though in his life he had been wont to exemplify the Christian virtues, yet not till 1674 did he, "a sober and grave person, and of years between fifty and sixty," make profession of the Christian faith. "Many endeavors," writes Gookin, "have been used several years to gain this sachem to embrace the Christian religion; but he hath stood off.—A great reason that hath kept him off, I conceive, hath been the indisposition and averseness of sundry of his chief men and relations to pray to God, and which he foresaw would desert him, in case he turned Christian." But in May of that year, at his wigwam near Pawtucket Falls, after a sermon preached by Mr. Elliot, Wonolancet stood up and said: "You have been pleased for four years last past, in your abundant love, to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I have all my days used to pass in an old canoe, and now you exhort me to change, and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, to which I have hitherto been unwilling. But now I yield myself up to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

As his conversion had been deliberate, so was it permanent; and Gookin could say three years later: "I hear this sachem doth persevere, and is a constant and diligent hearer of God's word, . . . and though sundry of his people have deserted him since he subjected to the gospel, yet he continues and persists."

In 1675, King Philip's War came on; but the son of Passaconaway refused to side with the son of Massasoit in the attempt to

annihilate New England civilization. But friendly as well as hostile Indians were objects of suspicion to their white neighbors, and if those who were hostile did mischief, it was too often imputed to those who were friendly. Besides, the hostile Indians were pressing him to join their side. Thus, between two fires,—troublesome solicitation to hostility against the English and false suspicion of such hostility,—Wonolancet determined to maintain strict neutrality in the woods of New Hampshire, and thither he withdrew, “and quartered about Penacook.” The General Court of Massachusetts, because he did not return “after the planting season was over,” ordered “a runner or two” to be sent “to persuade him to come in again and live at Wamesit, and to inform the Indians at Penacook and Naticook that if they will live quietly and peaceably they shall not be harmed by the English.” Accordingly, early in October, 1675, the “runners” set forth with their message, and also bore Governor Leverett’s “safe conduct” in writing, for Wonolancet to have “free liberty in a party not exceeding six, of coming unto, and returning in safety from, the house of Lieutenant Thomas Hinchman at Naumkeke, and there to treat with Captain Daniel Gookin and Mr. John Elliot,” who were fully empowered “to conclude with” him, “upon such meet terms and articles of friendship, amity, and subjection as were formerly made and concluded between the English and old Passaconaway,” his “father, and his sons and people.” They did not get sight of Wonolancet, but sent him the message. He did not, however, see fit to comply, and thus bring himself into the entanglements of the fearful war of races then raging in Massachusetts. Now, his religious conversion having detached some of his people, and his pacific disposition having disaffected the more warlike spirits, he had not with him, at that time, above one hundred Penacook and Naumkeke Indians. The Massachusetts authorities imputed a hostile intent to the friendly chief’s non-return, and, through nervous fear, exaggerated his meager band into a dangerous enemy “at Penagog, said to be gathered there for the purpose of mischief.” Hence, straightway, Captain Mosely, who had been fighting with success to the southward, was sent up to Penacook, with a hundred men, to dispel the danger menaced from that quarter. Wonolancet, having “intelligence by scouts” that the English were at hand, withdrew with his men from the fort, “into the woods and swamps, where,” as Gookin says, “they had opportunity enough in ambushment, to have slain many of the English soldiers, without any great hazard to themselves,—and several of the young Indians were inclined to it.” But their sachem, by his wisdom and authority, restrained his men, and suffered not an Indian to appear or shoot

a gun; while, within easy musket range of the red men in watching, the white soldiers burnt wigwams and destroyed the winter stores of dried fish. Thereupon, Wonalancet withdrew farther into the wilderness, and, with his people, passed the winter (1675-76), or the greater part of it, about the head-waters of the Connecticut.

King Philip's War proper came to an end in the summer of 1676; but it had a bloody sequel in Maine and New Hampshire, which, commencing later than the war it continued, and from somewhat different motives, ended in 1678. This might be called Squando's war, after its chief instigator, the Saco sagamore and medicine-man, who was of great repute and influence in that country, and who, from personal wrong, hated the English, and sought revenge. Into this war the Ossipees and Pequawkets had been lured; but having lost many men, and suffering from hunger in course of the winter, they came to terms with Major Waldron, prominent in military affairs in that region. Somewhat later, in the year 1676, a treaty "of peace and mutual good offices" was negotiated, at Cochecho, between the chiefs of "the Indians of the eastern parts" and a committee of the general court of Massachusetts. To this treaty, Wonalancet, having returned from his self-banishment, and having repaired to Dover, on invitation of Major Waldron, affixed his signature, as did Squando, with six other prominent Indians. But the "strange Indians,"—as those were called who had fought to the southward against the English,—now, in their hopeless defeat and fear of extirpation, sought the hospitality of the Penacooks, who had not participated in the war, and of the Ossipees, Pequawkets, and other tribes who had been hostile, but were now in peaceful submission under treaty. These cowering guests hoped thus to escape punishment, in becoming identified with their entertainers.

The Massachusetts authorities, however, had no tenderness for "strange Indians," and, in despatching two companies eastward where hostilities still continued, they ordered the captains, Syll and Hathorne, to seize "all who had been concerned with Philip in the war." Upon the arrival of the companies at Dover, on the 6th of September, 1676, they found assembled there four hundred mixed Indians,—and among them the kindly and innocent Wonalancet,—all relying upon the promise of good usage made by "their friend and father," Major Waldron. The captains would fain have fallen upon them all without delay, but were dissuaded by the Major from exposing both friends and foes to peril of life and limb in a "promiscuous onslaught." He, while owing, as they owed, obedience to Massachusetts, yet wishing to keep his word of protection to his red guests, suggested this stratagem: In a pretended military training, to array,

in sham fight, the Indians against the English, and by dexterous manœuver, surround, seize, and disarm the whole body, without personal harm. The stratagem was successful. "A separation was then made," says Belknap, "Wonolancet, with the Penacook Indians, and others who had joined in making peace . . . were dismissed; but the 'strange Indians' who had fled from the southward and taken refuge among them were made prisoners to the number of two hundred; and being sent to Boston, seven or eight of them, who were known to have killed any Englishmen, were condemned and hanged; the rest were sold into slavery in foreign parts." Waldron's action, though "highly applauded by the general voice of the colony," left revenge in many a savage breast, which the veteran's life-blood, just thirteen years later, could alone appease.

But it was with no revenge in his heart, though, doubtless, with much sadness, and a painful distrust of English faith, that, by order of the court, Wonolancet retired, with his people, to Wickasaukee and Chelmsford. There, under the "care" and "inspection" of Mr. Jonathan Tyng of Dunstable, he remained a year, conducting himself, says Gookin, "like an honest Christian man, being one that, in his conversation, walks answerably to his knowledge." The unreasonable suspicion of his English neighbors must have grieved him, still he could find some compensation in the happy consciousness of his honest and effective friendliness. He could point, with the triumph becoming a noble deed, to his bringing back from savage captivity a widow and five children, after saving them from the fires already kindled for their burning. With a smile upon a grave face where smiles were rare, he could say, "Me next," to the good minister of Chelmsford, who "desired to thank God," that the town had suffered so little from the Indian enemy.

This sachem "in the care" of Mr. Tyng had reasons to be ill at ease. His attendant band had dwindled to a few; "he had but little corn to live on for the ensuing winter, for the English had plowed and sown his land before he came in:" and "he lived at a dangerous frontier place," exposed to prowling Mohawks and Abenakis—they being still on the war-path to the eastward. Then it was that, in September, 1677, as Mr. Elliott says, "a party of French Indians,—of whom some were of the kindred of this sachem's wife,—fell upon this people,—being but few and unarmed,—and partly by persuasion, and partly by force, carried them away" to their settlement of St. Francis.

This captivity of Wonolancet was, it would seem, a voluntary withdrawal under color of force—an expedient for relief and security and with no hostile intent towards white men from whose presence

he, for a time, retired. The length of his stay at St. Francis is not known; but it was not permanent. He is frequently reported as tarrying at Penacook and other places along the Merrimack. Sachem he must always have remained; for by that title he is uniformly designated in the public records, and as such, to the latest years, disposed of lands belonging to the Penacook domain. But as early as 1685, his nephew Kancamagus was also recognized as a sachem of the Penacooks, and, in that capacity, signed treaties. It is probable that the uncle, "the only surviving son of the great Passaconaway," retained the grand sachemship, with special authority over the peaceable and "praying" Penacooks; while the nephew became the specially recognized sachem of the warlike majority of the nation.

At the head, then, of the peace party of his tribe, Wonolancet, at Penacook in 1685, a year of much apprehension of savage outbreak, relieved, to a degree, the fears of the provincial authorities—for New Hampshire had become a royal province—by the friendly assurance that his Indians there "had no intention of war," nor, "indeed were in any posture for war, being about twenty-four men besides squaws and papooses," Again, four years later, while the warlike party of the Penacooks, under Kancamagus, were busily intent upon hostile enterprises, he was still the man of peace, as testifies this record of the Massachusetts Council, made in 1689; "Wiolancet, the Penecooke sachem [and] Watamun [or Wattanummon], one of his chief captains, came down to the Council, manifesting their friendship to the English, and promised the continuance thereof."¹

Nine years later, Wonolancet was dwelling at Wamesit, and though still recognized as "chief sachem on Merrimack river," was again in care of Mr. Tyng, to whom, and others, he had transferred by deed, on several occasions, sundry lands in his domain. His years were now nearly fourscore. Where and how long he afterwards lived, neither history nor tradition says. But enough is known of the good sachem to warrant the assurance that, to the last, he obeyed the noble Passaconaway's dying injunction to his children; "Never be enemies to the English; but love them and love their God also, because the God of the English is the true God, and greater than the Indian gods."

In the latter years of Passaconaway's sachemship, and the early ones of Wonolancet's, Captain Richard Waldron and Mr. Peter Coffin, of Dover, having much fur trade with the Indians, had a trucking-house at Penacook, probably near the Sewall farm, and on the east side of the Merrimack. There was also an Indian fort in the vicinity. In the summer of 1668, Thomas Dickinson, an English employee of

¹ N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. II, 47.

Waldron and Coffin, was killed at that trucking-house by a drunken Indian. In August of that year, the matter was, on warrant from Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts, investigated on the spot, by Thomas Hinchman "with sufficient aid;" the evidence of Indians in the case being admitted. Among the witnesses were Tahanto and Pehaugun, called "sagamores." The "examinants" testified that "one Thomas Payne and the Englishman slain sent several Indians to their masters, Captain Walderne and Mr. Peter Coffin, at Piscataqua," ordering the messengers to "bring from them guns, powder, shot and cloth, but instead thereof Captain Walderne and the said Peter Coffin returned those Indians to Pennycooke, loaded only with cotton cloth and three rundlets of liquors: with which liquors, there were at least one hundred of the Indians drunk for one night, one day and one half together." During "the time of their being so drunk . . . all the Indians went from the trucking-house, except one, who remained there drunk . . . and killed the Englishman—the other Englishman being at the time in the fort."

It also appeared in evidence, "that an Indian, hearing the slain Englishman cry out, swam over the river, and went to the trucking-house, where he found the Englishman dead; and that presently after he saw the Indian who killed him "going towards the fort with his knife bloody in his hand." The murderer, being asked why he had done the deed, replied that he was "much sorry," and that "he had not done it, had he not been drunk." When told that "they must kill him for it," he said "he was willing to die for it," and that "he was much sorry for the death of the Englishman."

The record then proceeds: "The Indians then belonging to the fort, held a council what to do with the said murderer," and "after some debate, passed sentence that "he should be shot to death; which sentence was accordingly performed the then next ensuing day, about noon. The murderer died undauntedly, still saying "he was much sorry for the Englishman's death."

In further investigation, four English witnesses testified that "going to Pennycooke " in the "month of June and riding to the fort there were told " of the killing of the Englishman; and "that Tahanto, a sagamore, being afraid that " they "had brought liquors to sell, desired " them, "if " they "had any . . . to pour it upon the ground, for it would make the Indians all one Devill." This urgent appeal of the ancient sagamore, so strong in its simplicity, and so broad in application,—whatever its immediate effect,—was to perpetuate the name of Tahanto, as one to rally by in future organized efforts against the evils of strong drink.¹

¹ N. H. His. Society's Collections, Vol. III.

It should be added that, in this case of rum and murder, justice did not content itself with the Draconian penalty, paid by the guilty, but repentant, red man; it brought white men also to account. Heavy blame was found to rest upon the murdered man, and his associate Payne. The latter, upon confession, "that he sold rum to the Indians," and "that he did this when Thomas Dickinson was killed," was fined thirty pounds. Waldron exculpated himself under oath; but Coffin was so far implicated that he confessed "his grief for the miscarriage, and more especially for the dishonor of God therein;" and, throwing himself upon the mercy of the court, was found to have "traded liquors irregularly, and contrary to law," and was fined in "the sum of fifty pounds and all charges."

For the seven years onward from about 1683, Kancamagus, alias John Hogkins, or Hawkins, is more prominent in history than Wonalancet. He differed widely in character from the latter, as well as from his grandfather, Passaconaway. He loved the war-path, and was never in his element save when he was upon it. He was the "wild Indian" in his hatred of the whites, and in his sullen resentment and cunning revenge. His father, Nanamocomuck, Passaconaway's eldest son, having for some reason, come to fear, if not to hate, the English, left the Wachusetts, of whom he was saganore, and retired to the country of the Androscoggins, in Maine, where his death occurred probably before that of Passaconaway. The son became prominent among the Androscoggin warriors, gained a chieftaincy, and "maintained a fort" in connection with Worombo, the sachem.

It was natural that the more warlike of the Penacooks should willingly come under the sway of the active and fiery grandson of their greatest sachem, and so, as has already been seen, they did. Their numbers now constantly grew by accretions of restless and disaffected men from various quarters, including many "strange Indians," among whom were not only the friends of those seized at Dover, in 1676, and sold into slavery at Barbadoes, but also some of the latter themselves, who had returned from banishment. By 1684, the Penacooks under Kancamagus had become a source of serious apprehension to their English neighbors. Finally, such alarm arose from the suspected hostile intents, not of the Penacooks alone, but of the eastern savages in general, that the provincial government of New Hampshire, in desperate resort, invited the Mohawks "to fight against the Indians of the East." Nothing loth, those eager warriors got ready to make descent upon New England in the summer of 1685; threatening to destroy all the Indians "from Narragansett to Pechypscott" (Brunswick), in Maine. Kancamagus, at Penacook, heard of this.

He hated the English no less, but he feared the Mohawks more. He applied to Governor Cranfield for protection, and promised submission, but he got no satisfaction from that official or any other. Such neglect did not strengthen the sachem's amiable intent, if any he really had. He forthwith retired with most of his men to the Androscoggins; while the Sacos and neighboring tribes, hearing of the Mohawk threat, withdrew inland to Penacook. The alarm caused by this movement prompted the government to send messengers to that place, to order back those who had retired thither from the seaboard and to learn the truth. The messengers obeyed orders, and returned, as has before been said, with Wonolancet's peaceful assurance. Negotiations followed, which resulted in a treaty of mutual aid and protection between the provincial council and the Indians of Maine and New Hampshire, which Kancamagus joined in signing, September 19, 1685, and which secured peace for four years.

"King William's War" was declared in 1689. Of course it meant, for New England, a border Indian war, instigated by the French, as meant all the wars of that period between France and Old England. There had been here, the year before, bloody premonitions of the coming struggle. For some of the Indians of Maine had undertaken hostile reprisal,—having grievances of their own against the English, and being also stirred up by the influential Frenchman, St. Castine, whose plantation at the mouth of the Penobscot had been wantonly despoiled by Andros, the Stuart viceroy of New England. Moreover, Kancamagus and his Penacooks had come into league with the Ossipees, Pequawkets, Sacos, Androscoggins, and other eastern tribes. With these were incorporated the "strange Indians." The Penacook sachem was a leading spirit in this savage conglomeration, and congenial with him were such warriors as Mesandowit, Metambomet, of Saco, and Wahowah, or Hope-Hood, son of Robinhood, sachem of Kennebec. Hope-Hood had been especially mischievous, and had come to be characterized as "a tiger, and one of the most bloody warriors of the age." In April, 1689,—about the time when the Andros government was overthrown in revolution, leaving New Hampshire with no government, and Massachusetts with a provisional one,—the temporary authorities of the latter province ordered the despatch of a messenger to Penacook "to ascertain the number and situation of the Indians there, and to concert measures for securing Hope-Hood and other hostile Indians." The "tiger" was not then secured; but he escaped, only to perish the next year, at the hands of friends who mistook him for a hostile Iroquois.¹

The confederate warriors had rendezvous at Penacook fort,—and

¹ Belknap's New Hampshire (Farmer's edition), 133.

there, in the early summer of 1689, they devised the surprisal of Cochecho, and made ready to wreak on Major Waldron, for alleged violation of faith and hospitality, the vengeance delayed for thirteen years, but not forgotten. Moreover, there existed grudges against the veteran Indian trader for alleged sharp practice in his business dealings with the red men, in which too often, as it was believed, his fist was made to answer "for a pound weight as against their furs."¹ But the deadly designs of the hostile chiefs leaked out; and, on the 22d of June, two friendly Indians, Job Maramasquand and Peter Muckamug, hastened down to Chelmsford to inform Colonel Hinchman of the speedy mischief designed "by a gathering of Indians at Pennecooke," against the English—especially Major Waldron, at Cochecho. The informants also reported Hawkins as a "principal enemy and designer," who threatened "to knock on the head whosoever came to treat, whether English or Indians."² This startling intelligence was communicated to Thomas Danforth of the council, and by him to Governor Bradstreet, on the very day of its reception. But, for some unknown reason,—possibly, from the confusion resulting from the revolutionary deposition of the Andros government,—the matter did not receive attention till the 27th of June. Then a messenger was hurried off for Dover with a warning to Waldron, and with no time to spare, if the fell purpose of the savages was to be defeated. But time had to be spared, for the messenger met with unavoidable delay at Newbury ferry. He could reach his destination only on the morning of the 28th of June; too late, for during the previous night Kancamagus and his party had accomplished the surprisal of Cochecho, and "with violence and rage destroyed, and laid waste before them." They had "crossed out their accounts" in gashes upon the breast of the dying Waldron; they had slain twenty-two others—men, women, and children; and, leaving in ashes six houses and "the mills upon the lower falls," they had taken away with them twenty-nine captives in unmolested retreat towards Canada.

After this bold achievement at Dover, Kancamagus never returned to Penacook. He and his following probably sought security in Canada and Maine. He was outlawed by the general court of Massachusetts, and a price was set upon his head. Captain Noyes was sent with soldiers to Penacook, but found nothing except corn to destroy. The Penacooks had disappeared,—either hidden or fled.

But, in 1690, Kancamagus came to severe fighting with Major Benjamin Church along the Androscoggin, in which he was worsted; and in November of the same year, under the alias of Hawkins, he

¹ Belknap's *New Hampshire* (Farmer's edition, 78). ² Potter's *Manchester*, 91-2.

was one of the six eastern sachems who signed the truce of "Sackatehock," running until 1692. Thenceforth nothing is heard of the last war sachem of the Penacooks. The conjecture that he died not long after the truce of 1690 derives likelihood from the fact that during the six remaining years of King William's War, and the nine of Queen Anne's which followed, no mention of him occurs; for Kancamagus, if alive, with his vigor unspoiled by age, with his ungovernable propensity for warfare, and his undoubted ability as an Indian captain, must have been, sometime and somewhere, in the conflicts of those days, and being in them would have been heard of in history. The inference, then, is reasonably safe that his death occurred before that of Wonolancet, who was living in 1697, the chief sachem on the Merrimack.

It has been seen that the immediate following of Kancamagus, directly engaged in the surprisal of Coheco, with perhaps some others, permanently left Penacook. Possibly others of his adherents did not at once do so. At any rate, in one of the Indian assaults upon Haverhill—probably, that of 1693—Isaac Bradley was one of the captives, and testified, some forty years later, that he "was taken prisoner by Indians, part of whom were of the Merrimack Indians, and others of them belonged to the Saco."¹ The term "Merrimack" seems a natural substitute enough for "Penacook"; especially in view of the broken condition of the tribe—part peaceful, part warlike. It is safe to conclude that the former, the adherents of Wonolancet,—who was still alive,—were not in the foray upon Haverhill. The latter, then, the recent followers of Kancamagus, must have been of those who were engaged in that attack, and who either still dwelt in the Merrimack valley, or had temporarily returned thither. Bradley leaves this point in uncertainty, though he says he "went with them hunting to Merrimack river above Penicooke."

Ultimately, however, these hostile Penacooks all left for Maine and Canada, to become parts of other Indian organizations. Thus some of them became merged with the Pequawkets, already composed of remnants of other tribes once belonging to the Penacook confederacy. The conglomerate Pequawkets, having located themselves upon the upper Saco and its branches, did much mischief for two or three years, till having been effectually humbled in Lovewell's fight at Fryeburg in 1725, they retired to the head waters of the Connecticut, and afterwards to St. Francis. Some of the peaceable Penacooks also removed to the latter place, where Wonolancet had once tarried; but most of them remained in their old haunts,—hunting, fishing, and planting. The soil, however, was no longer theirs, save at the suffer-

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XIX, 319-20.

ance of those who had received it by deed from Wonolancet or his father, years ago. How far along into the next century they retained their distinct tribal organization is not known. But early in it, they had as a leading sagamore, resident at Penacook, one Wattanummon, or Waternummon, with whom Bradley, in his deposition already cited, says he "was well acquainted" after his return out of captivity about the year 1702, and while employed "for many years after as a pilot" up the river, and whom he styles "an Indian sachem and captain of the Merrimack Indians." In 1703 the Penacooks were represented by the same chief, under the name of Waternummon, in the conference held by Governor Dudley at Casco, with delegates from several Indian tribes.

In this connection, the following entry¹ made in the Colonial Records of Massachusetts, as late as August 21, 1733, may have significance, while being otherwise of historic interest: "Wanalawet, chief of the Penacook Indians, and divers others of the tribes attending, were admitted to the council. Wanalawet made demand of the lands at Penicook, from Suncook to Contoocook, as his inheritance, saying that they were never purchased of him or his fathers: and he, likewise, in behalf of the Indians resorting to Penicook, prayed that a trading-house might be set up there. The Governor thereupon acquainted the Indians that Wonalanset, Chief Sachem on Merrimack river, had sold all those lands to the English almost forty years ago: and the Secretary showed the Indians the record of his deeds, [at] which they expressed themselves satisfied, and acknowledged that the English had a good right to the said lands by those deeds. And then the Indians were dismissed."²

This occurred seven years after the permanent English occupation of Penacook; and the brief official record awakens curiosity to know more of the chief, who, at that late day, was demanding his "inheritance," as never having been "purchased of him or his fathers." And while history tolerates no mere conjecturing, it can permit the question,—May not Wanalawet have been of the royal line of Passaconaway, and the last sachem of the thin and fading race of the Penacooks?

It is recorded of the Indians who remained in Penacook until and after English settlement in 1725-'26, that they "were highly useful to the first inhabitants, supplying them with food in the winter of 1726-'27, when almost in a state of starvation."³ One of those who lingered in their old home after white occupation was Wattanummon, already mentioned as "one of the chief captains of Wonolancet," and as a sagamore. In 1683, as "Wattanummon," then resident at

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV; Town Charters, Vol. I, 56-7.

² See Wanalawet in note at close of chapter.

³ Bouton's Concord, 40.

Wamesit, he signed, with Joseph Traske, another Indian, a deed conveying to Jonathan Tyng, of Dunstable, a considerable tract of land lying on the west side of the Merrimack and along the Souhegan. It is also recorded of him under the name of Waternummon, that while living at Newbury, in 1689, he preserved by friendly interference, Colonel Dudley Bradstreet and family, in a murderous attack made upon Andover by "a company of thirty or forty Indians."

In 1726, the old and friendly sagamore, now living, as he had been for years, in Penacook, had his wigwam "on a knoll" beside the brook which, by the confluence of two smaller streams, becomes the outlet of the pond whose form has named it Horse Shoe. His rude dwelling stood near by and easterly from the site of the present highway bridge, which bridge has been named for the chieftain, as has also the brook in which he set his eel-pots. He occupied the land which lay northerly of the brook from its junction with the Merrimack, and, which extending along the right bank of the latter for a considerable distance, bore the name of Wattanummon's Field. It was into this open and extensive tract of tempting meadow that Captain Ebenezer Eastman one summer day went over from his own premises across the river, with his men, to make hay. But the old man, gun in hand, soon appeared with his two sons to forbid the trespass; asserting his claim to land and grass, and raising his gun to enforce it. The captain assented to the claim, called off his men from work, and invited the whole party to luncheon in the shade. A bottle was presented to the father, of which he drank freely and without scruple; but a cup of its contents being offered one of the sons, the old man hastily interposed with "He no drink!" snatched away the cup, and swallowed the dram himself with gusto. Generosity was born of the beverage, and the old sagamore-farmer, extending his arms, exclaimed, "My land! my grass! all mine—everything! You may cut grass—all you want!" "After this friendly interchange of property—run for grass,"—says Dr. Bouton, "Captain Eastman and Wattanummon lived in peace on opposite sides of the river." What became of this former chief captain of Wonolancet, and true disciple of his pacific policy, is not known.

Contemporary with Wattanummon seems to have been Pehaungun, "a celebrated warrior, whose wigwam and planting-grounds were on the east side of the river."¹ He died in 1732, at an advanced age. But it seems hardly probable that his age was so great as it must have been, if he was the person, who, named Pehaungun and described as an "ancient Indian," testified with Tahanto in the run-and-murder trial of 1668. If the identity really exists, he must have been one

¹ Bouton's Concord, 48.

hundred and twenty years old or more at his death, as some have supposed. But whatever his length of days, he certainly lacked, in the story told by tradition of his death, the moderation "which should accompany old age." It is related that the old warrior's wigwam was one night the scene of a "big drunk," with great noise and outcry that called Captain Eastman thither. Entering the wigwam he found the "ancient Indian" and his guests drinking heavily "from the bung-hole of a keg of rum." The English neighbor being invited to drink, "hoisted the keg to his mouth," but let more of the liquid fire run out than in. Pehaungun, angered at the ruse, as an insult to proffered hospitality, threatened to kill the offender. But with proper discretion, and in good order, Captain Eastman withdrew.

Pehaungun did not awake the next morning, but lay dead in his wigwam. When those who had reveled with him would bury him, the fear fell upon them that the old warrior might return in spirit to plague them. They laid him in the ground, encoffined in a hollow log of pine, with lid of slab, and close fastening of withes bound all about; and, to "make assurance double sure," they "stamped down hard" each layer of earth thrown in to fill the grave, repeating half triumphantly all the while, "He no get up. He no get up." Then the participants in this grotesque burial service, having, with "dancing, howling, wailing, and tearing of hair," set the grave about with boughs of willow, withdrew to conclude the last Indian funeral known to have been held in Penacook with another "big drunk"—at which Pehaungun did not preside.

Another incident of traditional Indian history, of date but little later than that of the white settlement of Penacook, finds here appropriate place. The story runs, that Peorawarrah, a chief, having stolen the wife of another Indian living down the river, had, with his paramour, paddled his canoe to Sewall's island, and there landed for the night. The deserted husband, who had on foot traced the enamored pair to their landing place, lay in wait all night on the opposite east bank. At dawn Peorawarrah and his stolen squaw took canoe for further flight up the river. But by a turn in the current, the couple were brought within range of the injured husband's gun. At one shot, "both were killed—fell overboard and sunk." "The report of the gun was heard by one of the settlers—tradition says Ebenezer Virgin—who afterwards met the Indian who had satiated his revenge."¹ The latter told what he had done, and said, "Peorawarrah had good gun." Virgin verified the statement, by finding, in a search of the river, "Peorawarrah's gun"—a "good" one—which still exists, a valued relic and heirloom.²

¹ Bouton's Concord, 47.

² See note at close of chapter.

The body of the woman was borne down stream and lodged upon the east bank of the Merrimack, where it was found bearing the bullet's mark. It was buried in a piece of land, which lies due west from Federal bridge, "bordering the river;"¹ and has since been known as the "Squaw's Lot," in remembrance of the Indian Helen whose Paris was Peorawarrah.

The chief scene of a famous exploit, in which a woman led, in the last year of King William's War, lay within the former limits of Penacook, though later excluded from Concord by slight change of boundary. The story of that exploit has been often told, with many variations: its facts, without accretions of fancy, may here form an appropriate pendant to this chapter of Indian history. On the 15th of March, 1697, a band of Indians fell upon "the skirts of Haverhill,"² with intent to kill, ravage, burn, and captivate. Hannah Dustin, wife of Thomas, was lying at her home, still weak in childbed, with her babe but seven days old, and with her nurse, Mary Neff, in attendance. Mr. Dustin, at work in his field, hearing the fearful war-whoop, hurried to his house. Ordering his children—seven of his eight, and of ages from two to seventeen—to make, with



Peorawarrah's Gun.

all haste, for "some garrison in the town," he thought to rescue his wife and infant child. But the savages had come so near, that, in despair of effecting this intent, he seized his gun, and, mounting his horse, rode on after his fleeing children, resolving that, when he should reach them, he would snatch up the one he loved most, and ride away to safety—leaving the others "under the care of the divine Providence."² And now he had come up with the panting group—but he could not choose one from among them, all so loved; he must defend them all, and with all live or die. Bringing up the rear of the fugitives, he kept the pursuers at bay, as they skulked behind tree and fence, firing ineffectual shots, while he with presented gun repelled their too near approach, until the baffled red-skins gave over the chase, and at length he and his precious charge unharmed reached the garrison a mile or more away.

Meanwhile other "furious tawnies"² had invested the brave man's home, and, having taken prisoner the nurse seeking escape with the babe in her arms, had entered the house, and captured the astonished matron, who "saw the raging dragons rifle all that they could carry away, and set the house on fire."² Straightway Mrs. Dustin and her

¹ Bouton's, Concord, 46.

² Mather's Magnalia.

nurse, with "about a half a score of other English captives,"¹ were put upon their northward march—helpless prisoners "of those whose tender mercies were cruelties."¹ Indeed, they had not gone far, when before the dazed eyes of its mother, the merciless captors "dashed out the brains of the infant against a tree";¹ and, thenceforth, more than once, the hatchet was heard to crash out the life of some weary victim fainting by the way. Dreary and painful to the agonized mother, with but one shoe to her feet, was that journey, in an inclement season, through the wilderness, to the little island at the Contoocook's mouth, where her savage master tarried;² and where also were abiding another warrior, three women, seven children, and an English youth, Samuel Lannardson, taken captive at Worcester, the year before. Thence the prisoners were to be taken to Canada, and there sold to the French, for possible future release by ransom.

At length, notice was given the "poor women" that they would soon set out for "a rendezvous of savages, which they call a town, somewhere beyond Penacook; and . . . that when they came to this town, they must be stript, and scourged, and run the gauntlet through the whole body of Indians."¹ But Mrs. Dustin, pondering the woes that had befallen her, and dreading the woes that threatened her, at the hands of those whom she could esteem no better than the ravenous wild beasts, upon whose heads, as well as theirs, a price was set, felt herself nerved with strength for the heroic task of rescue. She braced up Mary Neff and the youth Lannardson to her purpose. Through the latter she sought instruction in the use of the tomahawk and scalping-knife. The youth asking his unwary master, where he would strike a man, if he wished to kill him instantly, and how he would take off a scalp, the latter replied,—laying his finger on his temple,—"Strike here!"¹ and added the desired information how to scalp adroitly. This information, communicated to the resolute women, found them apt learners.

A few weeks elapsed, and the fatal night came, when, "a little before break of day," the three captives, "with wise division of labor,"³ smote with tomahawks, deadly sure, the sleeping red-skins,—as they had been instructed,—and of them instantly killed ten. Mrs. Dustin slew her master, and Lannardson his, who had so unwittingly told him how to do it. One boy, purposely spared, disappeared in the darkness; and an aged squaw, left for dead, rallied from the blows dealt her, and escaping to another encampment where other prisoners

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*.

² See Mrs. Dustin's *Escape*, in notes at close of chapter.

³ Bancroft's *United States*, Vol. III, 188. Charles R. Corning's *Address: Proceedings of N. H. Historical Society*, Vol. II, 49.

were held, told Hannah Bradley, also a captive from Haverhill, what her neighbors, Hannah Dustin and Mary Neff, had done. The scalps of the victims were taken and wrapped in linen stolen from her own house, to be witnesses of the almost incredible feat; for else, who would believe their report? With these ghastly proofs, and with provisions gathered from the stores of the slain, Mrs. Dustin, taking also her dead master's gun and the tomahawk with which she slew him, set out, with her two companions, for Haverhill. However the journey thither was made, and whether on foot or in canoe, or partially by each, it was safely accomplished in the early days of April. On the twenty-first of that month, "after recovery from fatigue," Mrs. Dustin, accompanied by her husband, who had saved the children all but one, and by her late companions in captivity, arrived in Boston to ask of the General Court of Massachusetts recompense for "an extraordinary action in the just slaughter of so many of the barbarians." The scalps, gun, and tomahawk sufficiently enforced her petition, and, within a few weeks, a reward of fifty pounds was ordered to be paid—one half to Mrs. Dustin; the other half, in equal parts, to Mary Neff and Samuel Lamardson. The feat elicited general admiration and approval, of which the doers received many tokens in presents of substantial value, including a generous gift from the governor of Maryland. The exploit involved no unwomanly element of revenge. It was an achievement of righteous vengeance, in which Hannah Dustin glorified the heroic in woman.¹

Since the sixties of the eighteenth century and the French wars of that period no Penacook, or Indian of Penacook descent, has been seen in the valley of the Merrimack. Those red sons of the forest, branch of a still fading race, perished long ago, leaving to crumbling bluff or white man's excavations occasionally to reveal, as relics of aboriginal occupation, their buried bones.¹ The Penacook has become a memory; but a memory worthy to be preserved in history, as best it may be, from inadequate data, as well as perpetuated in the application of the names of such noblemen of nature as Wattanummon and Tahanto, Wonolancet and Passaconaway, to the uses of modern days.

¹ See notes at close of chapter.

NOTES.

St. Aspenquid. There is a legend which would identify an Indian apostle of Christianity, called St. Aspenquid, with Passaconaway, grand sachem of the Penacooks. That Indian, in May, 1688, died, and was buried on Mt. Agamenticus, in Maine. His funeral was held there with much grotesque observance, and with the attendance of many sachems and warriors of various tribes. The legendary confusion of Passaconaway with St. Aspenquid has historical significance, as tending to show what the Penacook confederacy included in its eastward extension, and how widely prevalent was the authority and reverent estimation in which the great Penacook sachem was held. [See New Hampshire Historical Society Collections, Vol. III; also Thatcher's Indian Biography, Vol. I, 322-3; also Albee's New Castle, 62.]

Grant to Passaconaway. The grant of lands mentioned in the text included two small islands near Thornton's Ferry, later known as Reed's Islands. The whole tract afterwards reverted to the government, and was granted, in 1729, to Joseph Blanchard and others. [Bouton's Concord, 26.]

Date of Passaconaway's Death. The date 1665 has been assigned by some writers, but with no adequate reason given. [Plumer MSS. Papers in New Hampshire Historical Society Library.]

Wanunchus. Whittier calls the Bride of Penacook Weetamoo, a name more euphonious—whether historically authentic or not—than Morton's Wanunchus. The form Witamu is occasionally given.

Wanalawet and the Minister of Rumford. In the "Annals of Concord," it is said, in a note on page 30: "Rev. Mr. Walker, who was beloved by all his parishioners, was also esteemed by the Indians, and, when not in open war, they used to visit his house, where they were always well treated. At one time they came to his house complaining, in angry terms, that the white people possessed their lands unjustly. Mr. W. informed them that they were purchased of their chiefs, and that the deed signed by them was to be seen in Boston. He finally advised them to go and see it. To this they assented; and, on their return, called and took some refreshments, and said that they had seen the papers, and were perfectly satisfied. This deed is the famous instrument of Wheelwright, now generally believed to be a forgery."

The above statement assigns no date; but it is reasonable to suppose that the facts therein mentioned belong to the year 1733; that the Indians mentioned were Wanalawet and his party; and that they went to Boston to examine title deeds, at the suggestion of Mr.

Walker, the minister of Rumford. The deed which they saw in Boston was doubtless one of Wonolancet's, and not the forged Wheelwright instrument, which, if seen, could have afforded no satisfaction, for it did not cover the territory of Rumford, or any other, within more than twenty miles distant.

"*Peorawarrah's Gun.*" This gun—spoken of in the text, with illustration—descended at the death of Ebenezer Virgin to his son John: then to his grandson John, from whom it was obtained by Jonathan Eastman, Esq. The gun, identically the same, except the stock, as when held by Peorawarrah, was carefully preserved by Mr. Eastman, and after his death descended to his grandson, Jonathan Eastman Pecker, in whose possession it still (1900) remains.

Mrs. Dustin's Escape. It is not definitely known, and, probably, never will be, to what tribe of Indians the captor, or "master," of Mrs. Dustin belonged. It is known, however, from the testimony of Isaac Bradley, cited in the text, that, in the attack upon Haverhill, in 1695, "Merrimack Indians" were engaged. It is not improbable that some of the same race may have had a hand in that of 1697. The man might have been of the party of Kaucamagus removed to Maine or Canada; but at the instigation of Jesuit priests, and by French promises of reward for English scalps and captives, may have been induced to engage in hostile expeditions to the Merrimack valley, visiting familiar haunts and combining the hunt with war. On such an excursion the family might have accompanied the warrior, and been lodged in a place of security, like that to which Mrs. Dustin and Mary Neff were brought, and where the warrior would be, as it were, at home, as, indeed, this one was, if a Penacook. According to Cotton Mather the man was a "praying Indian," after French instruction—a fact not inconsistent with the supposition that he was a Penacook, thus instructed. But, if, as Sewall says in his Diary, "he had lived in the family of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, of Lancaster, and told Mrs. Dustin that 'when he prayed the English way, he thought it was good, but now he found the French way better,'" the supposition that he was a Penacook seems untenable.—It is commonly asserted that the heroine's return to Haverhill was made by canoe. She must have used a boat in escaping from the island; but there is no evidence that, when she reached the bank of the Merrimack, she retained the frail skiff and sailed therein all the way home, down the swollen and rapid river. The supposition seems reasonable, that she and her companions pursued their homeward way along the trail of the upward journey, which had not been hurried, and had doubtless left marks by which it could be easily retraced.—ANOTHER part of the story, as frequently told

is that she forgot, at first, to scalp the victims, and had to return in the canoe, land again, and finish the ghastly work. This may be true; but it seems rather improbable that the strong-nerved, heroic woman so far lost her head as to forget, even temporarily, that important finishing stroke of her deed of vengeance—a stroke in which she had taken pains to be specially instructed.—MR. CHASE, in his History of Haverhill, says that the tomahawk “was some years after lost in the woods near Mr. Dustin’s”; and that the piece of linen cloth, in which the scalps were wrapped, “Mrs. Dustin afterward divided among her daughters, and a part of it is still [1861] preserved by some of their descendants.” The “gun continued in possession of the male line to the year 1859, when it was presented to the Dustin Monument Association, of Haverhill, by Mrs. Luella H. Dustin, widow of Thomas Dustin, of Henniker, N. H.”

The Dustin Memorial. A granite memorial of Hannah Dustin’s exploit was erected in 1874, on the island at the mouth of the Contoocook. It stands upon the part of the island lying east of the Northern Railroad; this parcel of land having been conveyed in trust for the purpose, by John C. and Calvin Gage, to the Rev. Nathaniel Bouton and Eliphalet S. Nutter, of Concord, and Robert B. Caverly, of Lowell. Dr. Bouton, in his History of Concord, was the first to suggest the idea of erecting the monument; the other two trustees were especially efficient in giving the idea practical effect. Six thousand dollars were raised by subscription. The

statue and pedestal were designed by William Andrews, of Lowell, sculptured in Concord granite, by Andrew Orsolini, James Murray, and Charles H. Andrews. It was unveiled on the 17th of June, 1874, with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of many people. Addresses were made, among which were those of the Rev. Dr. Bouton, John H. George, and Ex-Gov. Onslow Stearns, of Concord; Charles C. Coffin, of Boston; Robert B. Caverly and D. O. Allen, of Lowell; George W. Nesmith and the Rev. William T. Savage, of Franklin; the Rev. Elias Nason, of Billerica; Benjamin F. Prescott, of Epping;



The Dustin Monument.

and Gen. Simon G. Griffin, of Keene. Governor James A. Weston accepted the deed, in trust for the state. The legislature of a later year made an appropriation for repairs about the monument, which was expended under the care of Eliphalet S. Nutter.

Indian Bones. About the site of the fort on Sugar Ball, Indian bones have been dug, and also found washed out and dropped at the foot of the bluff.—In November, 1855, human bones were found in digging a cellar for a dwelling west of Richard Bradley's house. Dr. William Prescott thus describes them in a communication printed in Bouton's History of Concord, p. 745: "The whole number [of skeletons] found thus far is nine, comprised within a space of about ten by fifteen feet. Three of them were adults—one male of a very large size, and two females; the others were children and youth. Considering the time that must have elapsed since they were interred, the bones were in a tolerable state of preservation. Two of the craniums were nearly perfect—that of the adult male, and one of the adult females. They were each enshrouded in a thick envelope, consisting of several thicknesses of pitch pine bark, the only exception being what appeared to be a female between two infants, all being enclosed in one general envelope. The skeletons all lay upon the right side, in a direction north and south, the face looking east; the lower limbs somewhat flexed at about right angles, and the elbows completely flexed, the head resting upon the right hand."

CHAPTER II.

EVENTS LEADING TO ENGLISH OCCUPATION.—THE GRANT OF THE PLANTATION OF PENACOOK.

1623–1726.

While most of the events recorded in the preceding chapter were occurring, others were taking place, in train of which came the permanent civilized occupation of Penacook. It will be recollected that the first appearance of Passaconaway, as a definite historical character, was in 1623, and in the neighborhood of the first English plantation upon New Hampshire soil, at the mouth of the Piscataqua. On the 4th of March, 1629, King Charles I confirmed by charter, a grant of lands made to a company the year before, by the Council of Plymouth.¹ This charter made the grantees, “a corporation on the place,” under the name of “The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.” The lands granted bore the following description: “All that part of New England . . . which lies and extends between a great river there, commonly called Monomaek, alias Merrimaek, and a certain other river there called Charles river . . . and also all and singular, those lands . . . lying within the space of three English miles, on the south part of the said Charles river, or any and every part thereof; . . . and also all those lands . . . which lie and be within the space of three English miles northward of the said river called . . . Merrimaek, or to the northward of any and every part thereof; and all lands . . . lying within the limits aforesaid, north and south, in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the mainland, from the Atlantic and western sea and ocean on the east part, to the South sea on the west part.”

Before this, Captain John Mason, a member of the Council of Plymouth, had obtained patents conveying territory, inland and along the coast, in the neighborhood of the Merrimaek and Piscataqua, but had made no settlement under them. David Thompson's settlement at Portsmouth, in 1623, and Edward Hilton's at Dover, of a date still uncertain, were probably made with Mason's consent; though Thompson had a special patent of his own. But on the 7th of November,

¹ See Council of Plymouth; note at close of chapter.

1629, eight months after the date of the Massachusetts charter, the Council of Plymouth issued a patent to Mason, conveying lands described as follows: "All that part of the mainland in New England, lying upon the seacoast, beginning from the middle part of Merrimack river, and . . . thence to proceed northward along the seacoast to Piscataqua river, and . . . up within said river—to the farthest head thereof; and thence northwestward until threescore miles be finished from the entrance of Pascataqua river; also, through Merrimack river to the farthest head thereof; and so forward up into the lands westward until threescore miles be finished; and thence to cross over land to the threescore miles' end, accounted from Pascataqua river; together with all islands and islets within five leagues' distance of the premises."

This grant, Captain Mason named New Hampshire. His patent was inconsistent with the Massachusetts charter, previously granted, as to the Merrimack boundary line; the description of which in both was founded upon the misconception, that the river runs easterly the whole distance from source to sea; as it does run, from the almost rectangular bend occurring in its longer southerly course. Out of this misconception was to spring a mischievous controversy of the lines, not to be settled for more than a hundred years, and then only by the royal fiat:—a controversy which was seriously to affect the interests of the civilized settlement which was to occupy the wilderness of ancient Penacook.

Massachusetts, enterprising and ambitious, found her territory too much straitened by the literal signification of the terms defining her northern river boundary, and early sought by liberal interpretation to expand her border. After the death of Mason,—a royalist churchman, and no friend of hers,—her puritan authorities ventured to take measures to push back her northerly line upon New Hampshire. This, by 1639, contained the four settlements of Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton. The last was claimed as a Massachusetts township, notwithstanding the protest of the agent of Mason's estate. About that time, men were sent out to discover the "head" of the Merrimack, as its "farthest part." They reported that they "found some part of the Merrimack about Penkook,"—as Governor Winthrop has it,—"to lie more northerly than forty-three and a half." Soon the "head" was located at the junction of the Pemigewasset and Winnepesaukee rivers. A pine, to be known as "Endicott's Tree," standing three miles north of the confluence, was selected to designate the point through which the northern boundary line of Massachusetts passed, east to the Atlantic ocean and west to the Pacific. By 1642 Dover, Portsmouth, and Exeter had

come into union with Massachusetts, and under her jurisdiction: a result brought about not without much adroit manœuvring on the part of the ambitious colony. Hampton had always been under that jurisdiction; so that New Hampshire, being at that time comprised in these four towns, which "were then of such extent as to contain all the lands between the rivers Merrimack and Pascataqua," was merged with Massachusetts, as part of her county of Norfolk, in a union which lasted forty years.

It may also be recalled here that a little later (1644) Passaconaway gave in his formal submission to the government of Massachusetts. In 1642 the sachems, Passaquo and Saggahew, had, "with the consent of Passaconaway," conveyed by deed "the lands they had at Pentucket," a township then recently settled, and which, as Haverhill, was eighty years later, through some of its enterprising inhabitants, to take an important hand in the settlement of Penacook.

Robert Tufton, the surviving grandson and heir of Mason, having reached majority and taken the surname of his grandfather, attempted, in 1650, by a test suit, to recover his legacy of New Hampshire, but with no success: while Massachusetts, two years later, determined to push back still farther her northern boundary line so as completely to include the territory of Mason's grant. Accordingly, in the summer of 1652, Captain Edward Johnson, one of her commissioners, with two surveyors, John Sherman and Jonathan Ince, and several Indian guides, passed up the Merrimack through Penacook in a boat, on a nineteen days' trip, to find the "head of the Merrimack." They found it this time at the "Weirs," where the river "issues out of the lake called Winnapusseakit," as the surveyors reported. The location was designated by a large stone which lay in the bed of the river, and which, inscribed with the name of Governor John Endicott and the initials of the commissioners, Edward Johnson and Simon Willard, was to become historic as "The Endicott Rock." A straight line drawn through a point three miles due north from this "farthest part" of the Merrimack, and extending east and west from ocean to ocean, was decreed to be the northern boundary line of Massachusetts in that quarter.

Penacook early attracted attention as a desirable place for civilized settlement. In 1659 some men of Dover and Newbury,—towns under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, in the Union,—made petition to the General Court for "the grant of a tracke of land . . . to the quantity of twelve miles square" at "a place which is called Pennecooke." The name of Richard Walderne, or Waldron (which often occurs in the preceding chapter), headed the list of twenty-two

signatures¹ to the petition. The petitioners prayed,—in case the grant were made,—“the liberty of three yeares to give in their resolution, wheather to proceed for the settlinge of a town or noe, after vewing it and considering fully about it;” and they further prayed, in case they did proceed, “the grant of their freedom from publique charge for the space of seaven yeares after the time of their resolution given in to this honerd Corte;” this, they added, to be “for our encoragement to settle a plantation soe furre remote, as knowinge that many will be our inconvenyences (for a long time), which we must expeckt to meet with. . . .” The deputies, or lower house, replied on the eighteenth of May of the same year to the petition, by granting, on their part, “a plantation of eight miles square, upon condition” that the petitioners “make report to the Court, at the session to be held in October 1660, of their resolution to p’secute the same . . . and to carry on the work of the said place in all civill and eelesiasticall respects, and that within two years then next ensuing, there be 20 families there settled; also, that they may have immunity from all publique charges (excepting in cases extraordinary), for seavern yeares next ensuing the date hereof.” Whether the magistrates, or the upper house, consented or not, nothing practical came of the movement. For on the 16th of May, 1662, the deputies adopted the following preamble and order: “Upon informacon that Penicooke is An Apt place for A Township, and in consideration of the lord’s great blessing upon the countrie in multiplying the inhabitants and plantations here; and that Allmost All such places are Allreadie taken up: Tis ordered by this Court, that the lands at Penicook be reserved for a plantation till so many of such as have petecioned for lands there, or of others, shall present to settle A plantation there.”²

The same year (1662), moreover, sundry inhabitants of Malden presented a petition for “a tract of land about four miles square, at a place called Pennycooke, as an addition” to their township, whose bounds were “exceeding streight.” But the prayer was not granted, and Penacook did not become Malden-Addition. The next year, 1663, inhabitants of Chelmsford petitioned for the grant of a township at Penacook, but without success. In October of that year, however, the petition of sundry inhabitants of Salem received favor in the grant to them of “a plantation of six miles square at Pennicook, if getting twenty families on it within three years.” The conditions were not fulfilled; but some of the petitioners did erect “a trading-house at Pennicook,”—being, possibly, the same as that of

¹ See note at close of chapter; also, Bouton’s Concord, 52.

² N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 33.

Waldron and Coffin, which stood in 1668 on or near a five hundred acre tract, not devoid of historic interest.

These "five hundred acres of land in the wilderness at Pennicooke" comprised fine interval on the east side of the Merrimack, and an island close by, reputed to have been a favorite abode of Pasaconaway. In 1668 this land was surveyed and laid out, under a right granted to Governor John Endicott eleven years before. The title having been sold by Governor Endicott to John Hull, the wealthy mint-master of Massachusetts, and the latter dying, his daughter Hannah, and her husband, Samuel Sewall, the inflexible but manly judge in the days of witchcraft, petitioned the General Court, in 1695, that "this tract might be confirmed to them," and the prayer was granted.¹ Sewall's Farm was the first permanent grant of land in Penacook made by Massachusetts.

The confirmation of the Endicott grant to Judge Sewall, in 1695, occurred sixteen years after New Hampshire was detached from Massachusetts, and made a royal province. For upon the restoration of the Stuarts, and the accession of Charles II to the throne of England, in 1660, Robert Tufton Mason had urged his claim anew, till Massachusetts, in 1677, was compelled to disclaim before the king in council "all title to the lands claimed by Robert Mason, and to the jurisdiction beyond three miles northward of the river Merrimack, to follow the course of the river as far as it extended." It was found by the chief justices of the king's bench that, while "the four towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Hampton were out of the bounds of Massachusetts," Mason had no "right of government within the soil he claimed." The finding was approved in 1677 by the king in council. Moreover, it being admitted that Mason's title to the lands "could be tried only on the place,—there being no court in England that had cognizance of it,—it became necessary to the establishment of that title, that a new jurisdiction should be erected, in which the king might direct the mode of trial and appeal at his pleasure."² Accordingly, on the 18th of September, 1679, a "commission passed the great seal for the government of New Hampshire," inhibiting and restraining "the jurisdiction exercised by the colony of Massachusetts over" the four towns, "and all other lands extending from three miles to the northward of the river Merrimack, and of any and every part thereof, to the province of Maine:" and constituting "a president and council to govern the province."²

This commission, while restraining the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over certain lands, did not settle the divisional line between that

¹ See N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 62-3-5-7.

² Farmer's Belknap, 88.

colony and the new province, nor curtail Mason's claim, which extended sixty miles inland from the sea. It did not declare that Massachusetts might hold, to the exclusion of Mason or anybody else, all the lands to the southward of a line "three miles to the northward" of "any part" of the Merrimack, but merely inhibited the jurisdiction hitherto exercised by her over those extending from that line to Maine. Massachusetts, however, acted on the assumption that the line was a settled divisional one: and that a prohibited jurisdiction over specified lands somehow implied a permitted jurisdiction over lands not specified. The description of the line, given in the commission, was, to be sure, that of the charter of Massachusetts, but this had been issued in total ignorance of the true course of the Merrimack. Hence she was obliged, though to the utter confusion of the points of the compass, to construe the term "northward" as identical with eastward, when applied to two thirds of the river's course. But such a liberal, not to say audacious, interpretation of the terms of her charter was deemed necessary, since otherwise, as has been before suggested, she would be nudged out of coveted territory by the river's sharp elbow. And to this construction of her charter line, Massachusetts held steadfastly: her claim, in plain and consistent description, covering all the lands south and west of a line, beginning at a point three miles north of the Merrimack, thence running inland westerly and northerly, at the same distance from the river, and on its right, as one ascends the stream, to the confluence of the Winnepesaukee and Pemigewasset rivers, thence north three miles to Endicott's Tree, thence running, bent at right angles, indefinitely west. For it should here be observed that she had never insisted upon her claim that Endicott Rock marked the head of the Merrimack, nor, for years, upon her other claim to a line running east from Endicott's Tree to the Atlantic ocean. Of the lands, southward and westward of the line claimed, and as far as the Connecticut river, she made grants at pleasure, until the settlement of the lines in 1740. Sewall's Farm, in the wilds of Penacook, belonged to those lands, lying, as it did, eastward—or northward as Massachusetts called it—of the Merrimack, and within the distance of three miles therefrom.

One purpose of erecting New Hampshire into a royal province was, as has been seen, to facilitate the establishment of Mason's title to the lands. In this respect, the scheme failed as "to the inhabited part of the province." Accordingly, in 1686, to lay a foundation for realizing his claim to the waste lands, Mason, by deed, with a reservation "to himself and his heirs, of the yearly rent of ten shillings, confirmed a purchase" made "from the Indians,"—probably, through

Wonolancet, still living,—“by Jonathan Tyng and nineteen others.” This “Million-Acre-Purchase,” as it was called, embraced “a tract of land on both sides of the river Merrimack, six miles in breadth, from Souhegan river to Winnepiseogee lake.”¹ This speculative enterprise entirely disregarded Sewall’s five hundred acre grant: but it never proved of any practical consequence, either to Mason or the purchasers.

No further movements to procure the granting of the soil of Penacook, either for speculation or settlement, appear to have been made till 1714, after the Peace of Utrecht, when Salem people again petitioned the government of Massachusetts, that “the grant of a plantation of six miles square at Penacook,” made in 1663—fifty-one years before—might “be confirmed to them.” They alleged, in valid excuse for not having fulfilled the conditions of the former grant, that they “had been embarrassed by Indian wars”: and, indeed, such wars, and bloody ones, had raged for nearly half of the years intervening between the petitions. This movement was, however, ineffectual.

New Hampshire and Massachusetts had now for some years had a single governor, but each its lieutenant-governor. The boundary lines, and Mason’s claim—which, by sale, had temporarily become Allen’s—were still in dispute, and both governments were coy in making grants. Futile attempts had been made at sundry times to settle the line controversy. In 1719, under the administration of Governor Samuel Shute and Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth, New Hampshire proposed to Massachusetts the establishment of a line, beginning at a point three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack, and thence running due west to the western boundary of that province. The proposition was rejected by Massachusetts: whereupon Henry Newman, the New Hampshire agent in England, was instructed to solicit approval of it from the lords of trade.

The same year (1719) sixteen families of Scotch Presbyterians made a settlement of Nutfield, “a tract of good land above Haverhill.”² They had arrived the year before in Boston, with many others, from the north of Ireland, where a colony of their race, the result of migrations from Scotland, had existed since 1609. This accession of Scotch-Irish inhabitants was unexpected, but valuable, though for a time misappreciated, there being a strong prejudice against the Irish proper, with whom the new-comers were confounded. This planting of Nutfield, or Londonderry, and the presence of this new and vigorous element of population, stimulated the settlement of other places “on the waste lands.” Indeed, the adventurous men

¹ Farmer’s Belknap, 116.

² Farmer’s Belknap, 192, 2.

of Nutfield soon began to look for more room, as their numbers swelled by fresh immigration, and they cast their eyes northward, with shrewd discernment, even to Penacook.

But some of the sagacious and enterprising men of Essex county, in Massachusetts, notably of the towns of Andover, Bradford, and Haverhill, had also spied out the land in the same quarter. On the 31st day of May, 1721, one hundred and nineteen¹ of these joined in a petition to Governor Shute and "to the Honorable, the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled," setting forth, in substance, that "being straitened for accommodations for themselves and their posterity," they had "espied a tract of land situate on the river Merrymake (the great river of the said country), whereon they" were "desirous to make a settlement and form a town." They prayed that there might be granted them " . . . a tract of land for a township, which" lay "at the lower end of Pennicook: to begin three miles to the eastward of Merrimake river, at the place nearest the mouth of Conduncook (Contoocook), to extend to Merrimake river, and over it, to and up Conduncook river, eight miles; thence to run southerly seven miles parallel with Merrimake river; and at the end of the said seven miles, to run directly to the mouth of Suncoot river; and then up Suncoot river till it" came "to the distance of three miles from Merrimake river; and then on a straight line to the first mentioned bound:" the tract being "computed to contain . . . about eight miles square."²

The petition having been received and considered, a committee, consisting of Captain John Shipley, Colonel Joseph Buckminster, and Mr. Joseph Winslow, was appointed "to take exact survey of the land on each side of the Merrimack, between the rivers Suncook and Cuntacook, and lay the same into two townships, if the land be capable thereof."³ The committee appointed William Ward and John Jones to make the survey; and this they did in May, 1722. They found the upper portion to comprise 69,500 acres, of which 2,000 were interval. The south line, crossing the Merrimack at its junction with ShooBrook (Soucook), measured eleven miles; or 1,530 rods on the east side and 1,990 on the west. The north line, crossing the Merrimack at or near the mouth of the Contoocook, 1,450 rods east, followed the course of the Contoocook west. The line, joining the eastern termini of these lines, was ten miles; that drawn from the western terminus of the south line till it struck the Contoocook was nine miles and fifty rods.⁴ The committee reported to the

¹ See note at close of chapter; also, Bouton's, Concord, 54.

² Bouton's, Concord, 53-4.

³ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 34.

⁴ Bouton's, Concord, 55.

General Court on the 15th of June, 1722, the result of the survey of the land "between the Suncook and Cuntacook," with the conclusion that the tract contained "a great quantity of waste land, and some good; and that the same" might "be accommodable for settling a township, if laid out large enough."¹ The surveyors had also reported that, in performing their "service, they observed a new line marked upon several trees, particularly on one corner tree marked with the letter N,—and several other trees,—which tree" was "not more than one mile and a half from Merrimack river: and discoursing with some Irish people," the latter "declared that they had a grant, from the government of New-Hampshire, of the land home to the Merrimack river, from Amoskeag falls, and that they were resolved to make a speedy settlement there." Thereupon, on the same 15th of June, 1722, the house, startled by this intelligence, ordered a committee of three forthwith to inquire of the governor "whether the government of New-Hampshire have granted any such tract of land, that this government may prevent any such encroachment on the lauds and properties of this province." In the confusion incident to the non-settlement of the boundary line, the governments of the two provinces were beginning to watch each other more and more narrowly. Massachusetts had reason, in this connection, to keep an open eye upon the lively "Irish people," to whose settlement at Nutfield she had refused patronage, by declining to confirm to them her previous grant of lands of their own selection, "at the eastward," on the ground that their present location was not within her jurisdiction. But New Hampshire, while at first withholding "a grant in the king's name," had given "them a protection,"² and "they remembered with much gratitude the friendly offices of Lieutenant-governor Wentworth."³ The government which had protected the plantation of Nutfield, and had made,—or was just about to make,—of it the town of Londonderry, might favor these "Irish people" in other attempts at settlement, and do so, too, without squeamish regard to that line, "three miles to the northward of the Merrimack," so pertinaciously insisted upon. Indeed, no such regard had been shown in the previous incorporation of Chester in that chestnut region.

The petition of 1721, however, did not receive the assent of the General Court for four years, though a committee of the petitioners, consisting of Benjamin Stevens, Andrew Mitchell, David Kimball, Ebenezer Eastman, John Osgood, and Moses Day, perseveringly reiterated and enforced its prayer in earnest requests. The house re-

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 35.

² Farmer's Belknap, 194.

³ Whiton's New Hampshire, 66.

sponded promptly and steadily in favorable action, but the council failed to concur. Thus, in December, 1723, the house, on its part, voted the grant of a township, according to the survey of Messrs. Ward and Jones, and similar action was taken the next year. Why the council delayed concurrence is not known; though, possibly, the preoccupation of the government with Lovewell's Indian war, which was then raging, and did not cease till 1725, may have been one cause, while another may have existed in the critical condition of the line question, which New Hampshire had referred to the king, and to meet which, it may have been thought, required, just then, special prudence on the part of Massachusetts in the disposal of territory. But the men of Essex county did not give over in face of procrastinating legislation, and with Scotch-Irish adventurers for their sturdy rivals. This rivalry finds illustration of its character and spirit in the brief journal of an expedition made to "Pennecook," in the spring of 1723, by Captain James Frie and Lieutenant Stephen Barker,—the latter a petitioner of 1721,—with thirty men. The party having "moved from Andover," on the 19th of March, "came," on the fourth day out, "to Pennecook Plains, at the Intervale lands, about 11 of the clock;" having "lodged" the three preceding nights, respectively, at "Nutfield, Amiskege, and Suncook." The record thence sent home under date of March 22d, to Benjamin Stevens, one of the original petitioners, and of their committee of six already mentioned, proceeds in this wise:

"There we found five of those men which came from N. Ireland. Mr. Houston was one of them. They came to us, and we chose Captain Frie to discourse them with 4 men. They say they have a grant of this Penacock on both sides of the river. They call us rebellis, and command us to discharge the place, both in the King's name and in the Province's; and if we don't in a fortnight, they will gitt us off. We therefore desire you, Justice Stevens, with the committee, to send us word whether we have any encouragement to stay, or else to draw off. But Captain Frie's courage is so that he will stay allone rather than let them userspers drive us off."¹

There were, however, more words than blows on the Merrimack at that time: but the "usurpers" from "North Ireland," though they did not "get" the Massachusetts "rebels off," still held their ground; for, by 1724, they had built a fort upon the interval on the east side of the river, within eighty rods of Sewall's Farm,² with a view to permanent occupation. It was at that "Irish Fort," so called, that Colonel Tyng, at the head of a scouting party bound for Lake Winnepe-

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 36.

² See Wainwright's Journal in next chapter.

saukee, in pursuit of Indians, quartered on the 5th and 6th of April, 1725, "the snow being so thick upon the bushes that" the company "could not travel without injuring their provisions."¹ From that structure, also, the settlement east of the river—the modern East Concord—was long called "The Fort."

On the 17th of June, 1725, the petitioners, by their committee of six, headed by Benjamin Stevens, renewed their prayer for the "grant of a tract of land at Pennycook, with resolutions fully inclined to make a settlement there, which they" conceived, "under the divine protection, they" were "able to go on and through with." They earnestly besought the "Great and General Court," that, though their former petitions had not met with concurrent favor, they "would please to take the premises again into" their "wise and serious consideration." They declared that, "as the building of a fort there" would "undoubtedly be a great security within and on Merrimack river . . .," the "petitioners" were "still willing to build and maintain it as afore proposed, at their own cost." They also suggested to their "Honours," as a stimulus to prompt action, that "many applications" had "been made to the government of New Hampshire for a grant of the said land, [of] which, though it be the undoubted right and property of" Massachusetts, "yet it" was "highly probable that a parcel of Irish people" would "obtain a grant . . . unless some speedy care be taken by" the . . . "Court to prevent it. If that government should once make them a grant, though . . . without right, as in the case of Nutfield, yett it would be a thing attended with too much difficulty to pretend to root them out if they should once gett foothold there." Therefore, they prayed that the former "vote passed by the Honorable House" might "be revived, or that they" might "have a grant of the land on such other terms and conditions as to the wisdom of the Court should seem best."²

The house, on the 17th of December, revived its former vote, but the council decided to postpone the matter till the next session in May, 1726. By message, the council was requested to reconsider its vote of postponement, and to "pass now" upon the vote "of the House, by concurring or non-concurring;" inasmuch as there was "a great probability that the lands" would be "settled by others than the inhabitants" of Massachusetts, "before the next May session, as it happened in the case of Nutfield, unless the Court" should "now take effectual order for preventing such unjust settlements."²

After some delay, a joint committee appointed to consider the sub-

¹ Tyng's Journal, Mass. Archives; also, Potter's Manchester, 167.

² N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 39; also, Bouton's Concord, 55-6.

ject of the petition, made a report, by Nathaniel Byfield, recommending that "part of the lands petitioned for by Benjamin Stevens and company" be granted to them "for a township," and assigning bounds, conditions, and orders as to settlement. The report was accepted by the council, concurred in by the house, and approved by Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer.

So, at last, on the 17th of January, 1725-'26,¹ the Plantation of Penacook came to exist under the legislative sanction of the province of Massachusetts Bay.

NOTES.

The Plymouth Company. This was one of the two corporations, to which, early in the seventeenth century, King James I of England granted charters for settling portions of the North American coast. The king granted to the Plymouth company the coast from Long Island to Nova Scotia, extending indefinitely westward, between straight lines having those points as eastern termini. The company, in turn, could and did grant its lands to others for the purposes of settlement.

The Dover and Newbury Petition. Besides Richard Walderne, other prominent names upon the petition were Peter Coffin, Edward Woodman, John Pike, Abraham Toppan, and Nathaniel Weare.

The Petitioners of 1721. These, as seen in the text, renewed their petition in 1725, by a committee. Most of their names are found in the list of admitted settlers given in connection with the next chapter.

Date of Plantation of Penacook. According to "old style," under which the year commenced March 25th, the Plantation of Penacook was established in January, 1725; but according to "new style," in January, 1726. The former date has generally been taken for the natal day of the Plantation, and is inscribed upon the city seal.

¹ See note at close of chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE PLANTATION OF PENACOOK.—ITS TRANSITION TO THE TOWNSHIP OF RUMFORD.

1726–1734.

The committee's report, mentioned in the preceding chapter, as adopted by the legislative authorities of Massachusetts, January 17, 1726, served as letters-patent for the plantation or incipient township of Penacook. It "assigned and set apart" territory prescribed "to contain seven miles square, and to begin where Contoocook river falls into Merrimack, and thence to extend upon a course east seventeen degrees north, three miles, and upon a course west seventeen degrees south, four miles, to be the northerly bounds of the said township; and from the extreme parts of that line, to be set off southerly at right angles, until seven miles shall be accomplished from the said north bounds."

It "ordered that the Hon. William Tailer, Esq., Elisha Cooke, Esq., Spencer Phipps, Esq., William Dudley, Esq., John Wainwright, Esq., Capt. John Shipley, Mr. John Saunders, Eleazer Tyng, Esq., and Mr. Joseph Wilder, be a committee to take special care that the following rules and conditions be punctually observed and kept: . . . That the . . . land be . . . divided into one hundred and three equal . . . shares, as to quantity and quality, and that one hundred persons or families be admitted,—such only as, in the judgment of the committee shall be well able to pursue and bring to pass their several settlements . . . within . . . three years, at farthest, from the first day of June next: that each . . . intended settler, to whom a lot . . . shall be assigned, shall pay into the hands of the Committee, for the use of the Province, at the time of drawing his lot, the sum of five pounds, and be obliged to build a good dwelling-house, . . . and also break up and sufficiently fence in six acres of land for" his "home lot, within the time aforesaid; that the first fifty settlements shall be begun and perfected upon the eastern side of said river Merrimack, and the houses erected on their home [house] lots, not above twenty rods, the one from the other,—where the land will possibly admit thereof,—in the most regular and defensible manner, the committee . . . can project and order—the home lots on each

side of the river, to be alike subjected unto the above-mentioned conditions; that a convenient house for the public worship of God be completely finished within the term aforesaid: that there shall be reserved, allotted, and laid out to the first minister that shall be lawfully settled among them, one full . . . share . . . of the aforesaid tract of land . . . : his house lot to be adjoining the land whereon the meeting-house shall stand; also one other . . . share . . . for the use of the school forever, and one other ministerial lot, of equal value with the rest—the home lot appertaining thereto, affixed near the meeting-house.” The report further provided, “that, . . . when . . . there shall be one hundred persons accepted . . . by the committee, . . . it shall be lawful . . . to notify the undertakers to meet at some convenient time and place; who, when assembled, shall make such necessary rules and orders as to them shall be thought most conducive for carrying forward and effecting the aforesaid settlement— . . . three fourths . . . of the persons present . . . consenting—and two or more of the committee being present at such meeting, who shall enter into a fair book, to be kept for such purpose, all rules, orders, and directions agreed on as aforesaid . . . ; the whole charge of the committee to be paid by the settlers;” and, finally, “that when” the settlers “shall have performed the conditions above expressed, provided it be within the space of three years, as before limited, then the committee, for and in behalf of this Court, may execute good and sufficient deeds . . . to all such settlers, . . . with a saving of all or any former grant or grants.”

Such were the provisions made by the General Court of Massachusetts, for the planting of Penacook, “in a good, regular, and defensible manner.” These provisions were carried out, with such exceptions as will be noted. The Court’s Committee of Nine, with William Tailer for its president, and John Wainwright for its clerk, faithfully and strictly watched over the settlement during its early years; and it now comes in order to trace, mainly from the records of that committee and those of the proprietors, the evolution of the town.¹

The petitioners had been waiting four years not without apprehension that the lands at Penacook might fall into the hands of the “Irish People,” or those of others. The court’s committee met on the 18th of January, 1726,—next day after the adoption of the report making the grant,—and, having organized, made arrangements for holding a meeting on the second day of February, “at the house of

¹ The direct citations from the records will be carefully denoted by quotation marks.

Ebenezer Eastman, inn-holder, in Haverhill," to "treat with . . . the petitioners . . . for a tract of land at PennyCook." During the four days' session of the meeting accordingly held, one hundred persons were admitted as settlers, after the most careful inquiry "as to their character and their ability to fulfil the conditions."¹ In this examination, the committee summoned officially "some of the principal inhabitants of the towns, to which the generality of the petitioners belonged, to give information of the circumstances of" those desirous of admission, so that only such might be selected "as" should "be thought most suitable for bringing forward the intended settlement." The enrolment was completed on Saturday, the 5th of February, 1725-26, and each person thus admitted "paid twenty shillings to the chairman to defray the charges of the committee."²

At once, sixty-eight of the admitted settlers, wishing to save the trouble and expense of a journey of the committee to and from Boston, and also being earnest for "the greatest expedition" in their enterprise, made written request to the committee to notify "the community" to appear at the house of Ebenezer Eastman, on the next Monday, February 7th, "to make . . . rules and orders . . . most conducive for bringing forward" the intended settlement. At the meeting held in accordance with the request, it was "agreed and ordered," that a settler, who should "fail of plowing, fencing, or clearing one acre of land within twelve months from the first day of June next," should "forfeit to the community the sum of five pounds:" that, in case of such failure for two years, and of "having a sufficiency of timber felled, hauled, and adapted for building a house within six months after the direction of the committee of the general court," a forfeiture of "ten pounds" should ensue: that if any should fail "to comply with the directions enjoined him" . . . , for "two years and a half from the first day of June next," he should forfeit his "lot," which should be assigned to any other person, selected by the settlers, with the consent of the court's committee: and that no sale "of any lot" should "be made without the consent of the community," and that any attempted sale in violation of the order should be "void" and work forfeiture. This last provision had strong reference to the Scotch-Irish immigrants with whom it was then thought not desirable to have association. The restriction had, at the outset, been urged upon the committee, in a letter, by Reverend Christopher Toppan of Newbury, a son and a nephew of whom became grantees.

On the same occasion, the court's committee provided for "two

¹ Bouton's Concord, 59.

² See list of admitted settlers at close of chapter.

surveyors and four chainmen to attend upon the next adjournment," for allotting the land into one hundred and three equal shares. An adjournment was taken to the 5th of April, when the committee were to "meet at the house of Colonel Tyng,¹ in Dunstable, in order to proceed to PennyCook, to lay out the land in lots." Colonel Tyng was also to be requested "to prepare fifteen days' provisions for twenty men"; and "the intended settlers" were to be "notified that each of them" was "expected and directed to pay forty shillings" towards "defraying the charge of the committee—the money to be ready at Colonel Tyng's on or before the 5th day of April." Delayed, however, by engagements in the General Court, the committee could not proceed, at the time indicated, to allot the lands at Pennycook, and this duty was deferred till the second Tuesday of May.

Meanwhile the authorities of New Hampshire had been awake to these movements of Massachusetts. On the 23d of February, 1726, a month after the passage of the "order of the General Court for the opening of a new town at Pennicook," Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth,¹ of New Hampshire, addressed a letter to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer,¹ of Massachusetts, "complaining of the order, and suggesting that Pennicook" was "within the Province of New Hampshire."² The communication having been laid before the council, the opinion was expressed, on the 5th of March, that the suggestion of encroachment "on the bounds of New Hampshire" was "altogether groundless; for the committee impowered to lay out the township," could "not by that vote extend, above three miles northerly from the river Merrimack, or any part thereof, for the north bounds of the said township."³ The next month, April 11, 1726, Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth sounded a warning note, in a message to the General Assembly, and in the following earnest words: "The Massachusetts are daily encroaching on us. A late instance we have, in voting a township should be erected and settled at Pennycook, which will certainly be in the very bowels of this Province, and which will take in the most valuable part of our lands. I would, therefore, recommend this matter to your mature consideration. . . . I have lately represented this affair to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and have transmitted the best and exactest draught of this Province, Merrimack river, and situation of Pennicook, to their Lordships, praying their favor in obtaining a settlement of the lines, [and] giving instances wherein it highly concerns the interest of the Crown."

On the last day of April the house and council concurred in order-

¹ See note at close of chapter.

² N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 43-4.

³ *Ibid.*, 44-5.

ing instructions to Mr. Henry Newman, agent in London, "to prosecute . . . speedy settlement of the lines," inasmuch as Massachusetts had "lately disposed of considerable tracts of land . . . reasonably supposed to be within the bounds of New Hampshire, and" was "about granting more of said lands, which" was "a very great grievance."¹ The council, on the 10th of May, hearing "that sundry persons" were "going or gone to lay out and take possession of and settle upon some of His Majesty's lands . . . at or near a place called Pennecook, without the consent" of the New Hampshire "government," pronounced the act to be "not only unneighborly, but unjustifiable, and" having "a tendency to the destroying of the mast trees fit for His Majesty's service, that" might "be growing thereon." Accordingly, it was ordered that "Messrs. Nathaniel Weare, Theodore Atkinson, and Richard Waldron, jr., repair immediately to Pennecook, and forewarn any persons whom they" might "find there" against "laying out, taking possession of, or settling" on, the lands at or near that place, "or presuming to appropriate any other of His Majesty's lands within" the province of New Hampshire, "till they" should "have the countenance and grant of" the government of that province, "for so doing;" and "to direct them, in an amicable way, forthwith to withdraw—from the land, and their pretensions to it by virtue of the . . . vote of the General Assembly of Massachusetts."²

The same day on which this action was taken by the New Hampshire authorities, the committee of the General Court of Massachusetts "met at the house of Ebenezer Eastman," in Haverhill, with the purpose of proceeding thence to Penacook, "to lay out there a new township of seven miles square, and on each side of the Merrimack river."³ After completing preliminary arrangements, six of the nine members,—Messrs. William Taler, John Wainwright, John Shipley, Eleazer Tyng, John Sanders and Joseph Wilder,—on Thursday, May 12th, set out upon "their journey to PennyCook, attended by twenty-six persons, including the surveyors, chainmen, and such of the intended settlers as were disposed to take a view of the lands." Starting early in the morning, the company arrived, about noon "at Nutfield alias Londonderry," where they "refreshed themselves and horses with" their own provisions at the house of one John Barr, an Irish tavern-keeper, but had nothing of him but small beer; the expenses . . . at the house" being "5 shillings." Thence their course led them, for three or four hours, along "a cart path" which

¹ N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. IV, 220.

² *Ibid.*, 11, 12.

³ Journal of Jno. Wainwright (Bouton's Concord, 64). The quoted portions of the succeeding narrative of the committee's journey and proceedings are from that journal.

afforded "very indifferent travelling," and involved the fording of "two brooks . . . called Great and Little, which," proceeding "from Great MassaBeseck and Little MassaBeseck Ponds,—empty themselves into the Merrimack." Having "arrived at a place called Amoskeeg Falls," they "there encamped that night." There, too, they "found several Irish people catching fish which that place" afforded "in great abundance." Proceeding "on" their "journey," the next morning, over "very hilly and mountainous land," they "passed" about eight o'clock "by a Fall, in Merrimack river, called Onnahookline,¹ from a hill of the same name." About an hour later they "forded a pretty deep brook—and soon after came upon a large tract of intervale land, joining to Suncook river." This they forded in course of the forenoon, finding it "a rapped stream" with "many loose stones of some considerable bigness in it, making it difficult to pass." One of the "men going over, having a heavy load on his horse, was thrown off into the river and lost "one of the bags of provisions"—there being "no time to look after it." Another of their "men fell into the river," but without serious consequence. Finding there "Benjamin Niccols and Ebenezer Virgin,—two intended settlers," whom "Colonel Tyng" had "sent up ahead with some stores," the journeyers, early in the afternoon, "passed PennyCook river,—alias Shew Brook, or SowCook,—pretty deep and very rocky" and into which "one of" their "men tumbled. A short time after," they reached "PennyCook Falls,² . . . and then," steering their course north, "travelled over a large pitch pine plain, (indifferent land), three miles at least in length, . . . and, about five o'clock afternoon, arrived at PennyCook, and encamped on a piece of intervale land, or plain, called Sugar Ball Plain;" having taken "its name from a very high head, or hill, called Sugar Ball Hill, whereon was the first Indian fort,—as" they "were informed,—which the Indians in old times built to defend themselves from the Maquois and others, their enemies. This Sugar Ball plain," they found to be "a pretty large tract of land, encompassed on all parts,—" except "where the river runs round it,—with very high and mountainous land, as steep as the roof of house"; and that "it" was "altogether impracticable for a team, or, indeed, a horse cart, to get on the plain, the land" was "so mountainous round it; and there" was "no spring on it, as" they "could find." At this point, the record adds: "Just as we were making up our camp, there came up a smart thunder shower, and we had enough to do to save our bread from the rain."

Early on the morning of May 14th the committee "got together

¹ Hooksett.

² Garvin's.

the surveyors and chainmen, and set them to survey the township according to the General Court's order. Mr. Jonas Houghton, Surveyor," and "Jonathan Shipley, Josiah Cop, Moses Hazzen, and Benjamin Niccolls, chainmen, being first sworn truly and faithfully to discharge their duty and trust in taking the survey, were sent to run the line of the township, according to the Court's grant; to begin on the east side of the river, where the Contoocook falls into the Merrimack. Mr. Josiah Bachelidor, Surveyor" and "Ens. John Chandler and" another, "chainmen, being first duly sworn, were appointed to survey the intervale on the east side of the river; and Mr. Richard Hazzen, Junr, Surveyor," with John Ayer and John Sanders, Jr., chainmen, to survey the interval on the west side of the Merrimack. To the service designated the parties had severally proceeded when about noon, "Messrs. Nathaniel Weare, Richard Waldron, Jr., and Theodore Atkinson, a committee appointed by the Lieut Governor and Council of New-Hampshire, came up to camp,—being attended by about half a score of Irishmen, who kept some distance from the camp." These gentlemen "acquainted us," says the record, "that the Government of New-Hampshire, being informed of our business here, had sent them to desire us that we would not proceed in appropriating these lands to any private or particular persons, for they lay in their government; and our government's making a grant might be attended with very ill consequences to the settlers when it appeared the lands fell in New-Hampshire's government;—and then they delivered a copy of an order passed by their Honours the Lieut. Governor and Council of New-Hampshire, respecting the settling of the land at PennyCook. . . . We made them answer, that the government of Massachusetts Bay had sent us to lay the lands here into a township; that they had made a grant of it to some particular men, and that we should proceed to do the business we were come upon, and made no doubt but our government would be always ready to support and justify their own grants; and that it was the business of the public, and not ours, to engage in . . . to determine any controversy about the lands. We sent our salutes to the Lieut. Governor of New-Hampshire, and the gentlemen took their leave of us, and went homeward this afternoon. The surveyors and chainmen returned to us in safety about sundown."

The next day, May 15th, being the Sabbath,—“fair and cool,”—the chaplain of the party, Mr. Enoch Coffin, a grantee, “performed divine service both parts of the day.”¹ And so, on that plain just awakening to vernal beauty beneath the skies of May, those pioneers in an enterprise germinant with promise of good, sought the divine

¹ See note at close of chapter.

favor by joining in that initial act of public worship, which, by repetition, should bless, in all coming years, the life and growth of plantation, town, and city.

In course of the next three days the work of running the lines and surveying the interval on both sides of the river was completed. Mr. Batchelder, in surveying on the east side, found that "Gov. Endicott's grant of five hundred acres—, claimed by the Honorable Judge Sewall, . . . consisted principally of interval land: and that the grant extended down the river within eighty poles of the place where the Irish people had lately built a fort; so that there remained but a small quantity of interval, which would accommodate not half a score [of] home lots." Accordingly no lots were "laid out on that side of the river." On the west side, however, "Mr. Hazen and company" succeeded, with some difficulty, in laying out "the home lots" agreeably to the General Court's order, by locating them "on the Great Interval over against Sugar Ball Plain, and the land next adjoining; . . . having made a beginning on the adjoining upland." But they "found it impracticable, if not impossible, to lay out the land there into six acre lots so as to be fenced and broken up within three years; the contents being too large, wholly to be laid out there."

So the work was accomplished during the bright days of May—for the weather was "fair," "fair and cool," "fair and pleasant," "fine and clear," as Wainwright's lively record duly noted; while the surveyors, chainmen, and companions, as they threaded the virgin growths of the wilderness, found some excitement in coming upon an occasional "beaver" or "hedgehog," or "divers rattlesnakes" that "were killed daily;—but," in the fervent language of the journal, "thanks be to God, nobody received any harm from them." The sum of two hundred pounds defrayed the charges incurred in this important preliminary to the civilized occupation of Penacook.

The committee made report, the next month, to the General Court of Massachusetts, setting forth that, "on the east side of the Merrimack," they found "little or no water, [and] the land near the river extremely mountainous, and almost impassable, and very unfit for and incapable of receiving fifty families, as the Court" had "ordered; more especially," as, "near the center of the town, on the east side of the river Merrimack, the Honorable Samuel Sewall, Esq.," had "a farm of five hundred acres of good land formerly . . . laid out to Gov. Endicott:" and "that, therefore, . . . one hundred and three lots of land" had been "laid out for settlements, on the west side, contiguous to each other, regularly and in a defensible manner

. . . .” In conclusion the committee humbly offered, that “inasmuch as the generality of the land” did not answer “the grantees’ expectation,” and “five hundred acres” had been laid out before, a grant of “the like number of acres of the unappropriated lands adjacent to the township” should “be made to the settlers as an equivalent.” The General Court at once accepted the committee’s report so far as to allow the settlements to be made on the west side of the river; but no action was taken at that time upon the request for a grant of land equivalent to the Sewall Farm.

Immediately upon the return to Portsmouth, on the 15th of May, the New Hampshire committee—Messrs. Weare, Waldron, and Atkinson—reported to the lieutenant-governor and council, that they had been “at Pennecook,” where they “found his Hon. Col. Will. Tailer, Esq., John Wainwright, Esq., and Col. Eleazer Tyng, Esq., with sundry others, mostly unknown to” them, “to the number of near forty men, who were felling the trees and laying out the lands there.” “Whereupon,”—the report continues,—“we presented the order of Court, and assured them that their proceedings were highly displeasing to the government which sent us thither, and their persisting therein would be at their peril, for they might depend upon it, when the controversial boundary between the two Provinces should be determined, the poor misled people who might be induced to settle there under the color of a Massachusetts grant, would be dispossessed of the said lands, or suffer some other inconveniences equally grievous; and that the message on which we were sent, and the fair forewarning they had by us, would take away all occasions of complaint when they should be compelled to leave the said lands, and lose the benefit of their improvement. To which the gentlemen above-mentioned were pleased to reply, that, as we were sent by the government of New-Hampshire, so were they, by the government of Massachusetts, and that when they returned home, they” would “lay before their General Assembly, the order of Council we had delivered them, who, without doubt, would pass thereon as they . . . should think proper.”¹

The council of Massachusetts took notice of this forewarning, by passing an order, on the 28th of June, that a letter be sent to “Mr. Agent Dummer” in London, instructing him “to take effective care to answer any complaint” that the New Hampshire government might make against the grant of Penacook “lately made.” On the other hand, Mr. Henry Newman, having “received letters” from the New Hampshire authorities, “complaining of the encroachment of Massachusetts Province,” addressed, on the 8th of August, an urgent

¹ 1 N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. IV, 12.

communication to the "Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," informing them that he had "some time since lodged in the Council office, to be laid before His Majesty, a memorial requesting that the boundaries of" those "provinces" might "be settled"; and begging their "Lordships," that, "as that" might "require time to be considered," they "would be pleased, in the meanwhile, to interpose" their "authority for securing His Majesty's interest in the Province of New-Hampshire from any detriment by the grants already made; and for suspending all grants of land on or near the boundaries in dispute, till His Majesty's pleasure therein" should "be known."¹

The summer and autumn of 1726 passed, but the admitted settlers had not yet drawn their lands by allotment. They had met the court's committee, on the 7th of September, at the house or inn of Francis Crumpton, in Ipswich, "to draw their respective lots," as specified in the call for the meeting, but, from the lack of some preparations deemed requisite by the committee, especially the cutting of a road from Haverhill to the intended settlement, they did not then receive the expected allotment. However, they "came into certain orders and rules for bringing forward and effecting the settlement," which were put into the hands of the committee. They chose Captain Benjamin Stevens, treasurer, to receive the balance of money paid the court's committee by the settlers, after defraying the committee's charges; this balance "to be disposed of in marking out and clearing a way to PennyCook." They appointed "Ensign John Chandler, of Andover, John Ayer, of Haverhill, and Mr. William Barker, of Andover, a committee to go out and clear a sufficient cart-way to PennyCook, the nighest and best way, from Haverhill"; the expense to be "defrayed by the community." They also ordered "Mr. Obadiah Ayer to make application to the General Court," . . . in their behalf, "to have the five hundred pounds abated, and the five hundred acres,—being the equivalent for Mr. Sewall's farm, added to the township." Moreover, they completed their payment of twenty shillings each, for making up the hundred pounds, ordered by the committee to be raised for defraying the expense of "laying out a way to the settlement."

During the autumn the committee on the "cart-way" were engaged in the duty assigned them, with the help of Richard Hazzen, who went "to search out and mark" a path by way of "Chester" to "PennyCook." This new road, thus selected and "cut through," was a more direct and otherwise better one than that taken by the committee in May, as already described. It kept farther to the east

¹Original in office of secretary of state; Bouton's Concord, 82.

from the Merrimack, without deflections towards it at the several falls. It passed up through the Chester woods, including those of modern Hooksett; and having skirted along "White Hall" and the eastern edge of "Lakin's Pond"¹ it reached the Suncook. From the ford at the site of the present village which bears the river's name, the path ran northward for a portion of its distance, over the course of the later thoroughfare, known as "Pembroke Street," onward to the ford of the Soucook,² and thence beyond to Sugar Ball; whence was passage by boat to the west bank of the Merrimack.

In course of the summer and autumn some of the admitted settlers were on the ground, and made hay upon the tempting intervals on the west side of the river, stacking it for the future use of "the community."² It seems also that two of them at least—Henry Rolfe and Richard Uram—spent the ensuing winter, or a part of it, in Penacook, and hence it is sometimes claimed that they were the first settlers.³ It is said that the winter of 1726-'27 was one of unusual cold and depth of snow, and that these hardy pioneers suffered not a little from the severity of the season and lack of provisions, but were relieved by the kindly services of friendly Indians, who still lingered in the home of their fathers.⁴

Towards the close of winter, on the 7th and 8th of February, 1727, a meeting of the court's committee and the admitted settlers was held at the house of Benjamin Stevens in Andover. "A bond of five pounds" was taken from each settler, "for the payment of five hundred pounds for the use" of the province of Massachusetts, when the General Court should "demand the same; on penalty of forfeiting title . . . to the lands respectively." The settlers, having complied with this condition, as well as that of opening, at their own charge, a cart-way from Haverhill to Penacook, were allowed to draw their allotments of land.

Each allotment consisted of a "House Lot" and a "Home, or Six Acre, Lot"; the former containing an acre and a half; the latter, six acres, more or less, according to quality. There were one hundred and three allotments, being those of the hundred admitted settlers, and three others—the "minister's," the "ministerial," and the "school,"⁵ all laid out upon the west side of the river. The "house-lots" were laid off in ranges. The first range ran along on the east side of a highway-space, ten rods wide,—afterwards to be contracted

¹ In modern Hooksett. History of Pembroke, 94-95.

² See note at close of chapter.

³ Annals of Concord, 11 (note).

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 83.

⁵ At the close of this chapter will be found an alphabetical list of the proprietors, with the house- and home-lots drawn by each in their respective ranges. This is accompanied by a plan, by the aid of which the description in the text may be more easily understood. See Bouton's Concord, 122, 123, 124, with plan.

to a width of six rods, known as Main street,—and extended from Horse Shoe pond hill, or “the minister’s lot,”¹ southward about a mile and a half. This range contained thirty-seven lots, regularly numbered from north to south, with the sixth and thirty-fifth vacant. Parallel to this, and along the west side of the same thoroughfare, and extending about the same distance, was the second range, containing thirty-four lots, numbered in the same direction as those of the first, with the thirtieth vacant. Westward of the second, and separated from it by a highway-space ten rods wide, being a part of what was to be State street, was the third range, which ran southerly to the present Washington street, from a highway reservation, extending westerly from Horse Shoe pond hill. It contained twelve lots, numbered from north to south in continuation of those in the second range, with the thirty-ninth vacant. A short range, perpendicular to the northernmost lots of the third range, extended westward, and contained the school lot with three others. These four lots were not numbered in the record, and took, it seems, the place of the vacant ones in the other ranges. The “Island Range” lay along the highland on the west side of Horse Shoe pond, and reached northward to Wood’s brook. It comprised nine “house lots,” numbered from south to north, which had their accompanying “home lots” on “Horse Shoe Island” near by, a fact that gave the range its name.

As has been seen, with these one hundred and three “House Lots” went the same number of “Home, or Six Acre, Lots,”—the latter generally detached from the former, though the minister’s allotment had the two contiguous. The eleven allotments of the portion of land variously styled “The Lowest Range,” “The Lowest Intervale,” or “The Eleven Lots,” extending northward from “The Great Bend” of the river nearly to the southern extremities of the first and second house-lot ranges, already described, had the peculiarity of being, each, a combination of “house-lot” and “home-lot,” and of being designated exclusively by the latter name. Of the other “home-lots,” ten lay in “Wattanummon’s Field,” to the northward of Horse Shoe pond, and southward of the Merrimack, as it there flows; seventy-two in “The Great Plain,” comprising all the interval northeast and east of the first range of “house-lots,” and between “Wattanummon’s Field” and the “Frog Ponds”—the latter designating an area embraced by the river’s curve north of “The Eleven Lots”; and, lastly, ten on Horse Shoe Island. Through these lots, highways—some four rods wide, others two—were here and there reserved.

Thus, the allotments that had been surveyed and laid out in May,

¹ See note at close of chapter.

1726, came at last, in February, 1727, into the hands of individual proprietors. Each "admitted settler" had now his little farm of upland and interval, with the assurance of future enlargement of possession out of lands yet unallotted; and in this freehold tenure he was to find a natural stimulus to the earnest exertion requisite to accomplish the civilized occupation of the wilderness.

As soon as the settlers had drawn their land they held a meeting, February 8, 1727, and voted to build "at Pennycook, a block-house of twenty-five feet in breadth and forty feet in length, for the security of the settlers": John Chandler, Moses Hazzen, Nehemiah Carlton, Nathan Simonds, and Ebenezer Stevens being a committee to examine the charges arising from "building a block-house, . . . or any other charges, that" should "arise in bringing forward the settlement," and, upon allowance, "to draw money out of the treasury," for payment. They levied a tax of one hundred pounds to "be paid in to the treasurer by the first day" of the succeeding March, "for defraying past and future charges." They appointed John Chandler, Henry Rolfe, William White, Richard Hazzen, Jr., and John Osgood, "to lay out the intervale that" had "not yet" been "laid out," so that the "whole,"—including the part already laid out,—should "be equally divided among" the settlers, "as to quantity and quality." While adopting promptly such wise measures, they thought it not premature to declare a war of extermination against the venomous reptile, already found to be dangerously prevalent in the Penacook woods, by providing a bounty of "threepence" for every "rattlesnake killed within the bounds of the township, to be paid by the settlers' treasurer upon sight of the tail."¹

The "Second Division of the Intervale," ordered at this meeting, was surveyed and laid out in May, 1727, by the committee appointed for that purpose,—Richard Hazzen, Jr., being the surveyor,—and was accepted by the court's committee in March, 1728.²

The division comprised, on the east side of the river: (1) The "Mill Brook Intervale," or the lands in the vicinity of Mill brook, the outlet of Turtle pond into the Merrimack, lying in two ranges—the first containing twenty-four lots, the second, twelve. (2) The "Sugar Ball Division," situated in the valley south of Sugar Ball hill, and containing sixteen lots. (3) "The Middle Plain," including the interval extending from Sugar Ball plain to the river's curve at the "Frog Ponds," and being in twenty-eight lots, numbered,—as were all those hitherto mentioned,—down Merrimack river. (4) The east-side "Lowest Intervale," opposite the "Eleven Lots," extending from the ancient south line of the plantation, northward to the "Mid-

¹ See note at close of chapter.

² Bouton's Concord, 85.

dle Plain": being in thirty-one lots, numbered up the river, and with "a driftway of three rods through" their "westerly" ends, "as nigh the Merrimack river as" might be convenient.

This second division included, on the west side of the Merrimack: (1) "Rattlesnake Plains," comprising the interval reaching northward from "Farnum's Eddy to the hills and bluffs which border the river, northeast of West Parish village,"¹ in seventeen lots, numbered up river, and with allowance for a highway. (2) "The Frog Ponds,"—already often mentioned,—south of "The Great Plain," and divided into sixteen lots.

In addition, nine small lots not in range were laid out in various localities.² Those persons whose allotments, in the first division, had fallen in the "Eleven Lots," obtained, in the second, the same number of lots opposite in the "Lowest Intervale" on the east side of the river, and also eleven others in the "Middle Plain."³ In some other cases, "two parcels, in different localities, were allotted to the same person."⁴ The number of lots in the second division was one hundred and sixty-seven; and these, exclusive of the nine scattered ones, varied in size from two and a half acres to six.⁵



The Meeting-house.

In the early spring of 1727, nearly a year before the second assignment of lands was completed, the settlers had gone to work in the plantation. By April and May a pioneer band of proprietors, comprising Ebenezer Eastman, Joseph and Edward Abbott, John Merrill, and forty or fifty others, including employees, had arrived, and at once engaged "in building the meeting-

house, in clearing and fencing lots," and in other labors incident to the beginning of a permanent settlement.⁶ The "meeting-house"—

¹ Bouton's Concord, 86.

² *Ibid.*, 127.

³ The allotments of the second division are tabulated at the close of this chapter, with quantity of land, locality, and names of owners. No plan is to be found. See notes at close of chapter. See Bouton's Concord, 125-27.

⁴ Depositions of Richard Hazzen, Joseph and Edward Abbot, and others in the Bow controversy, cited in Bouton's Concord, 210-11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

otherwise denominated the "block house," or the "garrison house"—was the first building to be reared, and was early completed for use. It was a modest structure of hewn logs, newly felled in the primeval forest where it was placed. Its length was forty feet, and its width twenty-five. Its roof was low-ridged, and without chimney or tower. Its door opened midway the length, and unglazed port-hole windows pierced the sides. The exterior of the structure, in its solidity without beauty, was matched by an interior of rude finish and scanty furnishing. It stood in the second range of house-lots, on the west side of the main highway, by an eastward-flowing brook, not then named "West's," and where, in after years, was to be the northwest corner of Main and Chapel streets. With repairs and "amendments," it was to answer its purposes, religious and secular,—in other words, as a church and a town house, for nearly a quarter of a century.

During the season, some of the uplands were put in process of clearing, and portions of the interval were plowed and planted with Indian corn, while the native grass was cured into hay. It is asserted that Samuel Ayer, a young proprietor, was the first to plow "a field in Penacook." House-lots were prepared to receive the home buildings of hewn logs. Indeed, Ebenezer Eastman, a veteran of the Port Royal and Canadian expeditions of fifteen years before and now a leading spirit in this plantation enterprise, had his house ready for occupation in the fall of 1727, and there resided with his wife, Sarah Peaslee, and his six sons—Ebenezer, Philip, Joseph, Nathaniel, Jeremiah, and Obadiah—the first family of settlers resident in Penacook.¹ The house-lot where was then the Eastman home, was the ninth in the second range of the original survey, not far south of the angle made by the modern Franklin street with the main thoroughfare. But in the second division of lots, early the next year, Captain Eastman received the sixteenth lot in the "Mill Brook range," on the east side of the river, and there he finally settled. It seems from tradition that Captain Eastman's team of six yoke of oxen, with a cart, accompanying the removal of his family to their new home, was the first outfit of the kind to pass over the road lately cut "through the wilderness," from Haverhill to Penacook.² The outfit proving somewhat unwieldy, found difficulty along the route, but especially towards the end, where, at precipitous Sugar Ball, the driver, Jacob Shute, afterwards a settler in the plantation, could secure a safe descent into the plain bordering the river, only by felling a pine tree and chaining it top foremost to the cart.³

¹ Bouton's Concord, 90; Annals of Concord, 11 (note).

² Bouton's Concord, 88; Annals of Concord, 11 (note).

³ *Ibid*; also, see notes at close of chapter.

The arrival of Captain Eastman's family was probably soon followed by that of others. Certainly, Edward Abbott and his wife, Doreas Chandler, passed the ensuing winter in the settlement. Possibly they dwelt upon the lot, marked by the junction of the present Main and Montgomery streets, where they surely dwelt some years later.¹ However that may be, to the worthy pair was born, on the 15th of February, 1728, a daughter, to whom was given the mother's name, and who was the first white child born in Penacook. It was not till nearly two years later that the first male child, Edward Abbott, was born in the plantation and of the same parents.

Now, of the work of settlement, thus successfully pushed in the plantation established by Massachusetts, the government of New Hampshire was not an idle spectator. On the 20th of May, 1727, it granted—"as it is believed without actual survey"²—the townships of Bow, Canterbury, Chichester, and Epsom. The grant of Bow, to one hundred and seven proprietors and "their associates," comprised eighty-one square miles, and covered about three fourths of the plantation of Penacook, and much adjoining territory on the south and southwest. This action was taken with a view to the practical enforcement of the warning given in May of the previous year, to the committee of the General Court of Massachusetts, then engaged in laying off the lands in Penacook. New Hampshire was determined to resist, pending the settlement of the boundary line between the two provinces, the claim of Massachusetts to the possession of all lands to the southward of the line three miles "northward of the Merrimack from mouth to source." The grant of Bow involved mischief to the Massachusetts settlers of Penacook, for there was to come of it to them a long, vexatious, and injurious controversy, the history of which belongs to a period twenty-five years later.

The next year (1728), at a meeting of the settlers, called at their "desire" by the court's committee, and held, on the 6th and 7th of March, at the house of John Griffin, in Bradford, an appropriation was voted to discharge accounts for "laying out the second division of intervale, for building the block-house, making canoes," and for other purposes. A committee, consisting of Ebenezer Eastman, Joseph Hall, and Abraham Foster, was appointed "to amend the new way from PennyCook to Haverhill." The same committee had in charge "to fence in," by the last day of May, "all the first division of intervale"; each proprietor having the choice "to fence in his proportion, or else to pay the committee for doing it."

¹ On or near the site of the residence of the late Eliphalet S. Nutter.

² Bouton's Concord, 206 (note).

At this meeting action was also taken towards securing the regular preaching of the gospel. Accordingly, Joseph Hall and John Pecker "were empowered to agree with a minister to preach at PennyCook, the year ensuing; to begin the service from the fifteenth day of May." The committee received also injunction "to act with all prudence, and not assure the gentleman more than the rate of one hundred pounds per annum for his services."

Other business of a financial character, or connection, having been transacted, as, ordering one hundred pounds to be raised "for defraying past and future charges"; appointing collectors "to demand and receive, and, if need be, sue for and recover in the law," arrearages on sums previously raised; making appropriations to individuals for services rendered, and choosing Deacon John Osgood, treasurer, the meeting was continued by adjournment to the 15th of May, then to be held "at the block-house in Penny-Cook."

At this adjourned meeting,—the first of the kind held by the settlers on the soil of their new plantation, and the earliest forerunner of "Concord town-meetings,"—Captain Henry Rolfe was moderator, with John Wainwright, of the court's committee, clerk. The progress of the settlement was evinced in the appointment of Henry Rolfe, Ebenezer Eastman, and James Mitchell, as a committee, to procure the building of a sawmill within six months, "to supply the town with good merchantable boards of yellow pine, at thirty shillings per thousand, and . . . white pine boards at forty shillings per thousand—or to saw of each sort to the halves"; and also "to agree with some person or persons to erect a grist-mill," within a year, and "to oblige the builder or builders to grind the town's corn of all sorts, well and free from grit, for the usual toll." It was further provided that "fifty pounds of bills of credit" should be paid, and "fifty acres of land" granted for building each of the mills, and that the builders should "be entitled to the said lands and also to the stream or streams upon which the mills" stood, "so long as they" were "kept in repair, and the design of the town in having them built" was "answered"; this title to hold good, if the mills should be "providentially consumed." As already seen, provision had been made for canoes to navigate the river; but now another advance was made in taking steps towards a more effective mode of crossing the stream by authorizing Ebenezer Eastman, Abraham Foster, and Joseph Hall, "to agree with some person to keep a ferry on Merrimack river," and "to clear the best way they" could "to the ferry-place"; the ferriage to be sixpence for "each man and horse," and fourpence "for each horned beast."

The settlers, thus busily intent upon advancing the interests of their

plantation, received, on the 6th of August, 1728, from the legislature of Massachusetts, upon a petition presented by John Osgood, permission "to extend the south bounds of the township one hundred rods, the full breadth of the town," as an equivalent for the five hundred acres formerly laid out to the right of Governor Endicott,—otherwise the Sewall Farm. On the same day, and by the same legislature, was granted to the volunteers under Captain Lovewell, a portion of the wilderness to the southward, six miles square, and named Suncook, described as "lying on each side of the Merrimack," and "of the same breadth from the river as Pennicook," and "beginning where Pennicook new grant determines." The territory of Suncook was largely included in that of Bow. As New Hampshire had, the year before, laid the township of Bow over the greater part of Penacook, so Massachusetts now laid the greater part of Suncook over Bow. Such territorial overlapping—such a shingling of hostile grants, so to speak—was not conducive to peaceable occupation, as subsequent events were to attest.

As already mentioned, action had been taken by the settlers, early in the year, with a view to securing regular religious service. Little is known of the immediate result of that action. It is certain, however, that Reverend Enoch Coffin and Reverend Bezaliah Toppan, both proprietors, and both Harvard graduates, occasionally occupied the pulpit of the log meeting-house; for early the next year (1729) an allowance of four pounds was granted to the heirs of the former, and thirty shillings to the latter, "for preaching and performing divine service at PennyCook."¹ At the meetings of the settlers, held in May and June of 1729, the subject of "procuring a minister" was a prominent one. At the June meetings, a committee, enlarged from two to seven, and consisting of John Osgood, John Pecker, John Chandler, Ebenezer Eastman, Nathan Simonds, William Barker, and Joseph Hall, was appointed "to call and agree with some suitable person to be minister of the town of PennyCook," at a salary of "one hundred pounds per annum" to "be paid by the community." Another sum of "one hundred pounds" was "allowed to be paid out of the company's treasury as an encouragement to the first minister for settling as" such, "and taking pastoral charge." At the subsequent adjourned meeting in October, "every proprietor or intended settler" was assessed "in the sum of twenty shillings, towards the support of an orthodox minister, . . . for the current year." Though the permanent supply of preaching had not then been secured, yet it is probable that, in course of the year, Timothy Walker, of Woburn, a young man of twenty-four, and four years out of Harvard

¹ See note at close of chapter.

college, made his first appearance in the Penacook pulpit, and there continued his services, more or less constantly, until his "call" to the pastorate in 1730.

In those days, too, the attention of the settlers was steadily directed to providing suitable roads within the settlement, and the region to the southward which had been their home. To facilitate the crossing of the Soucook and Suncook rivers fell to them exclusively, in the absence of neighbors to share the labor and expense. As a westward branch of the original Haverhill road, a new path, also, had to be opened leading directly from the Soucook crossing to the southerly part of the main settlement growing up along the west bank of the Merrimack. Hence, in proprietors' meeting on the 6th of May (1729), William Barker, Timothy Johnson, and Nicholas White were instructed "to make a fordway over Sow-Cooke river, and clear a way thence to the Merrimack river against the Eleven Lots, at the charge of the community." Within a year, and to another committee, consisting of John Pecker, Ebenezer Stevens, and Abraham Bradley, was assigned the duty, "to amend and repair the necessary roads in Pennycook, and also, . . . to build a good bridge over Sow-Cook river, at the cost of the settlers"; being the first structure of its kind to span a Concord stream. At the time when the branch way to the Merrimack against the "Eleven Lots" was ordered to be cleared, Nehemiah Carlton was "desired, for the sum of ten pounds to build a ferry-boat, about nineteen feet long, and of suitable breadth, well timbered . . . well caulked, pitched, or turpented, and furnished fit to carry people and creatures." This was forthwith "to be delivered, with a pair of good and suitable oars, at PennyCook, for the use of the society." Already Henry Rolfe had built a "ferry-boat for the carrying of the community and company over the river Suncook," for which he was allowed five pounds. Carlton's boat was soon plying on the Merrimack, at the Eleven Lots; and in March, 1730, in accordance with the action of two years before, a ferry was definitely established at or near the former "ferry place." It was then decided that "John Merrill" should "have the ferry, with twenty acres of land near": the ferriage to be "two pence for a man, and four pence for a horse" or other "beast"; and, after twenty years, "one penny per man" of "the inhabitants of PennyCook," and "three pence" a head for "beasts." This ferry, which later bore the name of Butters's, had location at some distance to the northward of the place where, more than sixty years later, a bridge—ever after to be maintained—was to be built over the Merrimack. On the hillside towards the west, the ferryman's twenty acres were laid out; and there his house

stood near the lower end of the main thoroughfare, where has long been a parting of roads.¹

By 1729 "Mr. Simonds and company"—as designated in the record—had completed, on Mill brook, the first sawmill, and, half a mile below this, the first grist-mill, as provided for by the settlers the year before. The stones of the latter were taken from Rattlesnake hill;² the crank of the former was brought from Haverhill on horseback. Soon after the mill was put to use it was disabled by the breaking of this iron crank—with no blacksmith short of Haverhill. But necessity suggested relief. A forge of blazing pitch-pine knots having been extemporized, the broken member, splintered with beetle-rings and wedges, had its fracture so reduced, and so knit in a thorough weld, that it was almost as good a crank as ever.³ The inconvenience of having the nearest blacksmith shop fifty miles away must have been felt by the settlers in other instances than this. So the next year (1730), provision was made to secure the services of a resident smith, in the vote "that Mr. Cutting Noyes" should "have fifty acres of land: ten of which" were to "be laid out against Mr. Pecker's lot, . . . sixteen rods front, and extending back from the highway," ten rods;¹ while "the other forty acres" were "to be laid out in some of the other divisions: provided" he should "do the blacksmith work for the town for ten years." On these terms the first smith east in his lot with the farmers and carpenters of Pennycook.

The new sawmill supplied convenient lumber. The settlers were not slow to avail themselves of this advantage in repairing their meeting-house, and providing it with "a floor of planks or boards." The mention of this improvement suggests the more important fact that soon the pulpit of that modest edifice was to be occupied by a settled "orthodox minister." On the last day of March, 1730, the settlers reappointed the committee of seven, selected in June of the preceding year, and instructed it "to agree with the Rev. Mr. Timothy Walker, in order to his carrying on the work of the ministry in PennyCook for the year ensuing, and to treat with" him "in order to his settlement" in that "work." At the same time provision was made for "a speedy" additional "repairing of the house of worship." Six months later, "the General Court's committee" notified "the proprietors and grantees to assemble at the meeting-house" in "PennyCook, on the fourteenth day of October," and "then and there to choose a minister," fix the terms of settlement, and arrange "for his ordination." At the meeting held in accordance with this order, it

¹ See note at close of chapter.

² Bouton's Concord, 545.

³ Annals of Concord, 11 (note); Bouton's Concord, 93.

was "voted by the admitted settlers, that they" would "have a minister"; that "the Rev. Mr. Timothy Walker" should "be the minister of the town"; that the committee of seven should "agree with" him "upon terms" of settlement; that he should "have one hundred pounds for the year ensuing"—this to "rise forty shillings per annum till" coming "to one hundred and twenty pounds,"¹ which should "be the stated sum annually for his salary"; that "salary" should "be paid in whatever" should "be the medium of trade, for the time being, in" the "province, at silver seventeen shillings per ounce"; and, finally, that "the one hundred pounds formerly voted, to enable the minister to build a house" should "be paid in eighteen months' time." These stipulations were rounded off with the careful proviso, "that if Mr. Walker, by extreme old age," should "be disabled from carrying on the whole work of the ministry, he" should abate so much of his salary as "should be rational." A committee was then selected, consisting of "Deacon John Osgood, Mr. John Pecker, Mr. Benjamin Nichols, and Mr. Ebenezer Eastman, to discourse with Mr. Walker about the time of his ordination, and to appoint the day; also to request" such churches as they "might think proper, to send their ministers and messengers to assist in" the services, the committee being authorized "to appoint suitable entertainment" for the guests.

Mr. Walker having formally accepted, by letter, "the invitation to settle in the ministry," his ordination occurred on the 18th of November, 1730. As to this important event in the history of the new settlement, present information is but meager. No tradition describes that earnest assemblage of strong-hearted pioneers, the early men and women of Penacook, gathered, with their guests, in the humble church on the cleared rim of the leafless forest of that November day. Something is known of the services of the impressive occasion, though of the visitants, present on invitation, the names of only three,—ministers of Massachusetts churches,—have been preserved. These, John Barnard of North Andover, Samuel Phillips¹ of South Andover, and John Brown of Haverhill, were of the council, if not its sole constituents. The charge was given by Mr. Phillips; the right hand of fellowship by Mr. Brown. The sermon was preached by Mr. Barnard, and in this the preacher urged the people "always . . . to rejoice and strengthen the hands of their minister by their concord"—words which embodied an appeal not unheeded in the coming years, while, by pleasant accident, they included the future permanent name of the settlement. On that occasion, too, the first church in Penacook was organized, with eight members,

¹ See note at close of chapter.

including the pastor. The expenses of the ordination, as afterward allowed and paid, amounted to thirty-one pounds ten shillings. Thus the new pastor embarked with the people of his charge; and, to them, in things secular as well as religious, he was ever to be a safe pilot. The week after his ordination, he brought to Penacook his wife, Sarah Burbeen, of Woburn, the bride of a fortnight, in company with the wives of several other settlers, all with brave and hopeful hearts, making the journey on horseback, over the wilderness road to their new homes beside the Merrimack.

The requisition made in the beginning, upon "the intended settlers," as to a place for divine worship and the settlement of a minister, had now been complied with, while other requirements of "the community" had been or were to be duly met. Hence, this same year (1730) Henry Rolfe, John Pecker, and John Chandler were appointed to lay out a suitable burying-place. Accordingly, the house-lot situated between numbers thirty-eight and forty in the third range, or the continuation of the second, on the west side of the highway afterward named State street, and left vacant in the original drawing of lots in 1727, was appropriated to that purpose.¹



Old Burying-ground.

The proper fencing of the interval was another requirement, to meet which demanded persistent effort in the early years. The action taken upon this matter, in March, 1728, has already been mentioned. The result of that action seems to have been unsatisfactory, for in December the court's committee was petitioned to appoint a meeting of "the community and society of PennyCook, to see if they" could "come into some way and method to preserve their corn," inasmuch as they "received great damage last year, in" their "corn for want of a fence." At the meeting appointed in compliance with the petition, and held by adjournment on the 12th of March, 1729, it was voted "that a good and substantial fence, according to law," should "be made, to enclose the great interval, and secure the corn and mowing grass from the encroachment of cattle, horses, &c.": this to be done "at the charge of the proprietors in said field in equal shares . . . and to be completely finished on or before the 15th day of May" ensuing. At the same time, Messrs. Ebenezer Eastman, Ebenezer Stevens, John Chandler, John Pecker, and Nathan Simonds, were

¹ The site was the present "Old Burying Ground;" also, see plan of lots at close of chapter.

instructed as a committee, "to see that the fence be made sufficient, according to the law . . . and maintained accordingly"; with power, should "anyone refuse to make and maintain his part of the fence, to hire" it "made at the charge of the delinquent," who should "pay ten shillings per diem for every laborer employed . . . by the committee to make or repair such delinquent's fence." The next year similar and effectual action was taken respecting "the general fence at PennyCook." Moreover, as additional security against damage from stray beasts, a pound was ordered to be built, and David Barker and Jacob Shute were chosen "field-drivers," whose duty it was to look after wandering animals, and to impound them, if necessary. It was not, however, till the next year and under a new vote that the pound was built; when, also, Nathaniel Abbott and Ezekiel Walker served as field-drivers, and the former as poundkeeper.

The financial requirements of the pioneer community occasionally encountered individual delinquency. But the delinquents met with no favor from the body of proprietors, who manifested the steady purpose to bring every admitted settler to contribute promptly his part towards advancing the enterprise. Hence, as early as 1728, Solomon Martin was "admitted a settler in place of Nathaniel Barker," who had forfeited his right by "refusing to pay his proportionable charge." The next year complaint was made that "sundry persons" had "refused to pay in their respective proportion of charges," to the hindrance and discouragement of the settlement. Therefore "due inquiry" was ordered to be made as to "what persons" were "in arrearages," so that immediate payment might be demanded of them. "Upon their refusal or non-payment," they were to be reported "to the General Court's Committee . . . that their honors" might "proceed with them with the utmost rigor and severity." And so, in 1730, William Whiteher, Nathaniel Sanborn, Thomas Coleman, and Thomas Wicombe forfeited their rights, and their lots were assigned to Joseph Gerrish, Henry Rolfe, Nathan Webster, and Joseph Parker . . . each of whom paid five pounds for the lot thus received.¹ But there was one requisition in the original grant which the proprietors were unanimously reluctant to meet; hoping that it might be partially, if not wholly, remitted. This was the stipulated payment of five hundred pounds to the province of Massachusetts,—five pounds for each of the hundred admitted settlers. To secure this payment, the proprietors, after ineffectual application for relief from what seemed to them an onerous condition, and before drawing their lands, had each given a bond for his share, payable on demand. And now in the last week of September, 1730,

¹ Bouton's Concord, 90-1.

the General Court's committee, in calling the grantees to a meeting in "PennyCook," to choose and settle a minister, "more especially notified each proprietor to prepare the sum of five pounds ordered by the General Court in the grant of the township,—and respectively pay the same to the committee . . . at the house of Mr. Stedman, taverner, in Cambridge, on Wednesday, the twenty-first of October, at ten o'clock before noon, as" thus would be avoided "the trouble and charge of having their bonds put in suit at the next court." At the meeting thus notified, which was held in Penacook, on the 14th of October, "Mr. Pecker and Ensign Chandler were chosen to" meet the General Court's committee at the time and place specified and "to pray their forbearance with the proprietors, relating to the five pounds due from each proprietor to the province." What "forbearance," if any, was obtained, is not known. But that the five hundred pounds were paid before the next March seems certain, for at that time, in a petition to the Massachusetts legislature for the conferring of town privileges, the proprietors set forth that "they" had "paid into the hands of the committee of the General Court the consideration money for their lots"; and they prayed "that the court would order that one hundred pounds, or more, of the money" thus paid in might "be reimbursed them, for the extraordinary charges they" had "been at," in "building a meeting-house, settling a minister, making highways, et cetera." It appears that, upon this petition, or some other, the entire sum of five hundred pounds was in some form reimbursed.¹

Penacook was still a plantation, though, all along, it had been frequently designated as a "town" or "township." Indeed, in 1729, the settlers had petitioned the General Court "to empower" them to raise money to pay public charges, by making the settlement a township invested with "the powers and privileges" of other towns within the province. This petition proving ineffectual, another was presented in 1730, likewise without attaining the desired result. But in March, now that "the conditions of the original grant of the plantation had been complied with,"²—including the five hundred pounds of "consideration money" paid in,—the settlers presented to the General Court the petition mentioned in the preceding paragraph, setting forth expenses incurred and the likelihood of "difficulty" to be met with "in gathering the money thus laid out," and "therefore praying that they" might be made a township.

This petition having been somewhat considered by the General Court, was, on the 6th of March, "referred" to the May session. But this reference was accompanied by an important order regulating

¹ Bouton's Concord, 132.

² *Ibid.*, 103.

the plantation, and granting it approximate town rights and privileges. It authorized Henry Rolfe to call a meeting of the inhabitants and grantees "at the meeting-house," on the 29th of March, 1731, and of which he was to be moderator. It provided for the choice of a clerk, assessors and collectors of taxes, a constable, fence-viewers, and hog-reeves—all to be sworn by the moderator. It empowered the grantees and settlers to agree on ministerial and other "rates and taxes," to be "levied equally on the lots except" those "of the ministry" and the "school," and all to be "paid into the hands of the assessors, by them to be disposed of for defraying the ministerial and other charges of the plantation." It instructed "Henry Rolfe to take an exact account of what" was "done in each lot in fencing, building, and improving," and lay the same before the court at the next May session. It authorized "the committee for the settlement of the plantation" to grant anew the lots of delinquents "to such other persons as" should "speedily and effectually" comply "with the terms of their grants and the orders of the Court." And, finally, the order declared the plantation "to lie in the county of Essex,"—a declaration for which the settlers had petitioned two years before.

At the meeting held pursuant to this order, the list of officers suggested by the general court was filled by election. Benjamin Rolfe, son of the moderator, and a recent graduate of Harvard college, was chosen clerk. He was a rising man, and had already served as recording officer at the meeting of "the admitted settlers," held the previous year for the choice of a minister. About that time, too, John Wainwright, who had kept the records of the court's committee and of the proprietors, resigned, Rolfe becoming his successor, as proprietary clerk, or, as he was sometimes designated, "clerk for the settlers and grantees of PennyCook." At this first meeting, in connection with the choice of two hog-reeves, it was voted "that the hogs" might "go at large." It was also voted "that the fence" should "be made up round the general field by the fifteenth of April, and also creatures kept out of it after that day," and "that the general field be broken, the fifteenth of October." To effectuate this action, fence-viewers and field-drivers were chosen, and also a pound was definitely ordered to be built,—as before mentioned,—and a pound-keeper chosen. Moreover, "Abraham Bradley, Ebenezer Eastman, and William Barker, Jr.," were made "a committee to mend the highways . . .," in other words, to be highway surveyors. "Two hundred pounds" were raised for the payment of the "minister, and defraying other necessary charges"; while the assessors—who by committee assignment per-

formed some of the duties of selectmen in the absence of these officers from the official list—were instructed “to clear the minister’s and ministry’s six acre lot, at the charge of the community.”

The meeting was kept alive during the year 1731 by three or four adjournments, with Henry Rolfe as permanent moderator. At the first adjournment, on the last day of March, the attention of the settlers was almost exclusively devoted to taking the first steps towards establishing the “School.” This important action was embodied in votes, “. . . that ten pounds” should “be levied on the grantees, to be laid out for the instructing of the children in reading, et cetera; that the school” should “be kept in two of the most convenient parts of the township”; and “that Mr. Ebenezer Eastman and Mr. Timothy Clement” should, as a committee, “lease out the six acre lot belonging to the School, to David Barker for the term of four years.” Unfortunately, no further historical record, no additional tradition even, is extant as to this interesting initial movement in education—the future pride and blessing of the community.

At the third adjourned meeting, on the 21st of October (1731), a committee was “chosen to settle the bounds of . . . Sewall’s Farm”. Hitherto, repeated mention has been made of this valuable tract of five hundred acres, originally Endicott’s grant. It had supplied, as will be recollected, a leading motive for changing the original purpose of the Penacook grant, which was to locate the first fifty settlements on the east side of the river. In 1729 Captain Ebenezer Eastman had taken from Judge Sewall a lease of the farm for thirty years; agreeing to pay as rent ten shillings the first year, with an increase of ten shillings each succeeding year, till fifteen pounds should be reached,—this sum to be paid annually afterwards. He was to improve the land by cultivation to the value of one hundred pounds; to build a timber house and barn together worth the same sum; to leave on the farm one hundred pounds’ worth of fences of stone or timber; to plant, in a regular orchard, five hundred apple trees, and to set out one hundred other fruit trees, such as cherry, pear, quince, and plum.¹ Before 1731 the farm was sold to Joseph Gerrish and Henry Rolfe, of Newbury, to whom the annual rent was afterwards paid.² In that year Captain Eastman was reported as having “broken up, cleared, and mowed eighty acres,”³—a portion of which doubtless belonged to this farm.

The plantation was thus trying its capability for town government, as best it might, in the leading strings of the general court of Massachusetts. That capability the court would test, under liberal though

¹ Original lease in archives of N. H. Hist. Society.

² Bouton’s Concord, 553 (note).

³ *Ibid.*, 129.

temporary concessions, before granting absolute and permanent township rights and privileges. Definite information, also, as to the actual condition of the settlement was insisted upon; hence, the order had required "an exact account" of what the settlers had done upon their lands to be taken and rendered. This duty, though assigned to Henry Rolfe, seems to have been done by John Wainwright and John Sanders, two members of the court's committee, whose signatures alone stand attached to the report dated October 20, 1731, and certified to be "The account of the present state and circumstances of the Plantation of PennyCook, taken there by as careful a view as we could, and the best information of the principal settlers and inhabitants."³

The general court's order of March, 1731, was substantially renewed in January, 1732, but without empowering any person to call the first meeting. This omission hindered the holding of the "anniversary meeting" in March, for the choice of officers and the raising of money, as authorized by the order. A legal way was at length found out for obviating somewhat the consequent embarrassment. A meeting of the settlers, not as "inhabitants" or "freeholders," but as "proprietors," had to be summoned. Richard Kent, of Newbury, a justice of the peace for the county of Essex, upon application of Jeremiah Stickney and four other "proprietors of PennyCook," issued to Nathaniel Abbott, a warrant "for calling a proprietors' meeting." Upon due notification, the settlers convened on the 14th of September (1732), and chose Ebenezer Eastman, moderator, and Benjamin Rolfe, clerk. They elected no other officers; but they agreed upon a more expeditious method of calling meetings, whereby, at the written request of ten of the "proprietors," the clerk could call a meeting "by giving fourteen days' warning." Five of these proprietary meetings were held in course of the year; and thus the settlers contrived to meet some of the requirements of the plantation. Thus, in September, they appointed a committee of six, with Ebenezer Eastman at the head, "to lay out a first division of upland to each grantee . . . consisting of twenty acres in quantity and quality, in one or more pieces," leaving "land for sufficient highways." This "Twenty Acres Division"² was completed within two years. In October they raised "one hundred pounds for the support of" the minister. In November they ordered another division of land. This was entrusted to a committee of five, headed by Abraham Bradley, with instructions "to make amendments to the interval lots, in interval or other land." It required about two years

¹ Bouton's Concord, 13 (Proprietary Records).

² See note at close of chapter; Bouton's Concord, 127.

to accomplish this division, known as the "Emendation Lots."¹ Preliminary measures were also taken at several of these meetings, as to building a sawmill and a grist-mill on Turkey river, for the use of the proprietors. The settlers, in a large majority, dwelling on the west side of the Merrimack, probably, found the location of the mills on Mill brook, on the east side, inconvenient; while from a vote of inquiry as to the condition and management of the latter mills, adopted about that time, it is a reasonable inference that there were other causes of dissatisfaction.

In December, 1732, the settlers of Penacook, by Henry Rolfe, made petition to the authorities of Massachusetts that "some meet person" might be empowered "to call the first meeting of the inhabitants for the ends and purposes" of the January order of that year; thus affording relief from "many hardships and difficulties." Whereupon, on the 21st of December (1732), Governor Belcher "consented to" the following order, which, the day before, had been concurrently agreed upon by the council and the house of representatives: "Ordered that Mr. Benjamin Rolfe, one of the principal inhabitants of the plantation of PennyCook be and hereby is fully impowered to assemble and convene the inhabitants of said plantation, to choose officers and to do other matters, in pursuance of an order of this court at their session, begun and held at Boston, the first day of December, 1731; which officers, when chosen, are to stand until the anniversary meeting in March next."

In accordance with this order, Benjamin Rolfe, on the 8th of January, 1733, "set up" the following notification at the meeting-house door in PennyCook: "The inhabitants of the Plantation of PennyCook are hereby notified to assemble and convene at the meeting-house in PennyCook, on the eleventh day of this instant January, at nine of the clock in the forenoon, then and there to choose a town-clerk, selectmen and constables, and all other ordinary town officers; which officers, when chosen, are to stand to the anniversary meeting in March next."²

This first meeting of the "settlers" was to choose "town officers" for the plantation. Having organized by selecting Ebenezer Eastman for moderator, and Benjamin Rolfe for town clerk, the settlers proceeded to the elections. Under the privilege of choosing selectmen,—the privilege pre-eminently distinctive of the New England town, and now for the first time exercised,—they chose Captain Ebenezer Eastman, Deacon John Merrill, and Mr. Edward Abbott. These were also elected assessors. The purpose of assembling was fulfilled

¹ See note at close of chapter; Bouton's Concord, 128.

² Town Records (1732-1820), 1.

by the choice of a constable, a town treasurer, a collector of taxes, a sealer of leather, two surveyors of highways, two tythingmen, two hog-reeves, two fence-viewers, and two field-drivers.

The first meeting having been dissolved, the newly-elected selectmen, forthwith, as their first official act, issued a warrant to Nathaniel Abbott, constable, to summon "the inhabitants and freeholders" to a second meeting, to be held "at three of the clock in the afternoon" of that same 11th of January. Thus warned by the constable's notification, set up at the meeting-house, the settlers met, and, with John Chandler as moderator, transacted the business specified in the warrant. This was comprised in two votes, raising one hundred and ten pounds "for the support" of the minister, and one hundred pounds "for defraying the necessary charges of the town or plantation."

The town-meeting, in its full import, had come to the "inhabitants" of Penacook, even before their plantation could legally be called a town. To this date the proceedings of the settlers' meetings had been exclusively matters of proprietary record; thenceforth the proprietary and town records were to be kept separately, but both, for some years, by Benjamin Rolfe.

The regular "anniversary" town meetings came on the 6th of March, 1733, and officers to serve for the ensuing year were elected, those chosen in January holding place only till March. There was an inclination, it would seem, to make the most of the newly-acquired privilege of choosing selectmen; for a board of five, instead of three, was elected,—an incident of the office not again occurring in Concord, save in the years 1749 and 1850. In their town legislation the settlers, as usual in those days, first remembered the minister, and voted one hundred and five pounds for his support; following this by an appropriation of two hundred pounds for other town charges. They provided for the safety of flock and herd by offering a bounty of twenty shillings to encourage the killing of wolves; for the protection of the crops, by promising a penny for every head of blackbird brought to the selectmen and burnt; and for the better security of human life, by ordering the payment of sixpence for every rattlesnake killed, the entire tail or black joint of it having been brought to the selectmen by "the destroyer of such snakes."

At a proprietors' meeting, held on the 26th of March, twenty days after the town meeting, the arrangements begun the year before for building mills on Turkey river were completed. Henry Lovejoy and Barachias Farnum were accepted for building the mills. They were to have the whole stream of the river in Penacook, forty acres of land adjoining the mills, and one hundred acres—within a

mile or two, and forty pounds in money or forty pounds' worth of work. In case of forfeiture, the proprietors were to pay them the value of one half of the iron work and stones. They were allowed to flow as much swamp as they could "for a mill-pond betwixt the first and second falls, below the lowest pond on Turkey river in PennyCook." They were not to be obliged to tend the grist-mill save on Mondays and Fridays, provided that during the term of ten years they should grind all the grain brought to the mill on those days. The mills were completed before 1735, at the lower falls of the Turkey, in the locality which came to be known as Millville.

At special town meetings, held in course of the year, special requirements were met. Thus, on the 5th of December, it was voted that thirty pounds should "be drawn from the town treasury to buy ammunition for the use of the inhabitants and freeholders of the plantation."¹ This action probably resulted from fears "entertained of the hostile disposition of the Indians, although no act of aggression had been committed."² At the same time, also, education received attention in a vote to appropriate sixteen pounds to the support of "a school" for the winter and ensuing spring.³ It is said that James Scales, of Boxford, afterwards the minister of Hopkinton, was the first teacher, and that James Holt, of Andover, was his successor.⁴ Again, on the 16th of January, 1734, fifty pounds were given the minister "for building him a dwelling-house . . . upon his giving the inhabitants and freeholders a receipt . . . in full for his salary in times past until this day, for the decay of money, it not being equal to silver at seventeen shillings the ounce."⁵ Hitherto Mr. Walker had lived in a log-house on the brow of the hill overlooking Horse Shoe pond. In course of the year 1734 he erected the frame house, two-storied and gambrel-roofed, which was to be his home through life, and in which were to dwell his descendants from generation to generation, standing through the years, "the oldest" structure of its kind "between Haverhill and Canada."

Penacook's transition from plantation to township, through the three years, 1731-'33, was now nearly made; indeed, for a year, the leading strings of foreign authority had been relaxed to virtual dropping. That town-meeting of January 16, 1734, was the last for Penacook as a plantation. For the petition of Henry Rolfe "for himself and the other grantees" was already, or forthwith would be, before the general court of Massachusetts, praying that the plantation might be erected into a township. That prayer would be answered, not many days hence, in an act of incorporation, whereby the Plantation of Penacook should become the Town of Rumford.

¹ Town Records, 14.

² Annals of Concord, 16.

³ Town Records, 14.

⁴ Annals of Concord, 16.

⁵ Town Records, 15.

For eight years now had the favorite abiding-place of the red Penacooks been in the occupation of white men exclusively English in descent. The Massachusetts towns of Andover, Haverhill, Newbury, Bradford, Ipswich, Salisbury, and Woburn had contributed the strong, wise, and energetic pioneers of the settlement—the first two towns in nearly equal quotas. The record of the doings of these original settlers, given with some minuteness in this chapter, has shown them to have been a well selected hundred, and fully competent successfully “to prosecute their noble and hazardous enterprise.” Such names as Rolfe, Eastman, Abbott, Merrill, Pecker, Chandler, Stevens, Walker, so often recurring in the narrative, while they individualize, do but represent the sterling New England qualities of the body of Penacook’s early settlers, by whom the beginning was made which costs.

NOTES.

List of Admitted Settlers. The following list of the one hundred persons admitted “to forward the settlement” of Penacook appears in the Proprietors’ Records, under date of “Saturday, Feb. 5th, 1725,” as cited in Bouton’s Concord, 67–68 :

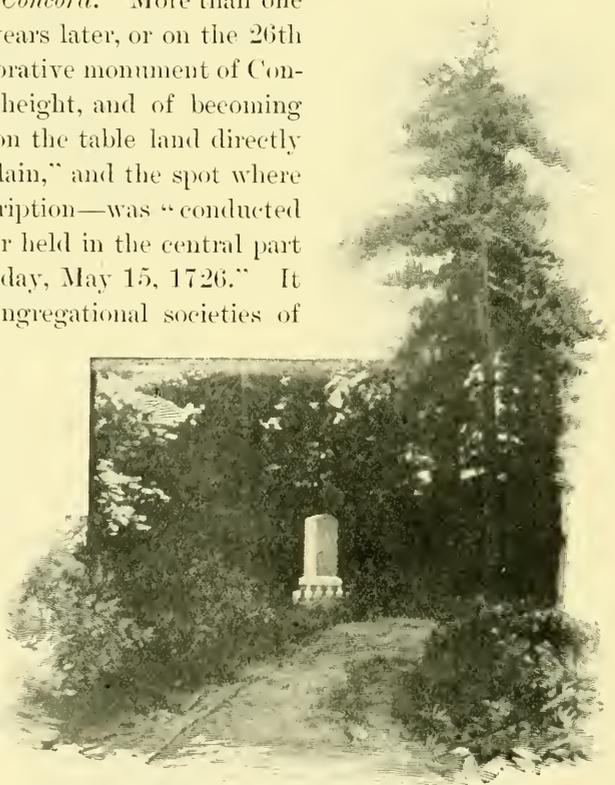
Zebediah Barker,	Christopher Carlton,	John Mattis,
John Osgood,	John Austin,	William Whittier,
Benjamin Parker,	Samuel Kimball,	Joseph Page,
Moses Day,	Nath’l Clement,	John Bayley,
John Sanders,	Samuel Ayer,	Joseph Hall,
Robert Kimball,	Joseph Davis,	Benjamin Niccolls,
Nathaniel Abbott,	Nehemiah Heath,	John Jaques,
Stephen Osgood,	Nath’l Sanders,	Bezaliel Toppan,
John Wright,	Abraham Foster,	Nathaniel Jones,
Ebenezer Stevens,	Nath’l Barker,	Eben’r Virgin,
Thomas Page,	Samuel Davis,	Thomas Wicomb,
Robert Peaslee,	Samuel Toppan,	John Peabody,
John Grainger,	Ammi Rulamah Wise,	Jona. Hubbard, for
Timothy Johnson,	Jonathan Pulsepher,	Daniel Davis.
William White,	John Ayer,	Jacob Eames,
Samuel Reynolds,	Thomas Perley, for	Joshua Bayley,
Nath’l Lovejoy,	Nath’l Cogswell,	Richard Coolidge,
John Saunders, jun.,	David Dodge,	Isaac Walker,
John Chandler,	Benja. Carlton,	James Simonds,
Thomas Blanchard,	Nath’l Page,	John Coggin,
Joseph Parker,	Edward Clark,	Jacob Abbott,
Nathan Parker,	Ephraim Davis,	Moses Hazzen,
John Foster,	Stephen Emerson,	Moses Bordman,

Ephraim Farnum,	Andrew Mitchell,	Nathan Fiske,
Mr. Samuel Phillips,	Benja. Gage,	Zerobbabel Snow,
Eben'r Eastman,	Nath'l Peaslee,	Nathan Blodgett,
David Kimball,	William Gutterson,	John Pecker,
Nicholas White,	Enoch Coffin,	Richard Hazzen, jr.,
John Merrill,	Richard Uram,	Isaac Learned,
Samuel Grainger,	Ephraim Hildreth,	Jonathan Shipley,
Benja. Stevens, Esqr.,	Thomas Colman,	Edward Winn,
Eben'r Lovejoy,	David Wood,	Nathan Simonds,
William Barker,	Joseph Hale,	Obadiah Ayer,
James Parker,	Nehemiah Carlton,	Henry Rolfe.

Colonel Tyng. Colonel Eleazer Tyng, one of the committee, was somewhat prominent in Lovewell's war. He has also been mentioned as quartering at the "Irish Fort" in Penacook in 1725.

Lieutenant-Governors Wentworth and Dummer. At this time the two provinces had one governor, Samuel Shute, who was absent in England, and his functions were performed by the lieutenant-governors.

First Religious Service in Concord. More than one hundred and seventy-three years later, or on the 26th of October, 1899, a commemorative monument of Concord granite, seven feet in height, and of becoming proportions, was erected upon the table land directly overlooking "Sugar Ball Plain," and the spot where—in the words of the inscription—was "conducted the first religious service ever held in the central part of New Hampshire, on Sunday, May 15, 1726." It was erected by the five Congregational societies of Concord. The movement was initiated at the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Concord Congregational Union, November 10, 1898, when, upon a resolution presented by Joseph B. Walker, a committee of five, one from each society, was appointed upon the subject, consisting of John C. Thorne, Lyman D. Stevens, Charles E. Staniels, Charles H. Sanders, and



Monument to Commemorate First Service.

Fred A. Eastman. On the 26th of February, 1899, the committee recommended "the erection of a monument upon a suitable spot at Sugar Ball, and that the sum of two hundred dollars be raised by apportionment among the five churches." The report having been adopted, and the committee authorized to carry into effect the recommendations made, the work was completed; Dr. Alfred E. Emery, of Penacook, giving nearly an acre of land upon which to erect the memorial stone. The introductory dedication exercises took place at the monument, consisting of Scripture reading by the Rev. George H. Dunlap of the East church, dedicatory prayer by the Rev. George H. Reed of the First church, and benediction by the Rev. Nathan F. Carter. Carriages were then taken for the East church, where the remaining exercises were held. A poem, written for the occasion by Harry A. Batchelder, of Melrose, Mass., was read by the Rev. Harry P. Dewey of the South church; an historical address was delivered by Joseph B. Walker, and after dinner in the vestry, a sermon was preached by the Rev. Henry M. Goddard of the West church, followed by the rites of holy communion and the final benediction.

The Ford of the Soucook. It is said in the History of Pembroke, that this ford was probably located "about sixty rods northerly from the old PennyCook line, and about eighty above the old Head's Mills in Pembroke."

Early Haystacking. Joseph Abbott, in a deposition taken in 1752, during the Bow Controversy, testified that, the next spring after the allotment of lands, those engaged in building the block house in Penacook, "turned their horses to some stacks of hay, said to be cut there by some of the admitted settlers the year before."

The Minister's Lot. This was not "adjoining the land where the" first "meeting-house stood," as would seem to have been literally prescribed in the original grant.

An Ancient Vote. "Agreed and Voted—That threepence per tail for every rattlesnake's tail, the rattlesnake being killed within the bounds of the township granted at PennyCook, be paid by the intended settlers; the money to be paid by the settlers' treasurer, upon sight of the tail." *Proprietors' Records, Feb. 8, 1727.*

The Plan Destroyed. Richard Hazzen was requested "to draw a plan of PennyCook," to be annexed to the "town's books." "The tradition is," says Dr. Bouton, "that he drew the plan, but, on account of some misunderstanding about the pay for it, he burnt it up."

Difficulties and Mishaps of Travel. It is related that Samuel Ayer, a young proprietor, once took a barrel of pork in a cart, drawn by six or ten pairs of oxen over the road from Haverhill to Penacook, and

having reached Sugar Ball descent, succeeded in getting down without accident, by taking off all but one pair of eattle, and fastening behind the conveyance a pine tree so trimmed that its stubby limbs would retard motion. But, in swimming the oxen to the west side of the river, he lost one of them by drowning. The flesh, however, being immediately dressed, the unfortunate animal afforded an accidental supply of beef, as a variety to the contents of the pork barrel which it had helped to bring forty miles over the rough road through the wilderness. The anecdote is told of Captain Eastman that, on a horseback journey to Haverhill, he bought a barrel of molasses, which he intended by some means to bring home with him to Penacook. He contrived what was called a "ear," a conveyance made with two shafts which were fastened to the horse and to a drag on the ground. With his barrel of molasses lashed to the car with ropes, on his homeward journey he got along well until, having crossed Soucook river, he had to ascend a high hill, near the top of which the horse made a short stop. On a new start, the ropes gave way and the barrel, in mad rush down hill, was dashed in pieces against a tree.

Enoch Coffin and Bezaliel Toppan. Mr. Coffin, as has been seen, preached on Sugar Ball plain, at the first survey in 1726. He was of Newbury, and died in the summer of 1728, at the age of thirty-two. Mr. Toppan was, at this time, about twenty-two years old, and a physician as well as a minister. He was a son of the Rev. Christopher Toppan, of Newbury, a elergyman of some note, who had taken much interest in the establishment of the plantation. The tradition exists that the son preached the first sermon after the settlement in 1727, under a tree, before the log meeting-house was built. He was afterwards settled in the ministry at Salem, Mass., where he died in 1762.

The Ferryman's Abode. The house of John Merrill, the ferryman, was at or near the junction of what were to be Turnpike and Water streets, northerly of the gas works.

The First Blacksmith. The ten-acre lot of Cutting Noyes, the blacksmith, seems to have been on the west side of Main street, somewhat south of the modern Warren street junction. Pecker's lot was No. 23 in the first range, and north of the modern Depot street. (See plan appearing elsewhere in these notes.) Cutting's forty acres were subsequently laid out on the east side of Main street.

The Minister's Salary. "The late John Farmer, Esq., estimated Mr. Walker's salary of £100, at \$131.67; adding £20, it would be \$156.83." *Bouton's Concord, 97.*

Rev. Samuel Phillips. This gentleman was an original proprietor,

and was much interested in the plantation. He wrote to the court's committee, in 1726, requesting to be entered "as one of the proprietors," adding: "I have sons growing up, and the land which I have here settled upon is parsonage land." Two of those sons, John and Samuel, together founded Andover academy; while the former founded Exeter academy and the professorship of divinity in Dartmouth college.

The "Twenty Acres" Division. No plan of this division has been preserved. The lots were laid off in different parts of the township. The original bounds are recorded in the Proprietors' Records, Vol. II. Ten of the lots were laid off north of the Contoocook road—extending from the north end of Main street into the neighborhood of the West village; ten on the Hopkinton road, in the vicinity of the jail, westward of the Bradley monument; and several west of the "second range," on Main street. *Bouton's Concord (Proprietary Records), 127.*

"Emendation Lots." These lots were laid off in different parts of the township, and in different quantities, in order "to make the interval lots belonging to the proprietors equal as to quantity and quality." The bounds are given in the Proprietors' Records, Vol. II, but can scarcely be recognized at the present day. The division was made between November, 1732, and December, 1734. *Bouton's Concord (Proprietary Records), 109–110.*

FIRST SURVEY AND DIVISION OF HOUSE AND HOME LOTS ON THE WEST SIDE OF MERRIMACK RIVER, IN MAY, 1726, WITH PLAN.

Here follows the alphabetical list of the proprietors, with their house and home lots, and the plan thereof, referred to in a note to the text:

THE NAMES OF PROPRIETORS

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED, WITH THE HOUSE AND HOME LOTS, LAID OUT IN MAY, 1726, AND SEVERALLY DRAWN IN 1727.

[By reference to the accompanying plan, the exact location of each settler may be ascertained.]

Names, Alphabetically Arranged.	Number, Quantity, and Range of House Lots.			Six-Acre, or Home Lots, and Range.		
	No.	Quan.	Range.	No.	Quan.	Range.
Abbot, Nathaniel.....	12	1½	Second Range.	53	8.74	Great Plain.
Austen, John.....	7	1½	First Range.	5	5.128	Great Plain.
Ayres, Samuel.....	5	1½	Island Range.	9	5.	Island.
Ayres, John.....	2	1½	Island Range.	6	9.16	Island.
Abbot, Jacob.....	12	1½	First Range.	47	6.126	Great Plain.
Ayers, Obadiah.....	5	9.69	L'w'st Range*			
Barker, Zebediah, <i>alias</i> Edward Abbot.....	16	1½	Second Range.	57	6.20	Great Plain.
Blanchard, Thomas.....	21	1½	Second Range.	42	5.150	Great Plain.
Barker, William.....	36	1½	Third Range.	59	6¾	Great Plain.
Barker, Nathaniel, <i>alias</i> Solomon Martin.....	19	1½	Second Range.	47	7.	Great Plain.
Bayley, Joshua.....	33	1½	First Range.	24	6.104	Great Plain.
Boardman, Moses, <i>alias</i> Josiah Jones.....	32	1½	First Range.	23	6.96	Great Plain.
Blodgett, Nathan.....	15	1½	Second Range.	56	6.	Great Plain.
Bayley, John, <i>alias</i> Samuel White.....	14	1½	First Range.	8	5.130	Great Plain.
Clement, Nathaniel.....	6	9.54	L'w'st Range*			
Chandler, John.....	7	1½	Second Range.	68	6.66	Great Plain.
Carlton, Benjamin.....	18	1½	First Range.	12	5.110	Great Plain.
Carlton, Christopher.....	5	1½	First Range.	7	5.128	Great Plain.
Carlton, Nehemiah.....	13	1½	First Range.	46	6.94	Great Plain.
Coolidge, Richard, <i>alias</i> Samuel Jones.....	11	1½	.....	3	10.	Wat'num.'s.
Coggin, John.....	10	1½	Second Range.	71	7½	Great Plain.
Clark, Edward.....	7	1½	Island Range.	4	11½	Island.
Coffin, Enoch.....	36	1½	First Range.	26	7.104	Great Plain.
Coleman, Thomas.....	8	1½	First Range.	4	5.128	Great Plain.
Cogswell, Nathaniel.....	38	1½	Third Range.	2	8.50	Wat'num.'s.
Day, Moses.....	25	1½	First Range.	19	4.100	Great Plain.
Davis, Joseph.....	44	1½	Third Range.	8	6.93	Wat'num.'s.
Davis, Samuel.....	46	1½	Third Range.	10	6½	Wat'num.'s.
Dodge, David.....	4	1½	First Range.	48	5.73	Great Plain.
Davis, Ephraim.....	10	1½	First Range.	2	5.32	Great Plain.
Eastman, Ebenezer.....	9	1½	Second Range.	70	6¾	Great Plain.
Eames, Jacob.....	23	1½	Second Range.	40	5½	Great Plain.
Emerson, Stephen.....	9	1½	First Range.	3	5.128	Great Plain.
Foster, John.....	20	1½	First Range.	14	5.105	Great Plain.

* The Lowest Range was "The Eleven Lots," and (9 acres 69 poles) included House and Home Lots.

THE NAMES OF PROPRIETORS.—Continued.

Names, Alphabetically Arranged.	Number, Quantity, and Range of House Lots.			Six-Acre, or Home Lots, and Range.		
	No.	Quan.	Range.	No.	Quan.	Range.
Farnum, Ephraim.....	15	1½	First Range.	9	5.130	Great Plain.
Foster, Abraham.....	3	1½	Second Range.	64	4.50	Great Plain.
Fisk, Nathan, <i>alias</i> Zachariah Chandler.....	4	1½	Second Range.	65	4.152	Great Plain.
Grainger, John.....	1	1½	Second Range.	62	7.60	Great Plain.
Grainger, Samuel.....	22	1½	Second Range.	41	4.96	Great Plain.
Gage, Benjamin.....	8	9.33	Eleven Lots.	8		
Gutterson, William.....	27	1½	First Range.	21	5.93	Great Plain.
Heath, Nehemiah.....	3	1½	Island Range.	7	2.114	Island.
Hildreth, Ephraim.....	10	8¾	Eleven Lots.	10		
Hale, Joseph.....	29	1½	First Range.	45	6.	Great Plain.
Hazzen, Moses.....	31	1½	First Range.	37	6.27	Great Plain.
Hazzen, Richard.....	9	8¾	Eleven Lots.	9		
Hubbard, Jonathan, <i>alias</i> Daniel Davis.....	30	1½	First Range.	36	11¾	Great Plain.
Hall, Joseph.....	2	9.107	Eleven Lots.	2		
Johnson, Timothy.....	2		.....	1	5.138	Island.
Jaques, John.....	17	1½	First Range.	11	5.130	Great Plain.
Jones, Nathaniel.....	6	1½	Second Range.	62	6.20	Great Plain.
Kimball, Robert.....	43	1½	Third Range.	7	6.66	Wat'num.'s.
Kimball, Samuel.....	18	1½	Second Range.	103	6.50	Great Plain.
Kimball, David.....	24	1½	First Range.	18	6.50	Great Plain.
Lovejoy, Nathaniel.....	22	1½	First Range.	16	5.95	Great Plain.
Lovejoy, Ebenezer.....	4	1½	Island Range.	8	4.64	Island.
Learned, Thomas.....	40	1½	Third Range.	4	7.50	Wat'num.'s.
Mattis, John.....	20	1½	Second Range.	43	10.100	Great Plain.
Merrill, John.....	27	1½	Second Range.	34	8.100	Great Plain.
Mitchell, Andrew.....	19	1½	First Range.	13	5.110	Great Plain.
Minister.....	1	1½	First Range.	51	6.90	Great Plain.
Nichols, Benjamin.....	11	1½	First Range.	1	3.70	Great Plain.
Osgood, John.....	11	8¾	Eleven Lots.*	11		
Osgood, Stephen.....	8	1½	Island Range.	3	8½	Island.
Parker, Benjamin.....	37	1½	Third Range.	1	6.62	Wat'num.'s.
Page, Thomas.....	3	1½	First Range.	49	5.16	Great Plain.
Peaslee, Robert.....	26	1½	First Range.	20	6.20	Great Plain.
Parker, Joseph.....	24	1½	Second Range.	39	6½	Great Plain.
Parker, Nathan.....	8	1½	Second Range.	69	7.128	Great Plain.
Page, Nathaniel.....	34	1½	Second Range.	28	7.50	Great Plain.
Phillips, Samuel.....	25	1½	Second Range.	38	7.40	Great Plain.
Parker, James.....	28	1½	First Range.	22	6.48	Great Plain.
Pulsipher, Jonathan.....	4	9½	Eleven Lots.	4		
Peaslee, Nathaniel.....	1	9¾	Eleven Lots.	1		
Pecker, John.....	23	1½	First Range.	17	5.90	Great Plain.
Page, Joseph.....	29	1½	Second Range.	32	6.120	Great Plain.
Peabody, John.....	37	1½	First Range.	27	6.120	Great Plain.
Parsonage.....	41	1½	Third Range.	50	6.90	Great Plain.
Reynolds, Samuel.....	16	1½	First Range.	10	5.130	Great Plain.
Rolfe, Henry.....	45	1½	Third Range.	9	7.	Wat'num.'s.
Sanders, John.....	13	1½	Second Range.	54	6.20	Great Plain.
Stevens, Ebenezer.....	17	1½	Second Range.	58	7.140	Great Plain.
Sanders, John, Jr.....	21	1½	First Range.	15	5.100	Great Plain.
Sanders, Nathaniel.....	32	1½	Second Range.	30	8.	Great Plain.
Stevens, Benjamin.....	1	1½	Island Range.	5	5½	Island.
Simonds, James.....	2	1½	First Range.	5	8.	Wat'num.'s.
Simonds, Nathan.....	31	1½	Second Range.	31	6.140	Great Plain.
Shipley, Jonathan.....	5	1½	Second Range.	66	6¾	Great Plain.
Snow, Zorababel.....	35	1½	Third Range.	61	6.28	Great Plain.
School.....		1½	.....	60	5¾	Great Plain.

* "The Eleven Lots" included House and Home Lots.

THE NAMES OF PROPRIETORS.—*Concluded.*

Names, Alphabetically Arranged.	Number, Quantity, and Range of House Lots.			Six-Acre, or Home Lots, and Range.		
	No.	Quan.	Range.	No.	Quan.	Range.
Toppan, Samuel.....	2	1½	Second Range.	63	5.36	Great Plain.
Toppan, Bezaleel.....	11	1½	Second Range.	52	6.104	Great Plain.
Uran, Richard.....	42	1½	Third Range.	6	8.	Wat'num.'s.
Virgin, Ebenezer.....	6	1½	Island Range.	10	5.128	Island.
Wright, John.....	33	1½	Second Range.	29	7.	Great Plain.
White, William.....	7	9¼	Eleven Lots.	7		
White, Nicholas.....	3	9.35	Eleven Lots.	3		
Wise, Ammi Ruha ^m	26	1½	Second Range.	35	8½	Great Plain.
Walker, Isaac.....	28	1½	Second Range.	33	6¾	Great Plain.
Wood, David.....	9	1½	Island Range.	2	5.70	Island.
Whittier, William.....	2			6	5.128	Great Plain.
Wicomb, Thomas.....	14	1½	Second Range.	55	6.	Great Plain.
Winn, Edward.....	34	1½	First Range.	25	6.107	Great Plain.
Mill Grant on Turkey River..	140 acres on Turkey River.			[Main street.		
Noyes Cutting Grant.....	40 acres, east side of river, and 10, 2d Range,					
Mill Grant to Nathan Simonds	100 acres on the east side.					

SECOND DIVISION OF INTERVAL MOSTLY ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE MERRIMACK RIVER, SURVEYED AND LAID OUT IN MAY, 1727.

Here follow the tabulated allotments referred to in a note to the text. They are recorded in the Proprietors' Records, Vol. I, pp. 29-43.

MILL BROOK INTERVAL—FIRST RANGE.

No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
1. Edward Abbot.....	2½	13. John Chandler.....	4
2. John Foster.....	2½	14. Bezaleel Toppan.....	4½
3. Nehemiah Heath.....	2½	15. John Coggin.....	4½
4. Ebenezer Lovejoy.....	2½	16. Ebenezer Eastman.....	4½
5. Samuel Ayer.....	2½	17. Samuel Davis.....	4½
6. Stephen Osgood.....	2½	18. Nathan Parker.....	4½
7. David Wood.....	4	19. Edward Clark.....	6
8. John Grainger.....	5	20. Benjamin Stevens.....	6
9. William Barker.....	4½	21. Nehemiah Heath.....	3½
10. Timothy Johnson.....	4	22. John Foster.....	3
11. Ebenezer Virgin.....	4½	23. Jonathan Shipley.....	4½
12. Nathaniel Abbot.....	4½	24. Nathaniel Jones.....	4½

MILL BROOK INTERVAL—SECOND RANGE.

No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
1. Abraham Foster.....	5	7. School.....	5
2. John Sanders.....	5	8. Zerobbabel Snow.....	5
3. Thomas Wicomb.....	5	9. Edward Abbot.....	2½
4. Nathan Blodgett.....	5	10. Ebenezer Lovejoy.....	2½
5. Minister.....	6	11. Samuel Ayer.....	2½
6. Parsonage.....	6	12. Stephen Osgood.....	2½

SUGAR BALL PLAIN.

No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
1. Benjamin Nicolls.....	3	5. Benjamin Carlton.....	2½
2. Ephraim Farnum.....	2½	6. Andrew Mitchell.....	2½
3. Nathaniel Lovejoy.....	2½	7. Stephen Emerson.....	2½
4. John Jaques.....	2½	8. Thomas Colman.....	2½

No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
9. Ephraim Davis.....	2½	13. David Kimball.....	5
10. Samuel Reynolds.....	5	14. Moses Day.....	5
11. John Ayer.....	6	15. John Pecker.....	2½
12. Samuel White.....	5	16. John Sanders.....	2½

MIDDLE PLAIN.

No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
1. Thomas Coleman.....	4	15. Jacob Eames.....	5
2. Ephraim Davis.....	3	16. Samuel Grainger.....	5
3. Benjamin Niccolls.....	3	17. John Mattis.....	5
4. Stephen Emerson.....	2½	18. John Osgood.....	3
5. Ephraim Farnum.....	2½	19. Ephraim Hildreth.....	3
6. Nathaniel Lovejoy.....	2½	20. Richard Hazzen, Jr.....	3
7. John Jaques.....	2½	21. Benjamin Gage.....	3
8. Benjamin Carlton.....	2½	22. William White.....	3
9. Andrew Mitchell.....	2½	23. Nathaniel Clement.....	3
10. John Sanders, Jr.....	2½	24. Obadiah Ayer.....	3 (?)
11. John Pecker.....	2½	25. Jonathan Pulsepher.....	3
12. James Parker.....	5	26. Nicholas White.....	3
13. Robert Peaslee.....	5	27. Joseph Hall.....	3
14. Joseph Parker.....	5	28. Nathaniel Peaslee.....	3

LOWEST INTERVAL—EAST SIDE OF THE RIVER.

No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
1. Nathaniel Peaslee.....	4¾	17. Jonathan Hubbard.....	2½
2. Joseph Hall.....	4¾	18. Ammi Ru ^h Wise.....	2½
3. Nicholas White.....	4¾	19. Thomas Blanchard.....	2½
4. Jonathan Pulsipher.....	4¾	20. Moses Hazzen.....	2½
5. Obadiah Ayer.....	4¾	21. Isaac Walker.....	2½
6. Nathaniel Clement.....	4¾	22. Nathan Simons.....	2½
7. William White.....	4¾	23. Joseph Page.....	2½
8. Benjamin Gage.....	4¾	24. Nathaniel Sanders.....	2½
9. Richard Hazzen, Jr.....	4¾	25. John Wright.....	2½
10. Ephraim Hildreth.....	4¾	26. Nathaniel Page.....	2½
11. John Osgood.....	5	27. Nathan Fisk, <i>alias</i> Zachariah Chandler.....	5
12. Joseph Hale.....	2½	28. Solomon Martin.....	5
13. John Peabody.....	2½	29. Samuel Kemball.....	5
14. Edward Winn.....	2½	30. William Gutterson.....	5
15. Josiah Jones.....	2½	31. John Merrill.....	5
16. Joshua Bayley.....	2½		

RATTLESNAKE PLAINS.

No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
1. David Dodge.....	5	10. Benjamin Parker.....	4
2. Samuel Toppan.....	5	11. Thomas Perley, for Nathaniel Cogswell.....	4
3. Christopher Carlton.....	5	12. Samuel Jones.....	4
4. Nehemiah Carlton.....	5	13. Thomas Larned.....	2½
5. Jacob Abbott.....	5	14. James Simons.....	2
6. William Whittier.....	5	15. Robert Kimball.....	2½
7. Thomas Page.....	5	16. Joseph Davis.....	2½
8. John Austin.....	4	17. Richard Urann.....	3
9. Henry Rolfe.....	4		

“FROG PONDS.”

No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
1. Enoch Coffin.....	5	9. Moses Hazzen.....	(?)
2. Samuel Phillips.....	5	10. Thomas Blanchard.....	2½
3. Nathaniel Page.....	2½	11. Ammi Ru ^h Wise.....	2½
4. John Wright.....	2½	12. Jonathan Hubbard.....	2½
5. Nathaniel Sanders.....	2½	13. Joshua Bayley.....	2½
6. Nathan Simons.....	2½	14. Josiah Jones.....	2½
7. Joseph Page.....	2½	15. Edward Winn.....	2½
8. Isaac Walker.....	2½	16. John Peabody.....	2½

NINE MISCELLANEOUS LOTS.

Laid out to Nathaniel Abbot, "all that swamp betwixt his first division of interval and Merrimack river, containing one acre and a quarter, more or less."

To Joseph Hale, two acres of swamp adjoining Abbot's.

To David Wood, one acre of swamp adjoining Hale's.

To Benjamin Nicolls, one acre of swamp adjoining Wood's.

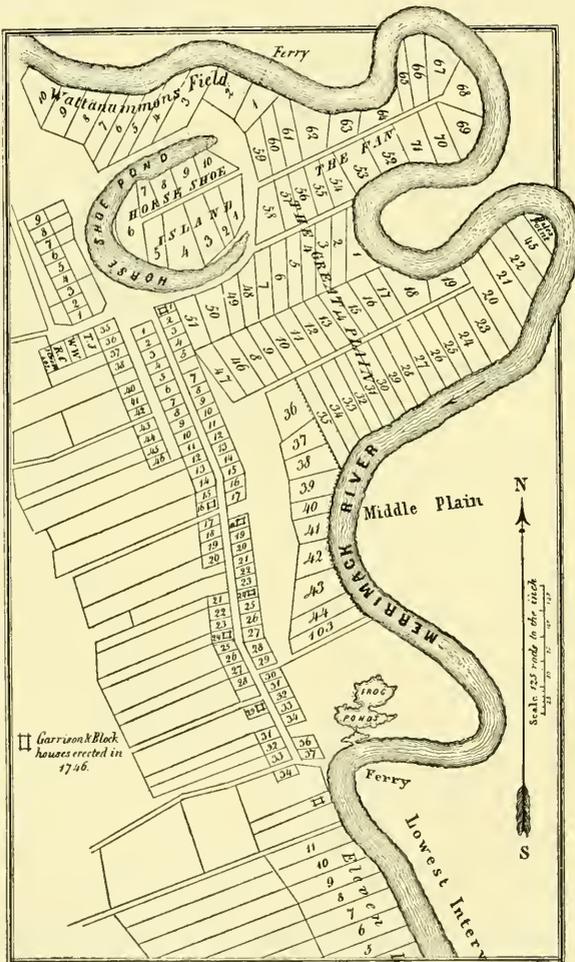
To John Austin, one acre of swamp adjoining Nicolls.

To Ebenezer Stevens, four and a half acres of land, bounded on Benjamin Parker's lot, on one side, and Horse Shoe Pond and the brook that runs out of it on the other.

To William Barker, all that land lying betwixt the highway that runs by his interval lot, and the brook that runs through Horse Shoe Pond, containing thirty-five poles, more or less.

To Ebenezer Virgin, the land betwixt his first division of interval and the brook that runs out of Horse Shoe Pond—forty poles.

To Timothy Johnson, the land lying betwixt his first division of interval and Horse Shoe Pond brook—one acre and a half.



Badger's Plan of Proprietors' Lots, as laid out in 1726.
 (Especially to be consulted in connection with pages 142-144.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE TOWN OF RUMFORD.—FALLS WITHIN JURISDICTION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1734—1742.

As before suggested, Henry Rolfe made petition to the general court of Massachusetts praying, “for himself and the grantees of the plantation of PennyCook” that “they might be heard to make it appear—that they” had “fulfilled the conditions of their grant, and that thereupon they” might “be allowed to bring in a bill to erect the plantation into a township.” Leave having been granted, the petitioners, on the 9th of February, 1734, brought in the following bill:

“An Act for erecting a new town within the county of Essex, at a plantation called PennyCook, by the name of Rumford.

“Whereas, the plantation of PennyCook, so called, of the contents of seven miles square and one hundred rods extending on the south bounds the full breadth of said plantation,—which has by this court formerly been and hereby is declared to lie in the county of Essex, is completely filled with inhabitants, who have built and finished a convenient meeting-house for the public worship of God, and some time since have settled a learned Orthodox minister among them; and have, to full satisfaction, complied with all the articles and conditions of their grant respecting their settlement; and thereupon have addressed this court to be erected into a separate and distinct township, and hold and enjoy equal powers and privileges with the other towns in the province:

“Be it enacted by His Excellency the Governor, and Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same—That the plantation of PennyCook, in the county of Essex, as the same is hereafter bounded and described; be and hereby is constituted a separate and distinct township, by the name of RUMFORD; the bounds of said township being as follows, viz.: Beginning where Contoocook river falls into Merrimack river, and thence to extend upon a course east seventeen degrees north three miles, and upon a course west seventeen degrees south four miles, which is the northerly bounds of said township; and from other parts of that line, to be set off southerly at right angles until seven miles and one hundred rods shall be accomplished from the said northern bounds; and the inhabitants thereof be and hereby are vested and endowed with equal powers, privileges, and immunities that the inhabitants of any of the other towns within this province are or ought by law to be vested or endowed with.”

This bill was enacted into a law, on the 27th of February, 1734; and the act of incorporation was confirmed by King George the Second in 1737. But whence came the corporate name of the township is not known. "It is supposed," however, "to have been given from that of a parish in England from which some of the proprietors originated."¹

The anniversary March meeting of the plantation of Penacook, now at hand, was superseded by the first town-meeting of Rumford. By order of the general court, Benjamin Rolfe had notified the "freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Rumford lawfully qualified to vote," to assemble at the meeting-house, on Monday, the 11th day of March, at "two of the clock in the afternoon—to choose" town officers, ". . . and to do . . . other things . . . thought proper for the interest of the inhabitants . . ."² At the meeting thus held, with Ebenezer Eastman as moderator, and Benjamin Rolfe as clerk, the list of officers of the preceding year was filled; "a school" was provided for "so far as the money" previously voted would go; and consent was given for opening a public highway, already laid out by the selectmen, extending from the bridge, southward through "the Eleven Lots and thence to the bend of the river." It was also "voted that the hogs in the town of Rumford be not allowed to go at large but be shut up in inclosures, for the year ensuing." The question whether swine should roam or be enclosed was for some years following annually decided in town-meeting.

But at this first meeting no money was raised for the "ministerial charge and the other charges of the town for" the year 1734; a special order of the general court being requisite to such action. Benjamin's Rolfe's notification of the meeting contained no mention of raising money, as, presumably, the court's order under which he acted contained none.² Here was a hitch in the transition from plantation to town, which was not removed till late in the year. In November Ebenezer Eastman and Henry Rolfe were "chosen to petition the General Court for an order . . . for raising money for defraying the ministerial charge and the other charges of the town for the year and during the court's pleasure."³ The movement seems to have been successful; for, at a town-meeting held on the 26th of December, 1734, "one hundred and ten pounds were raised . . . for defraying the ministerial and school charge and the other necessary charges of the town for the year current."

The transition from plantation to town having been effected,

¹ Bouton's Concord, 141; Annals of Concord, 15.

² Town Records, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 11.

“The Proprietors of PennyCook,” as they had hitherto been styled, became henceforth known as “The Proprietors of the common and undivided lands in the township of Rumford,” and held their meetings and kept their records apart from those of the town; as, indeed, they had begun to do during the last year of the plantation. It was not till 1734 that John Wainwright delivered the proprietary records to Benjamin Rolfe who had succeeded him as clerk three years before. He did so after the proprietors had granted him one hundred acres of land in the township whose early settlement he had efficiently promoted, and after “the inhabitants and freeholders” had deputed their town clerk “to ask and receive of him the book of proceedings.”¹

The town and proprietary organizations, each performing its appropriate functions, coöperated to promote the welfare of Rumford. In 1735 the town added to its official list a surveyor of flax and hemp, and sealer of weights and measures; the former office continuing for some years, the latter remaining permanent. The bounties on wolves and rattlesnakes were continued; as they were to be, with little, if any, interruption till 1749 if not longer. An educational appropriation was made so that “Deacon John Merrill and Mr. James Abbott, or either of them,” might “hire a man to keep school, four months, the next winter and spring.”² The records show similar provision to have been made for schooling in subsequent years. Thus in 1739 the school was ordered to “be kept” from October 20th to April 20th of the succeeding year; and in 1740, from October 15th to April 15th, 1741. At the March meeting of the year last mentioned the selectmen were instructed to hire a schoolmaster for the year ensuing, and to order when and where the school “should be kept.” Doubtless James Seales was teaching at this time. He had been received, in 1737, “to full communion” with the church in Rumford upon recommendation from the church in Boxford, and, in 1739, was given “liberty to build a pew in the one half of the hindermost seat at the west end of the meeting-house, that is, next the window.”³

As hitherto and afterwards, highways within the town received attention, both as to the repair of existing ones, and the acceptance of those newly laid out by the selectmen. Of the latter was one—accepted in 1736—that led to Hale’s Point, and was later to be known as Ferry road, or street. It seems that there was early a ferry at Hale’s Point;⁴ for in 1739 a new highway is described as extending “from where they usually land the great boat coming from Sugar Ball, to the highway that leads to the old fort.”⁵

¹ Town Records, 13.

³ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.

² *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

In 1735 provision was made to better the way leading outward to the country below, in that portion of it between Suncook and Chester, and an appropriation was made towards building a bridge over the Suncook river, at or near the old ferrying-place, where a Penacook boat had plied since 1729.¹ One third of the expense seems to have been borne by Rumford; another third, by the settlers of Suncook who had come in to occupy the grant of 1727; and the remainder, possibly, by Chester.² In a special Rumford town-meeting held on the 10th of December, 1735, the pay was fixed for the men to be employed in building the bridge, and a committee was appointed "to take care that the," work "be well done."³

The minister was remembered, in 1736, in a special appropriation of fifty pounds to enable him "to clear a pasture and bring it to English grass, that he" might "live more comfortable in his family upon the account of a dairy than" hitherto.⁴ The improvement of the meeting-house also came repeatedly in order. Thus, in 1736, Edward Abbott was "impowered to repair and fit up the seats, . . . make a door to the pulpit, and put up the windows"; and in 1738, Jeremiah Stickney and Benjamin Rolfe were ordered "to take care that galleries be built." In 1738, also, Benjamin Rolfe, James Scales, and John Chandler were made a committee "to fence in the burying-place, according to the best of their discretion, at the town's charge."

In November, 1739, from apprehension of Indian mischief a garrison was ordered to be "built around the Reverend Mr. Timothy Walker's dwelling-house, at the town's cost"; and Mr. Barachias Farnum, the miller on Turkey river, was granted five pounds "to enable him to build a flanker to defend his mills," provided he should "keep a garrison at his dwelling-house" in that vicinity—otherwise, the "town" might "convert the flanker to its own use."⁵

With these precautions against "savage men," measures were taken, in December of the same year, to enforce the statute "for the better preservation and increase of deer"—the mildest of wild animals. At a meeting held specially for the purpose, "two meet persons," Joseph Eastman and John Chandler, were chosen "to inform of all breaches of the act, and to take care that the violations thereof be duly prosecuted and punished."⁶ Subsequently, for some years, a similar provision was made.

Meanwhile, "the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in the township" were acting by themselves in meetings held in the Rumford meeting-house. In 1735 they gave liberty to John Chand-

¹ See note at close of chapter.

² Town Records, 23.

³ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴ History of Pembroke, 95.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 25, 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 48, 49.

ler "to build a sawmill on Rattlesnake brook,"—the outlet of Long Pond,—and to have "a convenient yard for his logs and boards"; with the right "to flow the great pond"—these rights to be enjoyed for fifteen years. This privilege, was not, however, to be improved by Captain Chandler for a sawmill; but, a little later, Capt. Henry Lovejoy,¹ who, with Barachias Farnum, had erected mills on Turkey river, came into possession of the premises, and built thereon a grist-mill, and subsequently, a forge, or smelter, where bar iron was made from ore obtained at the bend of the river southeast of the main settlement in the vicinity of Merrill's ferry.² The proprietors also disposed of the common meadow of the town for the year. In 1736 they ordered the six-acre lots of interval to be newly measured, with new bounds, when necessary, and with new plans and a due record made. On the 14th of March, 1737, they selected Benjamin Rolfe, John Chandler, and Ebenezer Eastman, as a committee to lay out a division of the common and undivided land; the said division to be as large as the good land would "allow of, and to be laid out to each grantee or proprietor of Rumford, in one or more pieces, so as to make the lot or lots equal in quality or quantity." This "Eighty Acres Division,"³—as it was called,—though the lots varied, according to quality, from eighty to one hundred and fifty acres, or more, was completed between the 14th of March and the last day of December, 1737; and the report of the committee was accepted at "a meeting of the proprietors regularly assembled at the meeting-house in Rumford," on the second day of February, 1738, and, with accompanying plans, was ordered to be "entered in the proprietors book."

The usual town-meetings of those days—both the annual in March and the occasional ones—were held upon warrants issued by the selectmen to a constable, setting forth the time, place, and objects of meeting, and ordering him to notify accordingly, "the inhabitants and freeholders." By virtue of the warrant, the constable placed "a notification of said meeting with the cause thereof at the meeting-house door." In the case of a meeting for choice of a representative to the general assembly of Massachusetts, the selectmen's warrant required the constable "to notify the freeholders and the inhabitants" having "an estate of freehold in land within the province . . . of forty shillings per annum at the least, or other estate to the value of fifty pounds sterling, to assemble, . . . and elect," by a major vote, some "freeholder and resident of the town" "to represent them in the great or general court to be held for his Majesty's service at the Court House in Boston." The first of such meetings in Rumford,

¹ *Granite Monthly*, May, 1893.

² Above the Lower, or Concord Bridge; Bouton's Concord, 546.

³ See note at close of chapter; Bouton's Concord, 128.

held on the 19th of May, 1735, was presided over by a moderator; but the subsequent ones had not this officer; "the selectmen regulating" them "agreeably to law"—as the record stands.¹ At that first meeting, as also at those held in 1736, '37, '38, it was voted not to send a representative. It would seem that, in thus waiving the right of representation, the men of Rumford were satisfied with their custom of employing special agents to bring their special wants to the favorable attention of the legislature, without incurring the greater expense of a regular representative. So, while declining, in 1736, to choose a representative to the general court, they selected Henry Rolfe to appear there as an agent, and "to use proper means to get the county of Essex divided into two counties"—a division which they felt would much promote their convenience.

The provincial boundary question, long pending, was still a burning one. After 1730, when Jonathan Belcher acceded to the governorship of both provinces, and the death of Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth soon after occurred, the question became complicated with that of entirely separating New Hampshire from Massachusetts, by giving the former province a governor of its own. Many of the most influential political leaders in New Hampshire were earnestly bent upon accomplishing this purpose, and were also strenuously urgent for settling the boundary lines,—particularly the southern one,—hoping thus to ensure to the province not only fixed but enlarged limits. In this they carried with them the majority of the people, and, of course, of the assembly. On the contrary, the leading men of Massachusetts, with Governor Belcher himself and his friends in New Hampshire, including a majority of the council, "were averse to pressing the settlement of the line";² hoping for a permanent "union" of the provinces, which they knew not how to effect. "But the governor, as obliged by his instructions, frequently urged the settlement of the lines in his speeches."³ A fruitless conference of committees from both provinces was held at Newbury in 1731; after which a majority of the New Hampshire assembly "determined no longer to treat with Massachusetts; but to represent the matter to the King, and petition him to decide the controversy."³ In place of Henry Newman,—mentioned in a former chapter,—whose commission had expired, John Rindge, a wealthy merchant of Portsmouth, was appointed by the assembly as agent in England, and entrusted with the petition to his Majesty; but "the council, a majority of which was in the opposite interest, did neither concur in the appointment nor consent to the petition. Mr. Rindge, on his arrival in England," early in 1732, "petitioned the King in his own

¹ Town Records, 20, 30.

² Belknap, 228.

³ *Ibid.*, 229.

name, and in behalf of the representatives of New-Hampshire, to establish the boundaries of the province; but his private affairs requiring his return to America, he did, agreeably to his instructions, leave the business in the hands of Capt. John Thomlinson, merchant, of London; who was well known in New-Hampshire, where he had frequently been in the quality of sea-commander. He was a gentleman of great penetration, industry, and address; and having fully entered into the views of Belcher's opponents, prosecuted the affair of the line, with ardor and diligence; employing for his solicitor," the capable and untiring Ferdinando John Parris.¹ The two proved more than a match for the Massachusetts agents before the lords of trade, to whom the petition was referred. In 1733 Parris moved the question, "From what part of Merrimack river the line should begin?" In 1734 the attorney and solicitor-general, to whom the question was referred, after hearing counsel on both sides, expressed the opinion, "that according to the charter of William and Mary, the dividing line ought to be taken from three miles north of the Merrimack, where it runs into the sea." Copies of this opinion having been given to both parties, "the lords of trade reported, that the King should appoint commissioners from the neighboring provinces, to mark out the dividing line. This report was approved by the lords of council."² Twenty commissioners having accordingly been appointed "from among the councillors of New-York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Nova Scotia, of whom five were to be a quorum,"² eight of the appointees—three from Nova Scotia, and five from Rhode Island—met at Hampton on the 1st day of August, 1737, "published their commission," and "opened their court."² New Hampshire, by her committee of eight,—four of the council, and four of the assembly,—promptly delivered her claim and demand in the following words: "That the southern boundary of said province should begin at the end of three miles north from the middle of the channel of Merrimack river, where it runs into the Atlantic ocean; and thence should run on a straight line, west, up into the mainland (toward the South sea) until it meets his Majesty's other governments. And that the northern boundary of New-Hampshire should begin at the entrance of Pascataqua harbor, and so pass up the same, into the river of Newichwannock, and through the same, into the farthest head thereof; and thence north-westward, (that is, north, less than a quarter of a point, westwardly) as far as the British dominion extends; and also the western half of Isles of Shoals, we say, lies within the province of New-Hampshire."³

But Massachusetts was not ready to proceed, and the court ad-

¹ Belknap, 229.

² *Ibid.*, 239.

³ *Ibid.*, 242.

journed for a week, to give her time. The court met on the 8th of August, according to adjournment. The claim of Massachusetts was presented by her committee of eleven—five of the council, and six of the assembly; one of the latter being Henry Rolfe, of Newbury, so prominent among the proprietors of Penacook. The court having ordered copies of the respective claims of the two provinces to be drawn and exchanged, and having appointed as an additional clerk, Benjamin Rolfe, the capable son of Henry, and one of Rumford's most trusted citizens, adjourned till the 10th of August. The claim put in by Massachusetts was for "a boundary line, on the southerly side of New-Hampshire, beginning at the sea, three English miles north from the Black Rocks, so called, at the mouth of the river Merrimack, as it emptied itself into the sea sixty years ago; thence running parallel with the river, as far northward as the crotch or parting of the river; thence due north, as far as a certain tree, commonly known for more than seventy years past by the name of Endicott's tree, standing three miles northward of said crotch or parting of Merrimack river; and thence due west to the south sea." This was the line noted in a previous chapter and steadily insisted upon through many years. On the northerly (or easterly) side of New-Hampshire, was claimed a boundary line, "beginning at the entrance of Pascataqua harbor; passing up the same to the river Newichwanock; through that to the farthest head thereof, and thence a due northwest line, till one hundred and twenty miles from the mouth of Pascataqua harbor be finished."¹

When the commissioners came together on the tenth of the month, they had nine members in attendance; for Philip Livingston appeared from New York, and, "being senior in nomination, presided in the court." They also had the assemblies of both provinces near by, in accordance with the prorogation of the governor; that of New Hampshire meeting at Hampton Falls, and that of Massachusetts at Salisbury, five miles apart. The court then heard the case, which was closely and sharply contested. The points in debate were: Whether Merrimack river, at that time, emptied itself into the sea, at the same place where it did sixty years before; whether it bore the same name, from the sea up to the crotch; and whether it were possible to draw a parallel line, three miles northward of every part of a river, the course of which was, in some places, from north to south."² The controverted points in respect to the boundary line between New Hampshire and Maine, the latter then being a part of Massachusetts, were: "Whether it should run up the middle of the river, or on its northeastern shore; and whether the line, from the head of the river,

¹ Belknap, 243.

² *Ibid.*, 245.

should be due northwest, or only a few degrees westward of north.”¹ The judgment of the commissioners as to the northern boundary line of Massachusetts, or in other words, the southern one of New Hampshire, was alternative and dependent upon the answer to the question, “Whether the charter of William and Mary granted to Massachusetts all the lands which were granted by the charter of Charles the First.” Since to this question they gave no answer, leaving that “to the wise consideration of His Most Sacred Majesty in his privy council,” their judgment settled nothing. It merely suggested that, with an affirmative answer to the question, the claim of Massachusetts should be affirmed: but that, with a negative answer, her claim should be denied; or rather, that the claim of New Hampshire should be sustained except as to the initial point of the westward running line, which, instead of being “three miles north from the middle of the channel of the Merrimack where it runs into the sea,” should be “three miles north from the southerly side of the Black Rocks,” situated three fourths of a mile farther north than the river’s mouth as claimed by New Hampshire.

As to the northern (or eastern) boundary between the provinces, the court determined “That the dividing line” should “pass through the mouth of Pascataqua harbor, and up the middle of the river Newichwamock, (part of which is now called Salmon Falls), . . . to the farthest head thereof, and thence north, two degrees westerly, until one hundred and twenty miles be finished from the mouth of Pascataqua harbor, or until it meets with His Majesty’s other governments; and that,” furthermore, “the dividing line” should “part the Isles of Shoals” between the provinces.

It is not desirable for present purposes, to pursue the obstinate contention which ensued in England over the evasive decree of the commissioners, and which, for more than two years, was carried on before the board of trade and the lords of council, by the agents of the two provinces—Thomlinson and Parris, for New Hampshire, and Quincy, Wilks, and Partridge, for Massachusetts. It must suffice here to record the final decree of King George the Second in council, determining the long and vexatious controversy. This was made on the 5th of March, 1740, and entirely ignored the much mooted question, “whether the new charter” of Massachusetts “granted all the lands comprehended in the old.” It was deemed equitable that the parallel line should extend at the distance of three miles north of the Merrimack as far as that river flowed from west to east, since, when the first grant was made, such was supposed to be its entire course. “But, as on the one hand, if by pursuing the

¹ Belknap, 245.

course of the river up into the country, it had been found to have a southern bend, it would have been inequitable to have contracted the Massachusetts grant; so, on the other hand, when it appeared to have a northern bend, it was equally inequitable to enlarge it." ¹ Therefore it was determined "That the northern boundary of the province of Massachusetts be a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack River, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Pawtucket Falls; and a straight line drawn from thence due west, till it meets with His Majesty's other governments." ¹

Having thus established the southern line without regard to the finding of the commissioners, the king affirmed their decree respecting the northern line. The royal determination as to the southern line gave to New Hampshire a tract of country, east of the Connecticut, "fourteen miles in breadth, and above fifty in length, more than" it "had ever claimed. It cut off from Massachusetts twenty-eight new townships between Merrimack and Connecticut rivers; besides large tracts of vacant land, which lay intermixed; and districts from six of" its "old towns on the north side of the Merrimack." ¹

Rumford, one of the townships cut off, was loyal to Massachusetts. It was but natural that its inhabitants should feel distrustful reluctance to fall within the untried jurisdiction of a province whose authorities had, in 1726, at the survey and allotment of Penacook lands, forbidden them the premises, and a year later had spread the township of Bow over the plantation itself, as an abiding, albeit as yet a latent, menace of evil. So, as early as the 11th of June, 1740, the disquieted "freeholders and inhabitants"—now, for the first time, exercising the right of choosing a representative to the general court—elected Benjamin Rolfe to serve in that capacity, and empowered him, in their name and behalf, "to prefer a petition to His Majesty, that they" might "be quieted in their possessions and remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay." ² In Massachusetts, amid the disappointment and chagrin felt over the royal decree, it was resolved to relieve the heavy blow, if possible, by sending a new agent to England, "to petition the King that he would re-annex to the Massachusetts government the twenty-eight new townships which had been cut off, and the districts of the six old towns. It was also thought prudent that the whole province should not openly appear in the affair; but that petitions should be drawn by the inhabitants of these towns, and that the agent should be chosen by them." ³ Accordingly, at a town-meeting held in Rumford on the 26th of September, 1740, the inhabitants, being "in-

¹ Belknap, 257.

² Town Records, 55.

³ Belknap, 258.

formed that, by the determination of His Majesty in council respecting the controverted bounds between the province of Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire, they "were excluded from the province of the Massachusetts Bay to which they always supposed themselves to belong, unanimously voted that a petition be preferred to the King's Most Excellent Majesty setting forth" their "distressed estate, and praying that" they might "be annexed to the said Massachusetts province." "Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.," was "empowered to present the petition to His Majesty"—the same having been signed "in the name and behalf of the town" by "Benjamin Rolfe, Esq., Town Clerk." And it was also provided that if the said Hutchinson should "refuse the service or otherwise be prevented from the same," the said Rolfe might make choice of some other suitable person.¹ Thomas Hutchinson, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, went to England as agent, and there presented and urged the petitions; but finding "Thomlinson too hard an antagonist,"² he failed in his mission. For it was held "that it never could be for His Majesty's service to annex any part of his province of New-Hampshire, as an increase of territory to Massachusetts."²

It remained "to run out and mark the lines." This work was mostly done early in 1741, and *ex parte* by New Hampshire, for the Massachusetts assembly failed to join in appointing surveyors. "George Mitchell surveyed and marked the similar curve line, from the ocean, three miles north of Merrimack river, to a station north of Pawtucket Falls, in the township of Draeut."³ Richard Hazzen, a proprietor of Penacook, and the surveyor of its lands in 1726 and 1727, beginning at the Draeut station, marked the line thence westward, across the Connecticut river to the reputed eastern boundary line of New York, twenty miles east of the Hudson.

The return of the lines to the board of trade was one of Governor Belcher's last official acts; for the opposition which, from various motives, he had encountered during the boundary contention, at last proved too much for him. In 1741 he was removed from office, and was succeeded in Massachusetts by William Shirley, and in New Hampshire by Benning Wentworth, a son of the lieutenant-governor of a dozen years before. Thus the latter province secured what a majority of its people desired—its own governor, having no connection with Massachusetts.

Rumford, in population, and in all the resources and advantages of an intelligent, industrious, well-ordered, and consequently thriving settlement, was the most important town in the valley of the upper Merrimack. Not the least among its advantages were the services

¹ Town Records, 57-8.² Belknap, 258.³ *Ibid.*, 259.

of its first regular physician, Dr. Ezra Carter, who came hither from South Hampton, in 1740, to contribute by skilful medical practice to the welfare of his own community and of the neighboring region, and by general ability and popular qualities to become prominent in the civil affairs of his chosen settlement.

Rumford had Canterbury on the east and northeast, an original New Hampshire township, then extending to the "crotch" of the river, and sparsely settled. It had on the north, Contoocook, granted by Massachusetts in 1732, and containing twenty-five families.¹ On the west lay New-Hopkinton, or Hopkinton, with a few settlers,—granted also by Massachusetts, in 1736, as "Number Five" in a line of townships extending from Rumford to Connecticut river, and somewhat overlapping the New Hampshire township of Bow, granted nine years before. Suncook lay along the south. Highways connected all the towns with Rumford, which was a center of dependence for certain wants of the new communities. Especially was this true of the first three. For the proprietors of Hopkinton contributed as early as 1737 twenty pounds for the opening of a highway to Rumford—a fact suggesting that Barachias Farnum's grist-mill was a convenient necessity. And later, in the Indian War, the prominent residents of Contoocook and Canterbury, with some of Rumford, petitioned the governor, council, and assembly of the province, setting forth that they were "greatly distressed for want of suitable grist-mills," and praying that soldiers might be provided to enable Henry Lovejoy to maintain his garrison which he had been compelled to abandon together with his mill on the outlet stream of Long pond, "at a place," as the petitioners averred, "most advantageously situated to accommodate the three towns."² Rumford had eminently prospered under the old jurisdiction, but was now inevitably coming under a new, and the better the grace with which it should do so, the better it might fare. Wisely declining, in 1741, to elect a representative to the assembly of the Bay province, or to grant money "to enable Thomas Hutchinson further to prosecute the affair" of annexation thereto,³ it became the next year a New Hampshire district instead of a Massachusetts town.

NOTES.

The Suncook Ford and Ferry. It is said in the History of Pembroke, pp. 94–95: "We think that . . . till the ferry-boat was used in 1729, the river Suncook was forded somewhere south of the present Osgood or Turnpike bridge; and that the ferry-boat was put

¹ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 186.

² Bouton's Concord, 175-6.

³ Town Records, 3-4.

into the river in 1729, below the falls, in deeper water, where the banks are low, thus giving better opportunity to pass to and from the boat."

The "Eighty Acres" Division. The lots were laid off, sometimes, in different pieces, remote from each other. There were one hundred and seven of them. "Plans of them are preserved in the Proprietors' Records, Vol. III, with the roads and drift-ways reserved which ran through them." *Bouton's Concord (Proprietary Records), 128.*

CHAPTER V.

THE DISTRICT OF RUMFORD.—KING GEORGE'S WAR AND ITS INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

1742–1749.

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

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

¹ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 183.

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

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

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

¹ Town Records, 64-66.

² Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 186.

³ Town Records, 69.

⁶ Benjamin Rolfe’s Memorials, June 27, 1744 and 1749; annals of Concord, 34-5-6.

⁴ Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 97.

⁵ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 185.

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

¹ Town Records, 75.

² Thomas Packer, of Portsmouth, who was high sheriff from 1739-1771; Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 683 (note).

³ Town Records, 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁵ Prov. Papers, Vol. VII, 378.

⁷ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 264; Belknap, 301.

⁶ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 263.

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

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

¹ Belknap, 304.

² Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 82; Belknap, 301.

³ Town Records, 102-3.

⁴ Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

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

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

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

¹ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 95.

² "Canterbury," in *History of Belknap and Merrimack Counties*, 222.

³ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 222-225.

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

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

¹Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 709.

²Benjamin Rolfe's Memorial, cited hereafter; see *Annals of Concord*, 84.

³Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 709-10.

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

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

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

¹ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 713.

² See *facsimile* of paper and signatures in notes at close of chapter.

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

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

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

¹ Annals of Concord, 84-5; Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 253 (note).

² Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 345-46.

³ Town Records, 74-5.

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

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

¹ Town Records, 74-5.

² Adjutant-General's Report, 1866, Vol. II, 60-1; Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 232.

³ Town Records, 78.

⁶ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 322.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁷ Bouton's Concord, 153.

⁵ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 317-8.

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

New Hampshire supplied five hundred of the four thousand men enlisted from the four New England colonies. Rumford contributed its quota, of which were Captain Ebenezer Eastman, Isaac and Nathaniel Abbott, Obadiah Peters, and one Chandler.⁵ These are the only names preserved—and they by tradition—for the official enrolment has disappeared, which would probably increase the list. Of these volunteers, Isaac Abbott was killed during the siege, and Chandler died of disease.⁵ It is a fact, too, that Captain Eastman went the second time to Louisburg⁵ the next year, but upon what duty is not known. It is said that he did special service in the siege under Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan,⁶ who, though declining a regular command, led in some of the boldest and most decisive operations of the unique siege, and the Rumford captain must have had with him a full share of perilous work. He had been present in his younger

¹ Belknap, 268.

² *Ibid.*, 269.

³ Annapolis in Nova Scotia.

⁴ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 286.

⁵ Bouton’s Concord, 152.

⁶ Annals of Concord, 29.

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

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

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

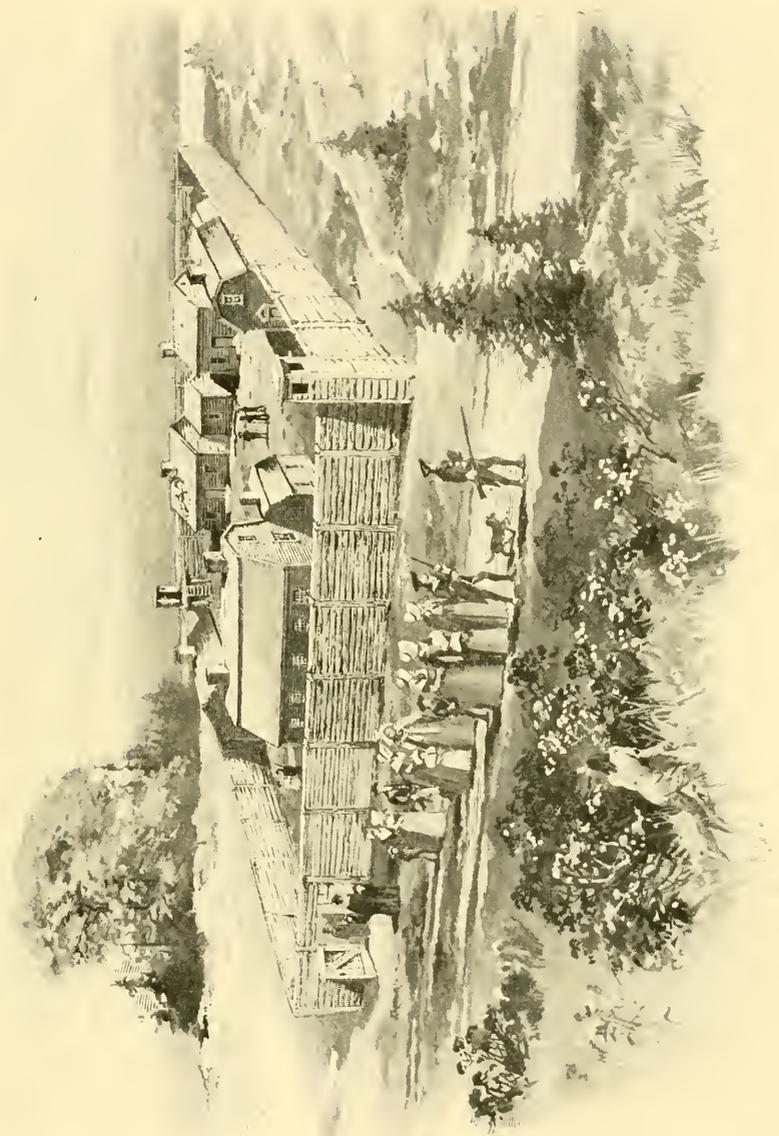
Seven garrisons around the houses of as many proprietors were appointed by “the committee of militia” before mentioned, to be reg-

¹ Adjutant-General's Report, 1866, Vol. II, 77.

² *Ibid.*, 79.

³ Benjamin Rolfe's Memorial, June 27, 1744.

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 154.



Garrison around Rev. Timothy Walker's Dwelling.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Bouton's Concord, 154-156.

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

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

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

¹ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 800.

² Annals of Concord, 35.

³ Adjutant-General’s Report, Vol. II, 93.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Clough's Journal.

² Reuben Abbot's Narrative.

³ Clough's Journal and Abbot's Narrative.

after died. The Indians buried two of their dead in the Great Swamp, under large hemlock logs, and two others in the mud, some distance up the river, where their bones were afterward found.¹ The guns were not heard in the main settlement, "because the wind was not fair to hear," and it was more than an hour afterward that there came a post down from Eastman's fort with the startling intelligence. Then three guns,—the appointed signal of alarm,—fired at Walker's fort, sent soldiers and others to the scene of the tragedy. Reuben Abbot and Abial Chandler at work making hay in the Fan, near Sugar Ball, ran, on hearing the alarm guns, up to the garrison, and found the soldiers who were stationed there, and such men as could be spared, had gone to where the men were killed.¹ They followed, and taking the foot-path somewhat diagonal to the regular route, and lying partly along the course of what subsequently became Washington street, arrived at the spot where the bodies lay as soon as those who went round on the main road.² But the arrival of the soldiers and others was too late for vengeance; at their approach the Indians fled like cowards, leaving their packs and various things which the soldiers took.² The woods were ranged awhile after for the captives,³ but in vain. The bodies of the dead were collected. Samuel Bradley was found in the wood "on the east side of a brook running through the farm formerly owned by one Mitchell,—stripped naked, scalped, and lying on his face in the road, within half a rod of the bridge over that brook." His brother Jonathan lay "about ten feet out of the road, on the south side, and about two rods east of the brook. Obadiah Peters" was found in the road shot through the head. Bean and Lufkin had run from the brook toward the main road about six rods, and fallen within a rod of each other on the north side of the road as traveled² in later days. The bodies of the dead were laid side by side in a cart, which had been sent with a pair of oxen from Eastman's fort; and, as all others refused the gruesome task, Reuben Abbot, then twenty-four years of age, drove the rude ambulance, under guard of soldiers and inhabitants, to James Osgood's garrison. There an excited and sorrowing multitude received the sad procession. "They wept aloud;" and "mothers lifted up their children to see the dead bodies in the cart."⁴ The widow of Samuel Bradley, overwhelmed with anguish, was there with her little son, John, less than three years old, who retained, through a long, useful, and honored life, a vivid impression of the ghastly scene—an impression so strong that a terror of the Indians haunted him for many years.⁴ The next day came an im-

¹ Bouton's Concord, 165.² Reuben Abbot's Narrative.³ Clough's Journal.⁴ Bouton's Concord, 161.

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

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

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

¹ See note at close of chapter.

² Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 541.

³ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 863.

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 166 (note).

⁵ See Bradley Monument at close of chapter.

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

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

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

Another incident has its ludicrous element, but shows the brave

¹ Facts related by Benjamin Gale, grandson of Dr. Ezra Carter; see Bouton's Concord, 177.

² Dr. Ezra Carter's Petition, cited in Annals of Concord, 26.

³ Bouton's Concord, 181.

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

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

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

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

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

³ Town Records, 90.

⁴ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 859.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 860.

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

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

¹ Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 880-1.

² *Ibid.*, 102.

³ Adjutant-General's Report, 1866, Vol. II, 99. ⁴ Committee's report, Bouton's Concord, 174-5.

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

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

¹ Bouton's Concord, 178.

² Annals of Concord, 27.

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

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

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

¹ Town Records, 97.

² Prov. Papers, Vol. V, 906.

³ Adjutant-General’s Report, 1866, Vol. II, 105-6.

⁴ Depositions in the Bow controversy, 1767. Bouton’s Concord, 181-2.

During this time the men of Rumford had also duly exercised the town rights and privileges guaranteed them by the district act and its renewals, so as to meet the requisitions of an enlightened and well-ordered community. They regularly taxed themselves "to defray the ministerial and other necessary charges of Rumford." But, in the year 1749, Rumford lost its town privileges through the non-renewal of the district act. A town-meeting held on the 29th of March of that year was the last corporate one held upon the soil of Rumford for seventeen years: two of the petitions for incorporation as a town presented within that period having proved ineffectual. The incomplete¹ record of that meeting is a suggestive broken edge of the chasm in the town records between 1749 and 1766.

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

NOTES AND INCIDENTS.

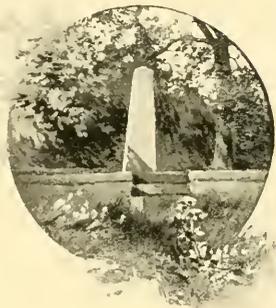
The Graves of those Massacred in 1746. Dr. Bouton, in his History of Concord, published in 1856, says: "The spot where the bodies were buried cannot now be exactly identified; but it was very near the place now enclosed and occupied as the burial plat of the Bradley and Ayer family."

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

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

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

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



The Bradley Monument.

HYMN.

BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

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

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

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

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

Facsimile of Petition for Aid, 1744.

~~Received~~ June 14th 1744

We the Subscribers, Inhabitants of yr town of Dunford Apprehending ourselves greatly exposed to imminent danger both from ye French & Indian Enemy, & being in no capacity to make a good stand in case of an attack from them, we therefore Constituted & appointed Coll^d Benjamin Wolfe as our delegate requesting him in the sd capacity forthwith to repair to Portsmouth & to represent our deplorable case to his Excellency our Capt^l General & ye yeardly Assembly & to request of them on our behalf such aids & assistance with respect of men & military stores as to their great wisdom may seem meet & which may be sufficient to enable us with yr divine blessing vigorously to repel all attempts of our sd enemies against us

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Timothy Walker | Burackias Tamam | Isaac Walker |
| John Chandler | Jeremiah Slickney | Jacob Hunt |
| John Webster | Claron Stevens | Nathaniel Rolfe |
| Edward Abbott | James Abbott | William Walker |
| Timothy Bradley | Edward Abbott | Timothy Walker junr |
| Jamuel Bradley | James Abbott junr | Saml ^r Tidney |
| Joseph Bridney | David Chandler | Jos Colbe |
| Jonathan Bradley | Joseph far nunn | Jard. Woodwell |
| Isaac Walker | Nathaniel Abbott | Rebecca Cursons |
| | Thos farnum | John Tidney |
| | Timothy Clements | Samson Colbe |
| Abul Chandler | Edwin East | Samuel Eastman |
| | Ebenezer Eastman | Matthew Plank |
| | Elenz Young | Prince Guse |
| | Ezra Carter | Joseph Eastman |
| | Philips Eastman | John Tidney |
| | Jeremioh Dresser | Joseph Hall |
| | Benjamin Foster | Isaac Walden |
| | Jacob Ditzbevy | John Merrill |
| | Judah Dibble | George Abbott |
| | Ebenezer Eastman | David Kimball |
| | Philis Kimball | Stephen Farrington |
| | Jeremiah Eastman | Abraham Kimball |
| | Edith Smith | Richard Haskelme |
| | Nathan Young | Benjamin Abbott |
| | Nathaniel Eastman | James Cogswell |
| | Joseph Eastman | Abndt Hoyt |
| | Abraham Bridley | |

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

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

Capt John Chandler was chosen Moderator of this present Meeting.

Voted, that Dr Ezra Carter be Town Clerk.

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

Voted, that Mr Samuel Gray be Constable.

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

Voted, That Edward

CHAPTER VI.

RUMFORD NEITHER TOWN NOR DISTRICT.—THE BOW CONTROVERSY AND MATTERS THEREWITH CONNECTED.—COLONIZATION BY CONCORD SETTLERS.

1749–1762.¹

The story of this chapter is that of the critical period in the history of the town. The Bow controversy, previously referred to, had now reached its acute stage. King George's War was at an end. As a frontier town, Rumford had served as a buffer against Indian attacks for the more southerly settlements of New Hampshire. Relieved of the menace of Indian warfare, the settlers had precipitated upon them a legal controversy affecting the title of their land which threatened to dispossess them of their homes and give to strangers all that they had, through years of toil, reclaimed from the wilderness. Rumford had been settled under a grant from the colony of Massachusetts, but had now become a part of New Hampshire, through a decision of the king in council in drawing a boundary line between the two colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The control of the New Hampshire government was in the hands of those friendly to the Bow proprietors, who were claimants of the land settled in Rumford. The suits which these Bow proprietors brought to acquire title to this territory were to be tried in the New Hampshire courts, whose judges were in sympathy with these same proprietors. The settlers of Rumford were dependent for authority to direct their local affairs upon the government of New Hampshire, and this government had now refused to renew the act by which, as a district, they levied taxes to support their schools and their minister and maintain their control of municipal affairs. The efforts of the Bow proprietors, through their influence with the colonial government of New Hampshire, were directed to destroying the unity of action of the settlers by depriving them of authority to act as a town or a district at the same time that they harassed them with vexatious suits, purposely brought for so small amounts of damages that no appeal lay beyond the colonial courts. These Rumford settlers, numbering one hundred families, who had come into the wilderness under a grant which they had

¹1762. This date marks the second royal decision in favor of Rumford, the critical event in the Bow controversy; but to complete in this chapter the treatment of that controversy to its final settlement will require some anticipation of dates.

every reason to believe valid, now found themselves an isolated colony under a hostile government, bereft of even the countenance of law to act as a community. In view of their situation at this time, the marvel is that the colony was not then and there broken up and its settlers scattered.

How they held together for many years by voluntary association, agreeing to support one another, pledging their all to that end, is an incident of New England settlements probably without parallel. The Bow proprietors were entrenched in the government of New Hampshire, and the leading spirits were men of means and influence. The settlers of Rumford, on the other hand, had no capital but their homes and no outside support save occasional small contributions from the government of Massachusetts; yet they entered upon this unequal contest with undaunted courage, and, when they were cut off from appeal to the courts of England, they fell back upon the sacred right of petition, and through this ultimately triumphed over their antagonists. In the pages of legal documents the story of this litigation is told; but these documents do not picture the anxiety of these years, the self-sacrifice, or the doubts, as they planted, without confidence of harvest, as they harvested, without hopes of eating the fruits thereof, and as they put off permanent improvements which they might not enjoy; nor do they tell of the unity of spirit, which, without legal sanction policed their community and kept it from crime: the willing contributions of each his share to maintain the gospel and the school and the hundred and one acts which each cheerfully performed when there was no assurance that in the end they might not be compelled to abandon all that they had struggled so hard to obtain and held so dear. What they suffered in fears and doubts, with what heaviness of heart they engaged in their daily toil, with what rumors they were frequently dismayed, how the law's delay disturbed their waking and sleeping hours, how often they were on the point of giving up the fight, and with what small solace the days and nights of these long years were cheered, no chronicler of that time records. It is left for the imagination to portray. But it is known from their surroundings that it was a contest of silent suffering, of strong resolution, and of fidelity to one another unshaken. While details are lacking of the daily life of Rumford during the period of this controversy with the Bow proprietors, the history of the legal proceedings in the New Hampshire courts and before the king in council is quite complete and is here given.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, Rumford had, by 1749, ceased to be either a district or a town. On the 24th of January, 1750, the people, through Benjamin Rolfe, petitioned the governor

and council to be incorporated into a township with their ancient boundaries, and with such privileges as any of the towns in the province enjoyed. In the memorial accompanying the petition, it was declared: "Your memorialists, by power given them by the district acts, . . . for about six years last past, have annually raised money for defraying our ministerial, school and other necessary charges . . . , and taxed the inhabitants accordingly; but the district act expiring some time last summer, there is now no law of this province whereby your memorialists can raise any money for the year current, for the charges aforesaid. And your memorialists have abundant reason to think that the Rev. Mr. Timothy Walker, who has been settled with us as our minister for about twenty years,—unless we can speedily be put into a capacity to make a tax for his salary,—will be necessitated to leave us, which will be to our great loss and inexpressible grief; for he is a gentleman of an unspotted character, and universally beloved by us. Our public school will also, of course, fail, and our youth thereby be deprived, in a great measure, of the means of learning, which we apprehend to be of a very bad consequence: [and] our schoolmaster, who is a gentleman of a liberal education, . . . and lately moved his family from Andover to Rumford, on account of his keeping school for us, will be greatly damaged and disappointed. And your memorialists, under the present circumstances, are deprived of all other privileges which a well regulated town enjoys."¹ But this urgent representation was met by a remonstrance of George Veasey and Abram Tilton, selectmen of Bow, presented on the 7th of February, 1750, and alleging that the bounds mentioned in "the petition of the inhabitants on a tract of land called Penacook to be incorporated with town privileges," made "great infringement on land belonging to the town of Bow." Action favorable to Rumford was thus prevented, for it had become the policy of the New Hampshire government, from motives made apparent in early subsequent narration, to ignore Rumford, even as a district, and to destroy its corporate identity by a complete merger in the township of Bow.

That government had, in May, 1726, sent its committee to Penacook to warn the Massachusetts committee against laying out the lands there, and, a year later, had chartered the township of Bow, out of territory lying on both sides of the Merrimack, in a grant of eighty-one square miles, made without previous survey, and "extremely vague and uncertain as to its bounds,"² but stubbornly construed by its supporters to cover three fourths of the plantation of Penacook.

¹ Benjamin Rolfe's Memorial, etc.; *Annals of Concord*, 85-6 (Appendix).

² The Rev. Timothy Walker's Petition to the king in 1753.

In 1728 the Massachusetts government, confident of the validity of its claim as to its northerly boundary line, had, regardless of the New Hampshire caveat, made two grants: in 1728 that of Suncook, lying in large part within the vague limits of Bow; and, a few years later, that of Number Four, or Hopkinton, trenching, at an angle, upon the same grant. This grant of Bow was taken to lie obliquely upon that of Rumford, from southeast to northwest, leaving outside a northeast and a northwest gore, the latter being considerably the larger. The bounds of the township were scantily described in the charter, in the following terms: "Beginning on the southeast side of the town of Chichester, and running nine miles by Chichester and Canterbury, and carrying that breadth of nine miles from each of the aforesaid towns, southwest, until the full complement of eighty-one square miles are fully made up."¹ This tract of land was granted as a town corporate, by the name of Bow, to one hundred and seven proprietors, and thirty-one associates, comprising the governor, the lieutenant-governor, the members of the council, and those of the assembly, with sixteen others to be named by the lieutenant-governor, numbering in all one hundred and fifty-one grantees.²

Though Bow was, by the terms of the charter, a town from the 20th of May, 1727, yet not till twenty months later did its proprietors set foot upon its soil by way of entry. Then, by a committee, they surveyed the lands granted, and marked out the bounds.³ All they did, however, was "to run a chain, and mark some trees, at a great distance round"³ the busy settlers of Penacook, who were in occupation, as they had been, for more than two years, and who were there clearing and tilling the virgin soil, building their homes, and finishing their house for the public worship of God. The blazed lines run out by the proprietors of Bow were not, as these held, essential "as to the purpose of giving them the seisin,"³ or possession of the lands surrounded by them, but were "especially designed, that they might know and distinguish their township from others."³ For they claimed that "the grantees, by operation of law, were seized immediately upon the execution of their charter."³ Some clue as to those lines is afforded by the testimony of Walter Bryant, who perambulated them about 1749. "I began," says the surveyor, "at the reputed bound of the town of Chichester, at the head of Nottingham, and from thence run northwest, four miles, to the head of Epsom; then there marked a maple tree with the word Bow and sundry letters; and from said tree, which I called the east corner of said Bow,

¹ See plan and explanations in note at close of chapter.

² See names of grantees in note at close of chapter.

³ From statement drawn up by Judge Pickering, being one of the papers upon which the Bow controversy was decided in 1762. It is able and thorough, and will be frequently quoted from in subsequent pages.

I run northwest, four miles, to the west corner of Chichester; then northeast, one mile, to Canterbury south corner, then northwest, five miles, on said Canterbury; then southwest, nine miles, which runs to northwest of Rattlesnake hill and most of the pond that lies on the northwest side of said hill; and said line crosses Hopkinton road, so called, and takes a part of said town in; then we marked a tree, and run southeast, five miles, and marked a tree; then one mile southwest; then southeast, four miles; then northeast, nine miles, to where we began. P. S. I crossed Merrimack river within two miles of Canterbury line, and found all the inhabitants to the south of Canterbury and east of [the] Merrimack, which are in Rumford to be in Bow."¹

At best, however, even with this perambulation, the lines of Bow did not lose their uncertainty, and remained too much like the boundaries, once wittily defined by Rufus Choate, in another case, "as beginning at a blue-jay on the bough of a pine tree, thence easterly to a dandelion gone to seed, thence due south to three hundred foxes with firebrands tied between their tails." Especially is it to be noted that the beginning of these lines was marked by a fleeting thing; for "the southeast side of the town of Chichester," which the charter had set for the beginning, became, in the survey, the southwest side of Chichester—the "blue-jay" having flown and alighted four miles away to the westward.

It is probable that the grant of Suncook, made by Massachusetts in 1728, and partially covering the territory of Bow, stimulated the proprietors of the latter to mark their boundary line in 1729. The next year a part of Suncook was divided by its proprietors into lots, which were assigned to grantees, and upon which actual settlement was soon commenced. Without regard to this the Bow proprietors laid out the same and some adjoining territory in an allotment recklessly intersecting and overlapping the other;² and while effecting no settlement under the grant of New Hampshire, they would not allow the peaceable effecting of any under that of Massachusetts. Their policy was that of the dog in the manger. About this time, and probably as a part of the same transaction, "a parcel" of the Bow grant, "on the east side of the Merrimack river, by conjecture about three miles square,"³ was enclosed; but what allotment of Penacook lands, if any, was made at this period by the proprietors of Bow is not known. But at some time lands "were laid out and divided"⁴ by them within the limits of Penacook or Rumford; for account was taken of them in the charter of the parish of Concord

¹ Bouton's Concord, 206 (note).

² History of Pembroke, 39, 40.

³ Judge Pickering's Statement.

⁴ Charter of Parish of Concord.

in 1765; and in the settlement of the Bow controversy in 1771, "the proprietors of Rumford were to pay ten pounds to the proprietors of Bow, for each hundred acre lot which was laid out by said Bow in said Rumford."¹

Thus, while Bow—as Lord Chief Justice Mansfield of England remarked in substance years afterwards²—claimed the desirable valley of the upper Merrimack, the Massachusetts people went on and settled it. The plantation of Penacook became the town of Rumford with its charter confirmed by the king. Bow was nominally a town, holding meetings of non-resident grantees, and choosing selectmen at Stratham, forty miles away, and with not an inhabitant settled by itself upon the soil which it claimed. Though the settlement of the boundary line in 1740 threw Rumford under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, yet as this act had been accompanied by the express declaration of the king that a change of jurisdiction should not affect the rights of private property, the proprietors and settlers of Rumford had reason to hope that they should not be molested in their dearly earned possessions. As early, however, as 1742, apprehension was felt by them as to the mischievous designs of the Bow proprietors, and the thought was entertained among them that it would be desirable to choose one or more persons fully authorized to act in their behalf, in using "ways and means to quiet and secure the proprietors in their possessions, and to secure their just right to the premises, either in the Province of New-Hampshire, or in the Court of Great Britain."³ Though this thought did not ripen into immediate action, yet the same year Capt. Ebenezer Eastman was "appointed . . . to meet the delegates of . . . proprietors of grants made by the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay . . . at a meeting held in Boston, in November, . . . to join with them in consulting . . . [as to] what" might "be necessary for the general good of the said Proprietors."⁴ Mischiefs were threatened; but the outright war of dispossession upon the Rumford settlers was temporarily averted, especially by the French and Indian War, which was scarcely more harassing than the civil contest which was to supervene.

In the course of years those of the grantees specially named in the Bow charter as proprietors had forfeited their rights by non-fulfilment of conditions, and the proprietorship—as it is likely enough was originally intended—had fallen mainly into the hands of the

¹ Petition of Thomas Stickney to New Hampshire Legislature, 1789; Bouton's Concord, 304.

² The Rev. Timothy Walker's Letter, 1762.

³ Proprietors' Records (manuscript), Vol. III, 170.

⁴ Proprietors' Records (manuscript), Vol. III.

associates who were the members of the executive and legislative branches of the provincial government, including some who held place in the judicial department. By 1749 the "Proprietors of the common and undivided lands lying and being in the town of Bow"—as they styled themselves—were ready to attempt the actual enforcement of their claim upon the soil of Rumford. To smooth the way for their attempt, the district act had not been renewed; and now through the remonstrance of their so-called "selectmen," the incorporation of Rumford, as a New Hampshire town, was prevented, lest such official recognition of its distinct corporate existence might hinder the purpose. Without any actual seizin—and with only the most illusory constructive one—of the lands claimed, they had the effrontery to assert that they had been disseized for twenty-three years by bona fide settlers, who, all that time and more, had occupied and improved the premises. Hence the claimants in or about the sea-board capital, alias, "the proprietors of the common and undivided lands lying and being in the town of Bow," under the fallacious pretext of only seeking "to recover" that of which they had been "disseized," instituted a course of oppressive litigation.

In 1749 the proprietors of Bow entered at the December term of the court of common pleas, at Portsmouth, an action of ejection against John Merrill, the early ferryman of Penacook, which was continued to the succeeding March term (1749-50).¹ Judgment was then rendered for the defendant, and the plaintiff took an appeal to the next superior court, when pleas of abatement were moved, and, by agreement of parties, the case was continued to the September term, 1750.² But at this term neither party appeared, and the case was dismissed.

Why the plaintiffs abandoned this action does not appear; but in December, 1750, another action was entered upon the docket of the court of common pleas by the Bow proprietors against the same John Merrill, to oust him from "about eight acres of land, situate in Bow . . . with the buildings and appurtenances thereof,"³ the whole being a portion of his homestead estate. These cases headed the long line of vexatious suits, all involving the same principle and substantially the same procedure and result in the province courts. But the proprietors of Rumford had been preparing for the tug of war. They had seen to it that the lines of the town should be perambulated and marked.⁴ They were united in their purpose to defend, at whatever cost, their rights, and those of their grantees, against intrusion. On

¹ C. P. Records, 1745-1750, p. 436.

² Sup. Ct. Records, B., p. 129.

³ Statement of Judge Pickering.

⁴ Annals of Concord, 29 (note).

the 23d of April, 1750, after the bringing of the Merrill action in 1749,—which as just seen was abandoned,—they voted to “be at the cost of defending John Merrill, in the action brought against” him, by the proprietors of Bow, “provided” he should “pursue and defend said action agreeably to the orders of” his fellow proprietors. It was also voted “That the proprietors will be at the cost and charge of supporting and defending the just right and claim of any of” the “proprietors or their grantees, to any and every part of” the township of Rumford against any person or persons that shall bring a writ of trespass and ejection for the recovery of any of said lands: provided, the said proprietors or grantees that shall be trespassed upon, or that shall be sued, shall pursue and defend their rights or claims agreeably to the orders of said proprietors of Rumford.”¹ These votes were followed by another, appointing Captain John Chandler, Colonel Benjamin Rolfe, Lieutenant Jeremiah Stickney, Mr. Ebenezer Virgin, and Dr. Ezra Carter, a committee “to advise and order Deacon John Merrill how he” should “pursue and defend the action brought against” him “by the proprietors of Bow; also, to advise and order any other person or persons that” should “be sued or” should “sue in order to support and defend their rights or claims, what method they” should “pursue for the purposes aforesaid.”¹ Provision was also made for selling “pieces of the common and undivided land in the township,” to raise “money to pay the proprietors’ debts, and the charge that” had “arisen or” should “arise by defending the suit brought against Deacon John Merrill by the proprietors of Bow.” With such a resolute and concordant spirit of preparation did the proprietors and settlers of Rumford meet the issue presented. They appreciated the perils of the contest. They knew, indeed, that their cause was just, but would it prevail? With a fair, impartial trial it would. But such a trial was not to be expected in New Hampshire, since the governor and most of the council were “proprietors of Bow, and by them, not only the judges” were “appointed, but also the officers that” impaneled the jurors from “people generally disaffected to” the defendants, “on account of their deriving their titles from Massachusetts.”² The defendants might, however, reasonably hope to obtain some justice in the end, could they but get a hearing before the king in council; though this resort the plaintiffs might, as they did, try to prevent by bringing actions for so small values, that, under the laws of the province, there could be no appeal to England. But whatever the cost, it was felt by the defendants that it was better to incur it than to submit to

¹ Proprietors’ Records (manuscript), Vol. III.

² Petition of Rev. Timothy Walker and Benjamin Rolfe to the king in 1753.

the process of the plaintiffs, instituted to compel, under menace of ouster, acknowledgment of a groundless claim to proprietorship.

The action against John Merrill, entered in the inferior court of common pleas, at the December term, 1750, was, at the request of his counsel, continued to the March term, 1751, that he might "vouch in his warrantor," of whom he had purchased part of the land in question. As the warrantor did not appear at that term, the defendant was obliged to defend himself, or give up the land demanded on which some of his buildings stood. "He, therefore," as his counsel, Judge Pickering, has recorded in his statement of the case, "gave an issuable plea, and thereupon obtained judgment, from which the plaintiffs appealed to the then next superior court, and entered their appeal; and after several continuances, the parties had hearing, and judgment was rendered for the plaintiffs to recover the premises demanded. This judgment the defendant reviewed; but judgment was again rendered for the plaintiffs. From this judgment the defendant would have appealed to the king in council, or to the governor and council here in a court of appeals; but was not permitted to do so, as the premises demanded were not of sufficient value to allow either" recourse, according to the province law in such cases.

This case, with some others like it in principle and result, had, by 1753, passed through the New Hampshire courts. From an elaborate statement of the Merrill case, prepared by the acute and learned counselor in defense, and fortunately preserved, a view of the positions taken by the two parties in the controversy may be gained. A glance at some of them has already been had; but it may be well here to present them briefly in connected form, and partly in Judge Pickering's own words.

The Bow proprietors urged that, inasmuch as "the right to all the lands in the province was originally in the Crown," the charter of Bow, issued under the governor's commission which conferred the power to grant those lands, gave the grantees immediate seizin "by operation of law"; and that marking the bounds, twenty months later, and enclosing, five years afterward, a parcel three miles square, "on the easterly side of Merrimack river," gave them "actual seizin and possession of the whole," with the consequent right to oust "any person who" had "entered and possessed any part within the bounds of their charter, in any other right or claim." They expressly set forth in their declaration that, in "June, 1727, they were seized of the premises . . . in said town of Bow, in fee, taking the profits thereof . . . , and continued to be so seized for one year then next ensuing, and ought now to have quiet and peaceable possession; yet" the defendant, "within twenty-three years last past hath, with-

out judgment of law, entered into the premises demanded," and "disseized the plaintiffs thereof."

To the title thus set up by the plaintiffs the defendant objected, and denied that they had proved their case. "For," as he urged, "it is only by virtue of a seisin in fact that a person takes the profits—never by virtue of a seisin in law only. Now, they never set a foot on the lands contained within the bounds of their charter till twenty months after" the execution of that instrument in June, 1727, so that "it is difficult to conceive how their seisin" at the earlier date "is proved by entry" at the later. Nor could such evidence of entry and possession as was adduced by the plaintiffs prove the charge of disseizin against "the settlers of the plantation, called Penacook," who "had been in possession of it above a year before the date" of the Bow charter, and were vigorously pursuing measures in order to settle a town there. The Penacook settlers "were clearing the land almost two years before any of the proprietors of Bow had seen their land; and all that" the latter "did when they entered was to run a chain and mark some trees, at a great distance, round the laborers; they never so much as saw the land now demanded, where the settlers of Penacook were at work. And, indeed, by the plaintiffs' rule of possessing land by walking round it," the continuous possession of the Penacook settlers might "well be computed" from more than two years, instead of one, before the issuance of the Bow charter. "Upon these facts concerning the manner of entry and possession of these parties, with what propriety" could the Bow proprietors claim this land?

Again, it was argued for the defendant: Supposing "the lands which the plaintiffs claim were the king's at the time their charter was made—which was not the case, in fact—yet the Bow proprietors have not derived that right to themselves; for the authority of the governor of New Hampshire" to grant the king's lands was confined to his jurisdiction, which, by the commission, "was limited to that part of New Hampshire extending from three miles northward of Merrimack river, or any part thereof, to the province of Maine, which was the easterly boundary of the commission; the westerly boundary of which was the line running three miles northward of the Merrimack. Now the land demanded by the plaintiffs in this suit lay on the westerly side of Merrimack river, more than three miles without the governor's jurisdiction, and, consequently, he had no power to grant it; for, if he might grant the king's lands out of his jurisdiction, where should he stop? By what limits could he be restrained? From the reason and necessity of the thing, therefore, it must be allowed that the right of government and of granting lands was limited to the

same territory. And the words of the commission necessarily imply that it did not extend over all that was called New Hampshire." Hence, "if it were conceded that these lands were within the province of New-Hampshire at the date of the plaintiffs' charter, that concession would avail the plaintiffs nothing in this case."

"Another objection"—already mentioned—was made "to the plaintiffs' demand, from the manner of their running out the bounds of their township. By their charter, they were to begin on the southeast side of the township of Chichester. Instead of that they began on the southwest side. Now what could justify such a proceeding? If the land where they were to begin was appropriated before, that could not authorize them to be their own carvers, to take what they were pleased to estimate as an equivalent, without a new grant—which they never had. Nor did they ever make a return to the authority whence they derived their title, for confirmation of what they had thus unwarrantably assumed; for by their running they took in a considerable tract of land, really without their charter, and which belongs to others." They alleged, to be sure, "that they could not begin on the south-east side of Chichester, because it joined Nottingham on that side; but if it was so, what necessity of going four miles on Chichester before they began their measure? They should have taken their land according to their grant." But "it is probable" that "the true motive for making this leap—not in the dark—was to get better land." And "if they had run, as they ought, from the southerly corner of Chichester, they would not have reached the land demanded."

Looking closer to the title claimed by the plaintiffs, "as derived from the Crown," the defendant said that all the lands in question were "long before granted by the council of Plymouth,—in whom the right of the crown to them was vested,—to Captain John Mason," whose "right was always adjudged good. As the said lands were all waste or unimproved" except those occupied by the settlers of Penacook, "they, beyond all question, belonged—agreeably to Queen Anne's orders and the concession of the assembly here—to those who had Mason's right." This being the case, "the governor's grant could be of no effect as to these lands; for the power of the governor extended only to right of the crown, of which the crown was long before divested. Hence the plaintiffs' title under the government" could "not serve them," and of this fact, "the defendant" might "take advantage; for it is a well known rule, that a defendant may plead any man's title against the plaintiff."

But the plaintiffs claimed to have Mason's right, inasmuch as "Mason's heir sold it to Theodore Atkinson and others, by deed

dated the 30th of July, 1746, and that the purchasers, by their deed of release, dated the 31st of July aforesaid, conveyed their right to the plaintiffs, among others." To understand better this position of the plaintiffs, and that of the defendant in denial of it, a brief digressive retrospect is necessary.

In a preceding chapter it was related that Captain John Mason's grant of New Hampshire fell into the hands of his grandsons, John and Robert Tufton, who took the name of Mason. These made ineffectual attempts to obtain recognition of proprietorship. Another pair of brothers, also named John and Robert—sons of Robert—sold their claim to Samuel Allen in 1691. There was a flaw, however, in the transfer. After some years, John, the son of Robert, "conceived hopes of invalidating Allen's purchase,"¹ but died in 1718, without accomplishing his purpose. His eldest son, John Tufton, the fifth in descent from Captain Mason, and born about 1713, "was bred to a mechanical employment in Boston,"¹ and is also sometimes spoken of as a "mariner." He inherited the enterprising spirit of his ancestors,¹ and the controversy as to the lines called his attention to his interests.¹ In 1738, the politicians of Massachusetts, hoping to derive some advantage in the controversy, encouraged him "to assert his pretensions,"¹ and sent him to England to enforce his claim, but they had their expense for their pains. Thomlinson, the vigilant New Hampshire agent, finding Mason detached from the Massachusetts agents, entered into an agreement with him for the release of his whole interest to the assembly of New Hampshire, in consideration of the payment of one thousand pounds, currency of New England.² Nothing more was heard of this till after the settlement of the boundary dispute, and the accession of Benning Wentworth to the governorship.

In 1744, "the agreement with Thomlinson was lodged in the hands of the governor, who sent it to the house, for perusal and consideration;" but "the affairs of the war" and other causes prevented anything from being done. It was not until 1746 that "the house came to a resolution 'that they would comply with the agreement, and pay the price; and that the waste lands should be granted by the general assembly, as they should think proper.'" The council demurred at the clause as to the sale of the waste lands; while a greater disappointment befell the tardy assembly, when a committee sent on the 30th of July, "to treat with Mason, about fulfilling his agreement, and to draw the proper instruments of conveyance,"¹ found that he, tired of waiting, "had, on the same day, by deed of sale, for the sum of fifteen hundred pounds currency, con-

¹ Belknap, 252.

² *Ibid.*, 204.

veyed his whole interest to twelve persons, in fifteen shares." One of the twelve was Theodore Atkinson, previously mentioned. These gentlemen, who, with their successors, were ever afterwards styled The Masonian Proprietors, aware that the transaction would raise, as it did, "a great ferment among the people,"¹ prudently took care, the very next day, "to file in the recorder's office a deed of quit-claim,"¹ or release, "to all the towns which had been settled and granted within the limits of their purchase;"¹ thus somewhat allaying popular apprehension, and parrying the first fierce attacks made upon them.

Bow was one of the towns quitclaimed; and so it was that the plaintiff proprietors claimed that by virtue of the Masonian Proprietors' release they had Mason's title in the Rumford lands lying within Bow. This claim involved the acknowledgment that Mason's title was in force and effect in 1727, and that they got no title until 1746—a position wholly inconsistent with their claim of seizin from the former date, and effectually disposed of by the defendant's query: "How a right acquired in 1746 could give an actual seisin of the lands, the right to which was then purchased, so long before the purchase as 1727; that is whether a man by virtue of a deed made to-day, could be in actual possession of the land conveyed by it nineteen years ago." But the defendant denied that "a right was conveyed by this release to the lands demanded"; it being "common learning on this subject that a release operates only to those in possession," while "the plaintiffs' own declaration" showed "that they had been out of possession about twenty years." Moreover, "the release" was "made as much to the defendant as any person whomsoever. For he is an inhabitant of Bow, as the plaintiffs themselves" have styled "him; and since the release" was "made to the inhabitants, as well as to the proprietors, of what they" possessed, he, having been "possessed so long in his own right, must of necessity be quieted by this release, if it has any effect at all." But what was further "objected to the plaintiffs on this head was the well known point of law," that "a chose in action, or a mere right, cannot be transferred, and Mason's title was no more as to all the lands in the possession of those who were not parties at the time of making the said deed to Atkinson and others. The lands demanded, as well as all the plantation of Penacook, had been nearly twenty years in the possession of entire strangers to that transaction. What title, then, could the Bow Proprietors derive to themselves, under this conveyance, to the lands in question?"

Having controverted the plaintiffs' title, the defendant vindicated

¹ Belknap, 296-7.

his own, as derived from Massachusetts, while that province was exercising jurisdiction in fact over the premises, and was holding "the property of the soil" under a deed in fee given, in 1628, by the council of Plymouth—which held the divested right of the crown—to Sir Henry Roswell and others as private persons. The grant was confirmed, in 1629, to the same persons and their associates, by the royal corporate charter of the Massachusetts Bay colony, within the bounds then specified, and afterwards recognized by the king in council in 1677. Those bounds included Rumford, with the consequence, that, in its grantees as private persons, was the right of property in its lands which was in the original grantees under the Roswell deed.

The Bow proprietors, on the contrary, asserted that Massachusetts had never had authority to grant the lands demanded, because "the settlement of the line" did not define "a new boundary," but was "a declaration by his Majesty of what was always the true boundary of" the two provinces; hence, the lands in dispute had always lain in New Hampshire, and, consequently, out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. And as "the right of granting lands is limited to the right of jurisdiction," the grant made by the government of that province "was void *ab initio*, and the settlers under" it "could derive no title to themselves, but" were to "be looked upon as disseizors." And "as their entry was recent when Bow was granted, the proprietors might lawfully enter upon" the lands: "especially considering that the government of New Hampshire had forewarned the committee who were on the business of beginning the settlement of Penacook," and forbidden them to proceed. In fine, "there was really nothing in the way of the proprietors of Bow, any more than if there had been nobody there."

In reply, the defendant insisted that when the lands at Penacook were granted, "the government of Massachusetts had the jurisdiction in fact," and "exercised all powers and authorities, both legislative and executive, over all places to the line three miles northward of the Merrimack," and had done so, "till the last settlement"; and that these acts "were never annulled or declared to be void," by the king; "as must have been the case, had the plaintiffs' notion been entertained, that the settlement of the line was only a declaration of what was always the true boundary of the provinces—or that all which Massachusetts had done in this regard was a mere nullity." "And if the King," it was asked, "has not seen it proper to nullify all those acts of government what have the plaintiffs to do in the case?" It seemed "necessary that all should be deemed valid, or all void; for by what rule" could "a distinction be fixed?" Indeed, so

far had the king been from imputing usurpation to Massachusetts in this respect, or annulling its acts, that he had approved and confirmed the important one of chartering the township of Rumford. "Besides, the settlement of the line was," as the king himself had declared, "to settle the jurisdiction, not to affect private property." The acts done by either government within its limits, "before the settlement," were to "be held valid to all intents, to avoid that confusion which the contrary notion would necessarily introduce," by "connecting ideas which have no necessary connection"; namely, "that the rights of government and the rights of property are always united, or that the latter have a necessary dependence on the former";—a notion, "which, with respect to this very line," had, "in fact, stirred a multitude of suits. If this opinion was true, the jurisdiction of a government ought never to be altered, without first hearing all parties having any real estate between the old and the new line. In what case of this nature was this ever done?" And yet, according to this notion, the alteration of a line, "without hearing such parties, and determining their respective rights, would be productive of the greatest mischief to private persons" holding real estate under "the government whose jurisdiction should be contracted, by exposing them" to ruinous litigation, if not to ruin itself. From such considerations, the futility of the plaintiffs' objection to the defendant's title in this respect became apparent, as well as the soundness of the position "that the grants made by Massachusetts before settlement of the" boundary "line, within the jurisdiction" which that province "then had in fact, as well as other acts of government," could not but "be held good—the grant under which the defendant" held "among the rest."

Nor did the defense fail cogently to enforce the fact that the grantees of Penacook had made the most of their title and possession. It was earnestly set forth that, "notwithstanding their distance from other settlements within, and with none without them"; notwithstanding "the hardships and difficulties necessarily" attending "those who first sit down upon land in a perfect wilderness; and especially," notwithstanding "the danger, expense, and fatigue of an Indian war, and other discouragements,—these settlers" had "stood their ground ever since their first entry"; had "persevered in their resolution"; had "planted a fine town, supplied themselves and many others with provisions, afforded other places both defence and sustenance, and" were "likely to be a great advantage to the province of New-Hampshire in general." "Yet these," it was indignantly declared, "are the people whom the proprietors of Bow would eject; would oust, not only of their all, but of that all they have thus dearly

purchased." These proprietors would now "cruelly ravish" from such a people "all of their improvements, after they themselves, with folded arms and indolence, have stood by a long time, and seen the others, with the greatest toil and expense, make these improvements. For to this day, these proprietors of Bow have not settled five families within their whole township. They have not in the run of twenty years done so much toward settling a plantation as they might have done, and as the others did in two years; yet they are so partial to themselves, so blinded by interest, as to think, that, because they once run a line round this land, above twenty years ago, they have an indefeasible right to it, which yet they are unwilling to have brought to the test, and decided fairly in the cheapest way, but endeavor, by piecemeal, to destroy the possessors." For they prosecute "a great number of actions, each for a small parcel of land, that may prevent an appeal home, and that they may have the advantage of the ignorance and prejudice of common juries." Besides, they have "in view to weary out and dishearten the defendants, who live at a great distance from Portsmouth, where all the courts are held, with the expense of charges occasioned them by such a number of suits; whereas they might as well have taken an action for all that lies in common, in the name of the proprietors of Bow, against the proprietors of Rumford, as well as the action against the present defendant, and others of the like kind. In fine, it seems they have set their eyes and hearts upon this vineyard, and *per fas aut nefas*, they must have it."

The case was summed up in the following words: "The defendant has entered, subdued and cultivated the lands demanded; reduced them from the rough condition in which nature left them, to the state of a garden, in which labor he has spent more than twenty years; while the plaintiffs have been looking on, neither asserting their claim nor attempting to settle any other part of their lands. Whether the defendant has any title or not, the plaintiffs ought not to recover, if they do not make out the title they set up. The government of New Hampshire did not extend to the place where these lands lay on the westerly side of Merrimack river, and therefore no right could be derived from that government; "and if the government had reached so far, the Crown had long before divested itself of all right to the soil, which was afterwards in Sir Henry Roswell" and others, or in those holding by grant from them. If that was not the case, it was Mr. Mason's right, or those who have his right, from whom the plaintiffs have derived no title, because the defendant was in possession at the time of making the deed and release aforesaid. If the release operates as to these lands, it is in favor of the defendant. The de-

pendant has a good right under the government of the Massachusetts Bay, as "that province "had the jurisdiction in fact, and moreover had the right of the soil by the deed and other matters aforesaid. Add to all this, that whoever settles land in the wilderness, which before served only as a shelter and nursery for wild beasts, and a lurking-place for the more savage animals, the Indians, not only purchases it at a dear rate, and has a hard bargain, though it is given to him,—but does public service. In which regard the whole town of Rumford merits the thanks of the government, instead of being turned out of doors. And what may be said in behalf of the defendant in this case may, with the same propriety, be urged in behalf of those other inhabitants of Rumford, with whom these proprietors, or those who derived their right from them, are now contending, and who have actions in the courts under continuance."

Such being the state of the case in the action against John Merrill, and in others like it, one finds the results in the New Hampshire courts fitly characterized by Judge Pickering as having "been against common right, the common known principles of law, and plain common sense," and obtained by the plaintiffs, on verdicts of juries in their interest, and "entire strangers to these things, or under the influence of a principle worse than ignorance." There was no hope of honest treatment for the harassed settlers of Rumford, in the courts of New Hampshire; only in England, if anywhere, could they hope for a fair hearing of their cause. Accordingly, on the 12th of February, 1753, the inhabitants appointed Reverend Timothy Walker and Benjamin Rolfe, Esq., as their agents, to represent to the king their unhappy condition, oppressed as they were by unfair litigation, and deprived of all corporate privileges. It was determined that Mr. Walker should go to England, and there in person urge their appeal for justice. To forward this purpose, the general court of Massachusetts, upon petition, granted one hundred pounds sterling, and also instructed Mr. Bolland, the Massachusetts agent in England, "to use his endeavors to obtain such determination of His Majesty in Council as should quiet the grantees of lands from that province, in their possessions."¹ To this movement not only the proprietors and inhabitants of Rumford contributed, but also the troubled settlers of Suncook. Though the case of the latter differed from that of the former, inasmuch as Suncook's grant was subsequent to that of Bow; yet in the actual pre-occupancy of the soil by enterprising settlers, and the harassment of these by the non-resident proprietors of Bow, the two settlements were equally worthy of the royal interposition.

¹ Annals of Concord, 33.

Mr. Walker went to England in the fall of 1753, and, without delay, presented "to the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council" a petition¹ in behalf of himself and his co-agent Rolfe, and "the other inhabitants of Rumford." The petition, drawn up in effective terms, by the minister himself, described the granting of "the lands contained in Rumford," and "the bringing forward of the settlement" under many difficulties, including "war with the French and Indians," until "a considerable town" had been made, "consisting of more than eighty houses, and as many good farms;" and having, since 1730, the petitioner, as the "regularly ordained minister of the church and parish." It was further represented that the petitioners, though unexpectedly thrown, "by the late determination of the boundary line, within the province of New-Hampshire" and though denied their request to "be restored to the province of the Massachusetts Bay," had yet "dutifully submitted to" the new jurisdiction, "and with so much the greater cheerfulness, because they were well informed that" the king had "been graciously pleased to declare that however the jurisdiction of the two governments might be altered, private property should not be affected thereby. But notwithstanding this most gracious declaration" the "poor petitioners" had "for several years past been grievously harassed by divers persons, under color of a grant made by the governor and council of New-Hampshire, in the year 1727, to sundry persons and their successors, now called the Proprietors of Bow. The said grant of Bow was," however, "not only posterior to that of Rumford, but" was "extremely vague and uncertain as to its bounds." Moreover, "notwithstanding the grant was made so many years ago, there" were "but three or four families settled upon it, and those since the end of the late French war; the proprietors choosing rather to distress" the "petitioners by forcing them out of the valuable improvements they and their predecessors" had "made at the expense of their blood and treasure, than to be at the charge of making any themselves." "But," as was urged, "the petitioners' greatest misfortune" was "that they" could "not have a fair impartial trial," since the province authorities, civil and judicial, were all in the interest of their adversaries. Besides, "all the actions that" had "hitherto been brought" were each designedly "of so small value that no appeals could be taken from the judgments therein, to the King in Council; and if it were otherwise, the charges that would attend such appeals would be greater than the value of the land, or than" what "the party defending his title would be able to pay": so that "without" the king's "gracious

¹ Bouton's Concord, 214-15.

interposition " the petitioners would be compelled to give up their estates. The further complaint was made that the petitioners, since the expiration of the district act near four years ago, had been without any town privileges, notwithstanding their repeated applications to the governor and council: and they were not able to raise moneys for the support of their minister, and the necessary charges of their school and poor, and other purposes, nor had they had any town officers for upholding government and order. Under these their distresses the petitioners entreated the king's gracious interposition in their behalf, and that he would be pleased to appoint disinterested, judicious persons to hear and determine their cause, and that the expense necessarily attending the multiplied lawsuits as then managed, might be prevented; or, finally, to grant them such other relief as to his great wisdom and goodness should seem meet.

This petition, and Judge Pickering's lucid statement of the case—much of which has already been cited—so clearly setting forth the grievances of Rumford, were well adapted to gain a special hearing in a test case before the king in council, the regular appeal of which thither could not be obtained from the provincial courts. Sanction was given for such a hearing in the case of John Merrill, which was put into the hands of Sir William Murray—soon to become Lord Mansfield—whose services, as counsel, Mr. Walker was fortunate enough to secure. Sir William—at that time forty-eight years of age—stood, in his wide and thorough knowledge of the law, and in his powers of eloquent advocacy, at the head of the bar in England.¹ He had been for eleven years solicitor-general, and as a member of the Pelham administration was one of the most conspicuous figures in the parliamentary history of the time. This accomplished lawyer and statesman took up with zeal the cause of the oppressed farmers of Rumford. In the autumn of 1753 an order for a hearing was procured. But the hearing did not come off immediately, and Mr. Walker returned home with encouragement for his people. The agents of the Bow proprietors made preparation by petitioning the general assembly, in July, 1754, to lend them the sum of one hundred pounds sterling money, to enable them to carry on a suit before His Majesty in Council now depending there between one Merrill and the said proprietors.² The prayer was granted. In October, of that year, Mr. Walker was still at home from his first visit, though about to set out upon his second; while Rolfe, his efficient co-worker, was petitioning the general court of Massachusetts for additional pecuniary assistance, which was promptly rendered.

¹ Enc. Brit., Vol. XV, 498-9.

² Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 294; "Bow," in History of Belknap and Merrimack Counties, 269.

Mr. Walker returned to England, and was there in the winter of 1754-'55; and on the 24th of the succeeding June, the Merrill case was decided by the king in council. The decision was a reversal of the judgment that stood against¹ the defendant in New Hampshire, as recovered by the proprietors of Bow, on the first Tuesday of August, 1753. It is the testimony of Lord Mansfield himself, that "the false laying out of Bow" was, in truth, the only point considered in determining the case. "The Lords not being clear as to the other point," namely, "the order of the King respecting private property, laid hold of" the former, "and,—merely out of tenderness to possession and cultivation, which, they said, in America was almost everything,—determined as they did."¹ A royal order confirmed the determination, and its reversal of the New Hampshire judgment,—as in the subsequent case of appeal in 1762; but as it did not, in express terms, extend beyond the premises sued for, the adversaries did not cease from troubling with further litigation. It may be permitted here to add the fact that the mission of Rumford's agent in this case, and the substantial sympathy manifested by Massachusetts, alarmed somewhat the New Hampshire government, so that in February, 1754, Mr. Thomlinson, the agent in London, was "put on the watch" of Mr. Walker, for fear that the latter might, under the instruction of the government of the Massachusetts Bay, "manage the affair" upon which he was sent, so as to "affect the province as such."² The alarm thus vaguely expressed in the assembly's vote seems to have resembled not a little that of the persons in the proverb, who flee when no man pursueth.

In 1753 the New Hampshire government renewed the exaction of the province tax, and thus was opened another troublesome controversy for Rumford and Suncook. This act was one step more in a policy of compelling the settlements which Massachusetts had founded to become a part of Bow. On the 30th of May of that year a warrant was issued for the assessment and collection of sixty pounds on all polls and estates ratable by law within the township of Bow. This warrant was followed by another, on the 26th of July, for raising a tax of thirty-one pounds four shillings. These taxes were to be collected and paid into the province treasury by the 25th of December ensuing; and the persons on whom they were to be laid were, with three or four exceptions, inhabitants of Rumford and Suncook.³ On the 30th of June, between the dates of the warrants,—since hitherto Bow had never had a regular town meeting,—a special act was

¹ Petition of Timothy Walker, Jr., and others, June 26, 1774, to general court of Massachusetts, for an equivalent to Penacook grant, N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 61-2.

² Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 253.

³ Bouton's Concord, 211.

passed, appointing Daniel Pierce, the province recorder, and an agent of the Bow proprietors, to call such a meeting. Accordingly, one was held on the 25th of July, at which Moses Foster, John Coffin, Richard Eastman, David Abbot, and William Moor were chosen selectmen. They were all of Suncook, for it is safe to conclude that nobody from Rumford took part in the meeting. To these selectmen fell the task of assessing the taxes ordered. But they found it too hard for them to do, for reasons assigned, on the 26th of October, in their petition to the province authorities, and in the following terms: "We are at a loss as to the boundaries of said Bow, and, consequently, do not know who the inhabitants are that we are to assess said sums upon. The proprietors of Bow, in running out the bounds of said town have, as we conceive, altered their bounds several times; and further, one of those gentlemen that purchased Captain Tufton Mason's right to the lands in said Province has given it as his opinion, that said proprietors have not as yet run out the lands of said town agreeable to their charter, but that their southeast side line should be carried up about three quarters of a mile further toward the northwest; and there is lately—by his order—a fence erected along some miles, near about said place, designed—as we suppose—as a division fence between said Bow and land yet claimed by said purchasers. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Pennycook, formerly erected into a district by a special act of the General Assembly of this Province,—though they object nothing against submitting to order of government,—refuse to give us an invoice of their estates (that is, such of them as we have asked for the same), alleging that they do not lie in Bow, and the said Assembly did as good as declare this in their said district act. So that, upon the whole, we humbly conceive . . . that, should we proceed to assess the aforesaid sums on such as we may have conceived are the inhabitants of said Bow, many would refuse to pay the sums that should be so assessed on them; and, consequently, that we should be thrown into so many lawsuits as would, in all probability, ruin us as to our estates. Therefore, we humbly crave that Your Excellency and Honors would . . . fix the boundaries of Bow, or otherwise give us such directions as, . . . if followed by us, we may obey the commands laid on us . . . without . . . detriment to ourselves."¹

Nothing came of the petition, or of this attempt at imposing a tax. In 1755 another attempt was made to organize the town of Bow, by merging therein Rumford and Suncook, and taxing their inhabitants as belonging to Bow. On the 24th of January was passed an act enti-

¹ Bouton's Concord, 212, 213.

tled "An act for raising and collecting sundry sums in bills of credit on this Province due from sundry places unto the government, which cannot be raised and collected for want of a law to enable some person or persons to collect the same."¹ To make application of this act to Bow, Jonathan Lovewell was appointed to warn a town-meeting to be held there, on the 22d of April.² On the 21st of May he reported to the authorities that he had notified the inhabitants of the town of Bow of the time and place for holding a town-meeting, and that he did attend the same at the time and place appointed, but the inhabitants neglected to attend, except one man.³ In resentment for this refusal of the men of Rumford and Suncook to appropriate the name, "The inhabitants of Bow," at the expense of former identity, and to the peril of former rights and advantages, an act was passed by the provincial legislature, on the 5th of July, entitled "An act for taxing Bow." This "Bow act," as it was called, after declaring "that in contempt of the law, and in defiance of the government, the said town of Bow refused to meet at the time and place appointed," etc., designated three men—two of Rumford and one of Suncook—as assessors; namely, "Ezra Carter and Moses Foster, Esqs., and John Chandler, Gentleman, all of said Bow." These were to "assess the polls and estates within the said town of Bow, . . . the sum of five hundred and eighty pounds and sixteen shillings, new tenor bills of public credit"; all "to be completed, and returned to the treasurer of the province, within two months after date of the act." They were to require, upon ten days' notice, true lists of polls and ratable estates, and to "doom" all persons refusing to give in such lists. If the assessors should fail or refuse to do their duty, the province treasurer was required "to issue his warrant of distress, directed to the sheriff," to levy the said sum of five hundred and eighty pounds and sixteen shillings "on their goods and chattels and lands"; and, "in want thereof, on their body." Timothy Walker,⁴ of Rumford, and John Noyes, of Suncook, were appointed collectors to collect and pay in the sums on their respective lists, "on penalty of forfeiting and paying" the same themselves. The compensation offered for this disagreeable service was as ridiculously inadequate as some of the other provisions of the act were needlessly harsh: the assessors being "entitled to receive each, seven pounds and ten shillings, new tenor," and the collectors, "fifteen pounds, new tenor, each."⁵

It was impracticable for the assessors to meet the requisitions imposed upon them by the act, and hence they became liable to its

¹ Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 347-8.

² Bouton's Concord, 216.

³ Coun. Jour., Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 378.

⁴ Not the minister or his son.

⁵ See act in office of secretary of state; also, Bouton's Concord, 217.

penalties. On the 19th of February, 1756, the house, alleging that they had refused and neglected to make the assessment, ordered "that the treasurer immediately issue out his extent" against them; and "a copy of the order was sent to the treasurer by Clement March, Esq.,"¹ who was doubtless a willing messenger, for he had been prominent in the Bow litigation, and, among other doings, had brought an action against Ebenezer Virgin, which was entered at the same term of court, as that against John Merrill.² On the 18th of February, the day before this action was taken by the house against the assessors, a petition from two of them, Ezra Carter and John Chandler, in behalf of themselves and the inhabitants of Rumford, had been presented;³ but, for some reason, not till the 19th, and after their condemnation, was it read, and laid over for further consideration.³ The petition showed³ that one half the time prescribed for completing and returning the assessment was lapsed before the assessors had sight of the act; and it was then the most busy season in the whole year, and the cattle on which part of the tax was to be laid were out in the woods, and it was not known whether they were living, or killed by the enemy, which rendered it almost impracticable to comply with the letter of the act. The assessors, for the remedying of these inconveniences, and also in hopes of obtaining some alterations beneficial to themselves and the people they were to tax, would have addressed the general assembly long before, but their distance was such that they seldom heard of the adjournments and prorogations thereof before it was too late. Several times had been pitched upon for said purpose, but before they arrived the assembly was adjourned. But, at last, having an opportunity to lay the affair before the authorities, they humbly hoped for consideration of their case and compassion for their circumstances. They could uprightly answer for themselves, and had reason to believe that they spoke the united sense of the people of Rumford that they ought to pay their part of the public charges of the government; but they humbly prayed that they might have the privileges of a town or district, in order to raise money for the maintenance of their minister, school, and poor, and the repair of highways, for the want of which, for several years, the inhabitants had been great sufferers. The petitioners continued: "We apprehend we are doomed much beyond our just proportion of the charge, . . . for want of a true list of our polls and estates, which, we believe, was never laid before the Assembly. We have been unavoidably subjected to great loss of time, almost

¹ Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 476.

² Court Records, Dec. 6, 1750, *et seq.*; Rumford Proprietors' Records, Vol. III (manuscript), April 25, 1751.

³ Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, 475-6-7.

every year, for several years past, by disturbances from the Indians; and particularly for the two last years past about a quarter of our inhabitants have been driven from their settlement during the busy season of the year, and the whole of them obliged to divert from their husbandry, in order to repair their garrisons and provide for the safety of their families. Wherefore your petitioners most humbly pray that their circumstances may be considered, so that they and the inhabitants aforesaid may be relieved against the penalties and rigor of said Act; also, that a proper method may be prescribed to have a true list of polls and estates laid before the General Assembly, so that they may pay no more than their proportion, considering their situation; also that they may be incorporated to all the purposes of a town; and that the assessors may have a further time allowed to perform the business assigned in assessing, and the collectors, in levying, the sum that," it "shall be finally determined, must be paid by said inhabitants."

This petition, doubtless, helped to put off indefinitely the issuance of any warrant of distress against the assessors, and to make the Bow act a failure: but its prayer for a town charter fell on deaf ears, as did also that prayer repeated in another petition presented by Ezra Carter, later in the year.

In course of the year 1756, a committee of the Bow proprietors came to some accommodation and agreement with the proprietors of Suncook. The terms of the compromise are not known further than that the Suncook proprietors were to pay a certain fixed price per acre for the land in dispute.¹ Rumford had no part in this transaction, and Suncook did not thereby avoid future disputes and lawsuits.¹ In 1739, however, the part of Suncook territory lying east of the Merrimack and between the Suncook and Soucook rivers, was, despite the opposition of the Bow proprietors, incorporated as the parish of Pembroke, and thus, in the matter of public taxation, was to have no further trouble with the province authorities. But Rumford was not to be free from that trouble for six years yet, as will be seen in the natural course of narration. Thus, in the spring of 1761, the government of New Hampshire ordered an inventory of the polls and ratable estates in the province to be taken. The order for Bow was delivered to Colonel Jeremiah Stickney of Rumford, who declined to perform, under the incorporation of Bow, the duty thus assigned. Soon after, in April, Ezekiel Morrill and Thomas Clough, selectmen of Canterbury, were assigned the duty, which they performed, returning to the general court an invoice of the polls, stocks, and improved lands in the township of Bow, as they expressed it. But the return pertained

¹ History of Pembroke, 45.

to Rumford, except seven of the one hundred and sixty-four persons rated, a fact denoting how little had been done, in more than the third of a century, towards settling the township of Bow, under its charter. This invoice yielded no taxes to the province treasury.¹

Meanwhile, in the course of ten years' litigation, the adversaries of Rumford brought, instead of their usual piecemeal suits, an action of ejectment for lands of sufficient value to allow direct appeal to the king in council. Early in November, 1759, Benjamin Rolfe, Daniel Carter, Timothy Simonds, John Evans, John Chandler, Abraham Colby, and Abraham Kimball,² all of Rumford, were sued, and their goods and estates were attached by the sheriff of the province, to the value of one thousand pounds, "to answer unto the proprietors of the common and undivided lands lying within the township of Bow," who demanded possession of about one thousand acres of land with appurtenances.² The land in question was described as, "beginning at a stake on the southwest of the great river in Bow, one hundred and sixteen rods below John Merrill's ferry; thence running west to Turkey river until it comes to within twenty rods of Nathaniel Smith's grist-mill; thence south to said river; thence on said river to where it empties into the great river; thence up the great river to the first-mentioned bound." This was a second test case, involving the same principles, as the first,—or that of John Merrill,—and was prosecuted and defended with the same allegations and arguments. It was brought to trial in the inferior court of common pleas, on the second day of September, 1760, when the jury, as usual, gave a verdict for the plaintiffs, and judgment was entered up accordingly with costs. From this judgment, the defendants were allowed an appeal to the superior court, where on the second Tuesday of November, 1760, the cause was again tried, and with the same result. Whereupon, the defendants took appeal to His Majesty in council, as, this time, they could not be prevented from doing.

The proprietors of Rumford had all along carefully guarded their own interests and those of their grantees, and had met the expenses of litigation by judicious measures: such as, in 1758, the disposal of "Iron Ore,"³ and in June, 1759, the sale "of so much of the common and undivided lands as" should "be sufficient to raise a sum of fifteen hundred Spanish Milled Dollars, for the defense of the proprietors' title to their township against any claim" laid "to the same or any part thereof," in any court of the province, "or in forwarding an appeal to His Majesty in Council."³ Now, in 1761, when the sec-

¹ See invoice of 1761 in note at close of chapter.

² Report of Lords of Council, December 29, 1762; Appendix to Annals of Concord, 99.

³ Proprietors' Records (manuscript), Vol. III.

ond test case had been appealed home, Rev. Timothy Walker and Benjamin Rolfe, Esq., were appointed agents to receive any money granted to enable the proprietors to defend their claims to the lands in Rumford.¹ This agency was a fitting renewal of that which had been conferred eight years before upon the same men, whose abiding faith in the justice of Rumford's cause had since, as before, been amply tested in wise counsel and efficient action, and had been, amid deep popular disheartenment, the light of hope.

In the autumn of 1762 Mr. Walker visited England the third time; for the appealed case was, at last, after not a little of the law's delay, approaching trial. Already he was favorably known in a circle of valuable acquaintances among ministers of religion, members of parliament, and members of His Majesty's council.² Sir William Murray, his counselor and advocate in the former case, was now Lord Mansfield, and chief justice of the king's bench. He presided in the special court of the right honorable the lords of the committee of council for hearing appeals from the plantations, to which the king had referred the petition and appeal of Benjamin Rolfe, Esq., and others. The trial came off on the 17th of December, 1762, and resulted favorably to the inhabitants of Rumford.

"The Lords of the Committee of Council for hearing Appeals from the Plantations" made a report, bearing date of the same 17th of December. On the 29th of the same month this report was read at the Court of St. James. The report recited at length the history of the grants of Rumford and Suncook, and their settlement; also, of the establishment of the boundary line, whereby those settlements were excluded from the province of Massachusetts Bay in which they had before been thought and reputed to be, and thrown into the province of New Hampshire. The report continued: "Notwithstanding His Majesty had been pleased at the time of issuing the commission to fix the boundary, to declare the same was not to affect private property, yet certain persons in New-Hampshire, desirous to make the labors of others an advantage to themselves, and possess themselves of the towns of Pennicook,—otherwise Rumford,—and Suncook, as now improved by the industry of the appellants, and the first settlers thereof, whom they seek to despoil of the benefit of all their labors," had brought "ejectment against them." Having described the special action in hand, and its progress from institution to appeal, the lords of the committee concluded their report by recommending the reversal of the judgment rendered against the appellants in the courts of New Hampshire.

¹ Proprietors' Records (manuscript) Vol. III.

² Bouton's Concord, 220.

The king, on the same day, took the report into consideration, and was pleased, with the advice of his privy council, to approve thereof, and to issue the following order: "It is hereby ordered that the said judgment of the inferior court of common pleas of the province of New-Hampshire, of the second of September, 1760, and also the judgment of the superior court of judicature, of the second Tuesday in November, affirming the same, be both of them reversed, and that the appellants be restored to what they may have lost by means of the said judgments, whereof the Governor or Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Province of New-Hampshire, for the time being, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly."

"What is done, and what was said in the case," wrote Mr. Walker to Benjamin Rolfe, "if truly represented by anybody whom Bow will believe, will, I am persuaded, effectually discourage from any further attempts, even against Suncook—much more against Rumford; yet I suspect their lawyers will urge them on to further trials—with what success, time must discover." The royal decision marked the crisis of the tedious controversy; not its end, to be sure, but a sure beginning of that end. Indeed, what the faithful agent of Rumford "suspected" seems to have come to pass; for, when, a dozen years later, his son, Timothy Walker, Jr., and more than forty other citizens of Rumford, or Concord, petitioned the Massachusetts legislature for a township in Maine, as an equivalent for the Penacook grant, and in consideration of the expenses incurred in defending their title to the same, they said: "We have been enabled to prosecute two appeals to His Majesty, and although in each we obtained a reversal of the judgment that stood against us here, yet the royal order, extending in express terms no farther than the land sued for, the advantage fell far short of the expense, and our adversaries went on troubling us with suits. Thus exhausted, and seeing no end of our troubles, we have been reduced to the necessity of repurchasing our township of our adversaries at a rate far exceeding its value in its rude state."¹ So it was that the proprietors of Bow, while not succeeding much in their attempts at direct eviction, did, still, by oppressive litigation and compulsory compromise, succeed in getting unjust advantage to themselves. The litigation, however, was not pressed to the point of a third appeal to England; though this result seems to have been imminent in 1766, when, on the 9th of July, the proprietors of Rumford voted to raise four hundred pounds sterling to support and defend their claims and those of their gran-

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXIV, 61-2. This petition was favorably answered by the grant of the township of Rumford, in Maine, in 1774. See further, *Colonization by Concord Settlers*, in note at close of chapter.

tees, to said township either in this province or Great Britain; appointing a committee of thirteen to proportion said sum upon said proprietors and their grantees; and, finally, requesting the Reverend Timothy Walker to prepare all papers that he should think necessary for the ends aforesaid.

The proprietors' records, under date of July 29, 1771, show the first provision made for "a final settlement with the proprietors of Bow," by the appointment of "Andrew McMillan, Mr. Abial Chandler, and Captain Thomas Stickney," as a committee to effect that object, and by the vote "that there be six pounds laid on each original right, to defray the charges."¹ For the latter vote was substituted, early in 1773,—by legislative sanction, as it seems,—one raising "six hundred pounds lawful money, by a just and equal assessment on all the lands within the township to complete the said settlement."¹ Assessors and collectors were appointed, and Mr. William Coffin was chosen proprietors' treasurer, with orders "to pay the money as he received it to the committee formerly chosen to make a settlement with the proprietors of Bow, upon his receiving the deeds of them to the value of the money."¹

The contending parties had, by 1771, come to an agreement that the proprietors of Rumford should have the whole of said township, except one hundred and sixty-two acres of land, which was to be laid out by them in some part of the town; and the proprietors of Rumford were to pay ten pounds to the proprietors of Bow for each hundred-acre lot laid out by said Bow in said Rumford.² It was one of the duties of the committee of settlement to receive a quitclaim deed from the proprietors of Bow, and give them a bond upon interest, for the ten pounds for each hundred-acre lot.² The assessment of six hundred pounds, in 1773, was supposed to be sufficient to pay the proprietors of Bow, and to give sixty pounds to the Masonian Proprietors for their pretended right to part of said land.² The last mentioned claim arose from the fact that the quitclaim of Bow, given by the Masonian Proprietors, in 1746, did not cover the part of Rumford without the limits of Bow. This part, however, came within Mason's Patent, which had an extent of "sixty miles from the sea" on the easterly and southerly side of the province, with "a line to cross over from the end of one line of sixty miles to the end of the other." The proprietors pleaded that this cross line, instead of being straight, "should be a curve, because no other would preserve the distance of sixty miles from the sea, in every

¹ Proprietors' Records (manuscript), Vol. III.

² Petition of Thomas Stickney, surviving member of the settlement committee, to the N. H. legislature in 1789; see, also, note at close of chapter.

part of their western boundary."¹ Under this claim, the part of Rumford lying outside the vague boundary line of Bow, came within the Mason Patent: and the proprietors of Rumford quieted their title in that direction by the payment of sixty pounds.²

So, at last, the proprietors and occupants of Rumford became quieted in the possession of their twice-bought lands. With painful sacrifice, but with unflinching purpose, wise counsel, and united action, they had held out through the long years of disheartening controversy, and thereby had saved the life itself of New Hampshire's future capital.

NOTES.

Plan of Grant of Bow with Explanations. The annexed Plan of the Township of Bow, which, though not drawn with perfect accuracy, will help to show, with the following explanations, the grounds of controversy:

1. Rumford—laid out by Massachusetts, seven miles square and one hundred rods on the south, is represented by thick black lines.

2. Suncook—laid out also by Massachusetts, south of Rumford, is on both sides of the river.

3. Bow—laid out by New Hampshire, represented by double lines—nine miles square, and apparent on the plan—covering like a wide sheet nearly the whole territory, both of Rumford and Suncook.

4. The dotted line on the east represents the "three miles north of the Merrimack river" claimed by Massachusetts.

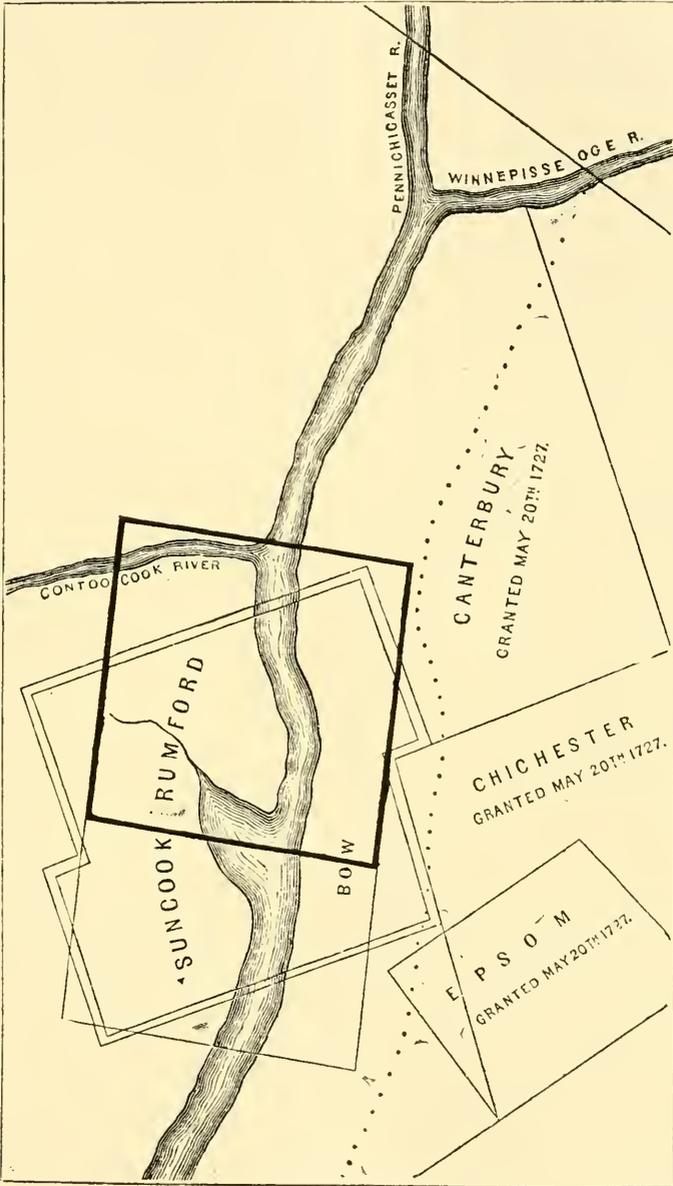
5. Canterbury, Chichester, Epsom, and Bow were all granted by New Hampshire, May 20, 1727, as is believed, without previous actual survey.

The Associate Grantees of Bow. His Excellency and Honorable Samuel Shute, Esq., and John Wentworth, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor—each of them five hundred acres of land and a home lot; Colonel Mark Hunking, Colonel Walton, George Jaffrey, Richard Wibird, Colonel Shad. Westbrook, Archibald McPheadres, John Frost, Jotham Odiome, Esquires,—members of the Council—each a proprietor's share; Peter Wear, John Plaisted, James Davis, John Gilman, Andrew Wiggin, Captain John Downing, Captain John Gillman, Samuel Tibbets, Paul Gerrish, Ens. Ephraim Demmet, John Sanburn, Theodore Atkinson, Ebenezer Stevens, Richard Jennes, Captain William Fellows, James Jeffery, Joseph Loverin, Daniel Loverin, Zah. Hanahford, Joseph Wiggin, Pierce Long,—members of the Assembly. (Bouton's Concord, 206.)

¹ Belknap, 300.

² See note at close of chapter.

Plan Illustrating Bow Controversy.



Invoice of 1761. This invoice, mentioned in the text, has historic value, showing, as it does, somewhat the material condition of Rumford when it was taken. The items, as therein set down, were: Polls, 154; Horses, 91; Planting ground, 341 acres; Mowing land, 498 do.; Orcharding, 16 do.; Oxen, 160; Cows, 222; Cattle, three yrs. old, 85; ditto, two yrs. old, 90; ditto, one yr. old, 103; Horses, 77; ditto, three yrs. old, 12; ditto, two yrs. old, 13; ditto, one yr. old, 10; Pasture land, 150 acres; Negroes, 6; Six Mills (yearly income), £125. The valuation for taxing purposes stood as follows: Polls, £2770; Land, £502 10s.; Horses, £231; Oxen, £480; Cows, £444; Cattle, three yrs. old, £145 10s.; ditto, two yrs. old, £103; ditto, one yr. old, £56 10s.; Slaves, £96—making in all £4,828 10s., and with Doomage £1000 added, £5,828 10s.

Thomas Stickney's Petition in 1789. In answer to this petition an act was passed, authorizing "the proprietors of Rumford, *alias* Concord, to collect a certain tax." This tax was a balance of the assessment of 1773, the collection of which was necessary to the full discharge of the bonds given to the Bow proprietors.

The Masonian Line. In 1788 a committee appointed to run the "straight line" of the Masonian claim, reported to the New Hampshire legislature that it crossed "Merrimack river in Concord on Sewall's Falls." [House Journal, February 1, 1788; cited by Otis G. Hammond in paper entitled "Sewall's Falls Historically Considered," published in *Granite Monthly*, February, 1896.] The Masonian proprietors had, thereupon, bought of the state the disputed segment of land between the arc of the "curved line" and its chord, the "straight line."

COLONIZATION BY CONCORD SETTLERS.

[FURNISHED BY JOSEPH B. WALKER.]

Concord, unlike most New Hampshire towns, was colonized, and not formed by gradual accretions from time to time to its population. Some thirty years after its settlement, when the close of the last French and Indian War had opened northwestern New England to settlement, Concord sent considerable numbers of its people to the Pigwacket country, to assist in founding new towns on the Saco at Fryeburg, Maine, and Conway, New Hampshire.

To the former it sent Moses Ames, James Clemons, Robert Bradley, John Bradley, Samuel A. Bradley, Abraham Bradley, John Evans, David Evans, Philip Eastman, John L. Eastman, Stephen Farrington, Daniel Farrington, Nathaniel Merrill, Samuel Osgood, David Page, John Webster, Nathaniel Smith, Timothy Walker, and Ezekiel Walker.

To the latter it sent Jedediah Spring, Andrew McMillan, Thomas Chadborne, Richard Eastman, Thomas Merrill, Abial Lovejoy, Benjamin Osgood, James Osgood, and a Mr. Dolloff.

Further investigation would doubtless show that these lists are far from complete and might be considerably enlarged.

To these, former members of his parish and more or less of them of his church, the first minister of Concord made pastoral visits from time to time, until they had formed local churches and pastors had been settled. Records of such visits are found in some of his diaries which have been preserved. From these it appears that he visited them in the autumns of 1764 and 1766, partaking of their hospitality, preaching to them on Sundays and baptizing their infant children. In the latter year, according to his record, he administered baptism to no less than eleven. The journey thither was by way of Kennebunk and occupied a little more than three days.

Sometimes his son, Timothy Walker, in the ministry at this time, acted as his substitute. By his diary, it appears that he was with them on similar services in 1765 from the nineteenth day of July to the third day of September, a period of some forty-five days. But, loyal to the principles which they had brought with them from their former homes, they soon organized churches and settled permanent pastors at these new homes of their adoption.

Some sixteen years later, a much larger emigration commenced going out from Concord to found a new town upon the Androscoggin, in Maine. Of this movement authentic records have been preserved which give in detail its origin and early progress. From these it appears that a little before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War (January 26, 1774) Timothy Walker, Jr., of Concord, in behalf of himself and his associates, presented a petition to the government of Massachusetts Bay, setting forth the trials and expense of the settlers of Concord in maintaining their rights against the Bow proprietors, and asking consideration therefor in the grant to them of a township in Maine, to lie on each side of the Androscoggin river, of equal extent to that granted by Massachusetts to the settlers of Concord.

In response to this petition the general court of Massachusetts granted to the original proprietors of Concord, who were sufferers by reason of that township's falling into New Hampshire, a township of seven miles square to be laid out in regular form on both sides of the Androscoggin river, easterly of and adjoining Fullerstown, so called, otherwise Sudbury, Canada, provided the grantees within six years settle thirty families in said township and lay out one full share to the first settled minister, one share for the ministry, one share for the school, and one share for Harvard college, and provided the petition-

ers within one year return a plan thereof to be accepted and confirmed by the general court.

A committee was also appointed to go to Concord (Pennycook) to inquire into and make out a list of the sufferers. November 8, 1774, in compliance with this resolution the committee made a report of the following list of individuals to whom "Rights" and the number thereof should be assigned, and their action was confirmed by the general court:

To Timothy Walker, Jr., 3 rights; George Abbot, 2; Thos. Stickney, 3; John Chandler, 3; William Coffin, 1; Ebenezer Hall, 1; Jno. Merrill, 1; Amos Abbot, 2; Edward Abbot, 2; Ephraim Farnum, Jr., 1; Benjamin Farnum, 2; Joseph Farnum, 1; Timo. Bradley, 1; Rev. Timo. Walker, 2; Joseph Eastman, 1; Aaron Stephens, 2; Moses Hall, 1; Philip Kimball, 1; Ebenezer Eastman, 1; David Hall, 1; Philip Eastman, 2; James Walker, 1; Chas. Walker, 1; Richard Hazeltine, 1; Paul Walker, 1; Jeremiah Bradley, 1; Hannah Osgood, 2; Asa Kimball, 1; Moses Eastman, 1; John Bradley, 1; Jona. Stickney, 1; Reuben Kimball, 1; Benj. Abbot, 1; Joshua Abbot, 1; Abiel Chandler, 5; Timothy Walker, Tertius, 1; Nathaniel Eastman, 2; Heirs of Ebenezer Virgin, 3; Peter Green, 1; Ephraim Carter, 1; Heirs of Jeremiah Dresser, 1; Nath. Rolfe, 1; John Chase, 1; Benja. Thompson, 1; Paul Rolfe, 5; Ebenezer Hamden Goss, 4; Nathan Abbot, 1; Gustavus Adolphus Goss, 1; Robert Davis, 3-4; Anna Stevens, 1-4; Henry Lovejoy, 1-4; Phineas Kimbal, 1-4.

These parties, sixty-six in number, were all of Concord, and the number of rights assigned them was eighty-two and three fourths.

The remaining seventeen and one quarter rights were given to eighteen persons residing in other places. Thus it appears that a little over four fifths were given to residents of Concord.

The distractions of the Revolutionary War prevented a full compliance with the terms of the grant within the time specified therein. This, however, was extended in 1779, after which settlements made such progress that on the 21st of February, 1800, the plantation of New Pennycooke became by incorporation the town of Rumford, named from the parent town from which so many of its people had emigrated.

At this time a second generation had been reared upon the farms of Concord, which greatly outnumbered the original occupants and for which they afforded an inadequate support. In short, "the eagle was stirring up her nest" and pushing out her young to careers elsewhere. Naturally many of them, under the rights assigned to

their fathers or to themselves, sought new homes at New Pennycook, on the Androscoggin.

Strangely like was this locality to the old Pennycook on the Merrimack where they had first seen the light. At both places the river bisected the township and flowed through fertile intervals which lined its banks. Near the northern border of the former the Ellis river entered the Androscoggin to increase its volume, just as at the northern border of the latter the Contoocook joined the Merrimack; while, furthermore, as just over the southern line of the latter the last named river made an important descent of some twenty-five feet, so just within the former's southern boundary, the Androscoggin made a single plunge of forty, and thence hastened down rapids of more than half as much more in the next eighty rods of its course. And to still further enhance the likeness, the flood plains of the Merrimack, rising to terraces of higher ground and backed by hill ranges of granite formation, were almost exactly duplicated on the Androscoggin.

Moreover, as if these topographical similarities were not enough, a parallel equally surprising was to be found, two generations ago, by a visitor from the older town to the new, in a duplication, at the younger, of the surnames of his neighbors at home. Never did a fair daughter more closely resemble a fair mother; never did a hardy son more exactly reflect the characteristics of a stalwart father.

Hard indeed was it for this visitor to realize that he had wandered an hundred and twenty miles from the old Rumford on the Merrimack and found its near facsimile in a new Rumford on the Androscoggin, for, scattered over this new town, were families whose names had been familiar to him from his earliest days: of Abbot, David, Henry, Jacob, Moses, and Philip; of Farnum, Benjamin, David, and Stephen; of Hall, Daniel, Jeremiah, and Joseph; of Hutchins, David and Hezekiah; of Martin, Daniel, John, and Kimball; of Virgin, Daniel, Ebenezer, Peter C., Phineas, Simeon, and William; of Wheeler, Abel and William; of families bearing the surnames of Carter, Colby, Eastman, Eaton, Elliot, Hoyt, Kimball, Knight, Page, Putnam, Rolfe, Sweat, and Walker. This list, partial only, might be much enlarged by the addition of the names of women who, singly or as the wives of settlers, found new homes in this new town in the district of Maine. It suffices, however, accompanied with that before presented of some of the first settlers of Fryeburg and Conway, on the Saco, to establish the proposition at first enunciated,—that Concord, itself originally a colony, became in time a colonizer of new communities.

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 Eastman¹ 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 Lower¹ and Upper² 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 Eastman³—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 Stevens-town; 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 garrison¹ 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 mill² on Turkey river (about 12 or 14 miles—a dangerous road), and it will be much more dangerous to go to Pemnicook. . . . 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. 11, 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 George³ 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 alone⁴ 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 snow-shoes, 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 Abercrombie'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 perished¹ 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 Bradley¹ 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 Winepesaukee.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 Boseawen; from thence south, seventy-three degrees west, by said Boseawen, 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 meeting¹ "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. ⁴ N. H. Laws, 1780-1784, p. 501.

² Bouton's Concord, 226-7-8.

⁵ Bouton's Concord, 242.

³ Proprietors' Records (manuscript), Vol. III. 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 hill² 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." North-eastward, 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 Coppins (sergeant), Nathaniel Morse (clerk), David Evans (corporal), Obadiah Maxwell, Nathaniel Rix, Jonathan Chase, Ebenezer Coppins, 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 Boscowen); 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.*

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 Contocook 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 Tholinson, 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, ere long, 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 January, 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 chaise, 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 Liberty² 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 life-work 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 volunteers⁴ 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 Concord⁵ 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.

³ *Ibid.*, 204.

² N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VIII, 204-5.

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.

mand of John Stark, who had been for a few months in retirement—the supersedure put upon him by the continental congress still galling his patriotic spirit. But now his time had come to take a foremost place among his country's commanders, through brilliant, timely achievement in his country's cause. Brigadier-General by commission from New Hampshire, he could now raise his independent force on John Langdon's historic pledge of means,—in cash, Tobago rum, and silver plate,—and could lead it to a victory that should have in it the first sure guaranty of national independence at last.

The legislature, the wise and timely action of which had rendered possible so momentous a result, closed its labors on Saturday, the 19th of July. The earnest patriot who represented Concord could not tarry in Exeter; but forthwith riding away on horseback, he pursued his homeward course through the night, and reached his journey's end during the religious service of Sunday afternoon. Dismounting at the meeting-house, he hurried in, and, as he passed up the aisle, the venerable pastor interrupted his sermon with the inquiry,—“Colonel Hutchins, are you the bearer of any message?” “Yes,” replied the eager messenger, “General Burgoyne, with his army, is on his march to Albany. General Stark has offered to take command of New Hampshire troops; and if we all turn out, we can cut off Burgoyne's march.” “My hearers,” responded Mr. Walker, “those of you who are willing to go had better go at once.” That quiet suggestion from the pulpit was as a battle-cry to the men of the congregation, who at once arose, and went outside. Enlistments were promptly offered, and preparations went on during the night. When Phineas Virgin said he could not go because he had no shoes, Samuel Thompson, a shoemaker, assured him that he should have a pair before morning, and made good his word. Jonathan Eastman had the same want as promptly supplied.¹

Meanwhile, Burgoyne was plodding his weary march southward, impeded by obstructions thrown in his way by the American army sullenly retreating. Having reached Fort Edward, he sent out early in August a detachment of Hessians and Tories, with a party of Indians, all in command of Colonel Baum, on an errand of various mischief, to the eastward, through Vermont. But Stark's New Hampshire volunteers had been gathering in rendezvous beyond the Green Mountains, and with the militiamen of that neighborhood, stood ready to confront the marauding foe. These, with a small force from western Massachusetts, and with Warner's “Green Mountain Boys,” all under the skilful leadership of Stark, fought and won, on the 16th of August, 1777, the storied battle of Bennington.

¹ Bouton's Concord, 274-5.

On the extreme right of the enemy's entrenched line, in that battle, was the Tory position, a heavy breastwork of logs, where the most desperate resistance was expected and realized. This stronghold, Colonel Thomas Stickney, of the Eleventh regiment, which contained the Concord volunteers, was, with Colonel Hobart, of the Twelfth, ordered to attack. In face of a sharp fire, the two companies advanced briskly upon the enemy's position through an intervening corn-field, from which, by Stark's order, the men stripped each a husk, and placed it beneath the hatband, "to prevent mistake," in "the close work" with foes "dressed like themselves" in every-day garb.¹ The fortification was stormed and surrounded. The Tories fought obstinately, but finally succumbed to the resistless onslaught of "bayonet and clubbed musket."¹ Some of the Concord men who were in the fight were Colonel Thomas Stickney, Lieutenant Richard Herbert, Elias, Jesse, and John Abbot, Philbrick Bradley, Ephraim Fisk, Sr., Ephraim Fisk, Jr., Abner Flanders, Timothy Johnson, Samuel Kinkson (or Kinsman), and John Peters. The names of thirty-three men known to have enlisted² have been preserved. It is probable that some of the thirty-three did not arrive at Bennington in season for the battle. This certainly happened in the case of the thirty volunteers raised by Colonel Gordon Hutchins, whose names are not recorded, and who, though making all due haste, reached the scene of action too late.³ There was, however, to be a chance for all within the next two months; for Bennington was the auspicious prophecy of Saratoga with its decisive battling at Bemus Heights. The men of New Hampshire and of Concord, in both the continental and the volunteer service, were to have a hand in the important operations of September and October, resulting in the surrender of Burgoyne. Some who volunteered for the Bennington expedition continued in the service; while Captain Joshua Abbot headed a company in Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrish's command, detached from the Eleventh regiment, in special reinforcement of the northern army at Saratoga.⁴

When, after the successes of Bennington and Saratoga, those sure pointers to the star of final victory that should rise and stand over Yorktown, Washington withdrew to winter quarters at Valley Forge. Poor's brigade, containing Concord men, went with him. Among these was Captain Livermore.⁵ When, again, after a winter of gloomy suffering, the American army, in June, 1778, came up with the enemy marching northward from luxurious quarters in Philadel-

¹ Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), p. 320.

² See Bennington in note at close of chapter.

³ Bouton's Concord, 275.

⁴ See Saratoga in note at close of chapter.

⁵ J. B. Walker's Address, Proceedings N. H. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, 691.

phia, and fought at Monmouth, Concord men were there. When, still again, the same year, it was planned that a land force should, in co-operation with a French fleet, wrest Rhode Island from British grasp, and New Hampshire furnished troops to aid the undertaking, Concord supplied its quota of volunteers.¹ In 1779, Concord men in Poor's brigade did service in Sullivan's expedition against the Tories and Six Nations, and helped to avenge the bloody outrages of Cherry Valley and Wyoming, and to prevent their repetition. In special levies,² as well as in the regular line, the men of Concord stood on guard at West Point, in 1780: and, the next year, they took part in that decisive Virginia campaign which resulted in the victory of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis. Even after this triumph, the virtual close of the struggle for American independence, some men of Concord remained on military duty for yet two years, until the formal declaration of peace in 1783.³

The records of the parish during the long years of revolutionary struggle contain, of course, much legislation adapted to the existing state of war. In 1777, while thirty pounds were raised for highways, and sixty pounds to defray "other necessary charges," the hundred pounds paid by Oliver Hoyt for the "eighty-acre lot belonging to the school right" were appropriated "for a town stock of ammunition";⁴ and four hundred and sixty pounds lawful money were ordered to "be raised upon the ratable polls and estates in Concord for paying the continental soldiers raised by the parish."⁴ In 1778 it was voted that an average be made in hiring continental soldiers, and a committee was appointed "to examine into what every man" had "done in the war."⁵ In 1779, Colonel Thomas Stickney, Captain Aaron Kinsman, and Timothy Walker, Esq., were chosen "a committee to procure eight soldiers,"—"the proportion that the parish" had "to raise in order to fill up the continental army."⁶ In 1780, provision was made "to give the soldiers that" had "lately engaged to serve six months in the continental army, ten bushels of Indian corn, or money equal thereto."⁷ Early in 1781, a committee was appointed, "with discretionary powers," to raise "sixteen more soldiers" for the continental service. Of these some were hired from other places and credited to Concord. "One thousand Spanish milled dollars" were raised "to enable the parish to procure the soldiers"⁸ under this call, which seems to have been the last made upon it for troops in the Revolution.

While Concord had its men at the front fighting for independence,

¹ See Rhode Island Expedition in note at close of chapter.

² See list in note at close of chapter.

³ See names of Rangers in note at close of chapter.

⁴ Town Records, 153.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 157-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 187-8.

it was little inclined to brook covert hostility, at home, to the country's sacred cause, or even lukewarmness therein. Its committees of safety kept a sharp lookout for symptoms of Toryism, especially during the first four years of the war. Though the Association Test had been signed in Concord without dissent, yet by the year 1777 certain individuals had become suspected of disaffection to the American side. Consequently, after the business of the annual meeting, on the 4th of March, in that year, was finished, votes to the following effect were passed: "That this parish will break off all dealings with Peter Green, Esqr, Mr. John Stevens, Mr. Nathl Green, and Dr. Philip Caragain, until they give satisfaction to the parish for their past conduct; that they be advertised in the public prints as enemies to the United States of America, unless " they "give said satisfaction within thirty days from this date; that " they "be disarmed by the committee of safety until they give satisfaction to the public; and that " whoever shall, before such satisfaction rendered, "have any dealings with " them, shall " be looked upon as enemies to their country by this parish."¹ The popular feeling seems to have been especially intense against Peter Green, for it was recommended "to apply to the courts of judicature to dismiss " him "from all business henceforth and forever."¹ Besides, it is related that, on one occasion, his house was threatened with destruction by zealous West Concord patriots, and that the threat failed of execution only through the shrewd and timely intervention of Timothy Walker, Jr., and John Bradley,² no less patriotic, but more discreet, than those who had planned violence.

The severe votes passed by the parish not producing the desired effect, Green, the lawyer, and Stevens, the merchant, were arrested by the committee of safety and taken to Exeter, where they were lodged in jail.³ Green, upon taking the oath of allegiance, was early released, and subsequently enjoyed the confidence of his fellow-citizens, whom he served in important official positions. Stevens, on the contrary, never would take the required oath, but he swore that he was "as good a friend of his country as any one who had caused his arrest."⁴ He, however, finally received his release by order of the legislature, and with it a commission as justice of the peace, in token of restored confidence. Later, the parish rescinded its vote⁵ "to break off all dealings " with him, but no amends could cure the merchant's bitter resentment, which he carried with him to his grave.⁶

¹ Town Records, 154.

² Bouton's Concord, 272-3.

³ See note at close of chapter.

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 273, 561.

⁵ Town Records, 211.

⁶ See Merchant Stevens, in note at close of chapter.

The protraction of the war, with its expenditures to be met only by paper money irredeemable in gold or silver, began, by 1777, to unsettle values, carrying up prices, and working other mischief. The legislature of New Hampshire, acting under advice of the continental congress, passed an act for "preventing monopoly and oppression" by regulating the prices of sundry articles of necessary or common use, and the compensation for various kinds of labor. In May, of that year, the parish of Concord appointed "Captain Reuben Kimball, Mr. Amos Abbot, Mr. John Kimball, Lieutenant Robert Davis, and Mr. David Hall" a committee "to carry into execution" the state enactment.¹ By July, the committee had performed the task of affixing, in accordance with the law, maximum prices to a multitude of "articles," but they could not thereby "carry into execution" an impracticable statute. Their report, however, has historic value, picturing, as it does in suggestive outline, the industries and productions, and the means and modes of life, existent in the parish at that time.

This measure, wherever tried, proved an ineffectual palliative for the evils produced by a financial system fundamentally wrong. The country was flooded with continental "promises to pay," swelled by state issues of the same sort, though New Hampshire issued none after 1777. This irredeemable paper currency, misnamed "money," was fast sinking to absolute worthlessness with the consequence of financial confusion, distress, and ruin. In 1779 another attempt was made, in New Hampshire and other states, to "appreciate the currency by regulating the prices." To this end a state convention was held in Concord on the 22d of September, in which Major Jonathan Hale and Colonel Timothy Walker represented the parish.² Certain recommendations were agreed upon. In Concord, a committee was appointed to regulate prices as recommended by the convention. What further action, if any, was ever taken in the matter is not recorded.

Within the next two years the figures of parish expenditures rose, as the value of paper currency fell. Thus, in the spring of 1780, the sum of "nine thousand pounds"³ was voted to defray parish expenses for the year, including minister's salary in arrearage for two years. Six months later "thirty thousand pounds"⁴ additional were raised for the same purpose. An appropriation of "two thousand four hundred pounds"⁵ was also made for highways. In March, 1781, "fifty thousand pounds"⁶ were appropriated "for the necessary charges of the parish," exclusive of those for highways, and for

¹ Town Records, 155-8; see also specific report in note at close of chapter.

² Town Records, 177-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 190.

these the same allowance was made as the year before. In October the item of current expenses received the addition of "one hundred eighty pounds hard money."¹ But in 1782, when the bubble of inflated paper currency had burst, and wiser financial counsels were beginning to prevail, the parish appropriations, estimated in "hard money," resumed their wonted figures. Then "four hundred and eighty pounds lawful silver money"² were voted to defray the annual parish expenses, and "sixty pounds lawful silver money to repair the highways"; while labor upon the roads was fixed at "two shillings² per day," instead of "six pounds,"³ the compensation of the two previous years.

In 1778, amid the preoccupations and difficulties of war, an attempt was made to substitute, for the imperfect and temporary form of government established in 1776, a new constitution. On the 26th of January, "the inhabitants of Concord," in parish meeting, instructed their representative, Colonel Thomas Stickney, "to use his influence at the next session of the General Assembly, that a full and free representation of the people of this State be called as soon as conveniently may be, for the sole purpose of laying a permanent plan, or system, for the future government of this State."⁴ In accordance with such expression of the popular will throughout the state, the legislature appointed a constitutional convention to be held at Concord on the first Tuesday of June. Thus was first officially recognized by legislative authority the fitness of Concord, from its centrality and other advantages, as a place for state assembling. The recognition foretold that Concord would, sometime, be the capital of New Hampshire. On the 10th of June, the convention, composed of seventy-three delegates—one being Timothy Walker, Jr., of Concord—assembled in the meeting-house, which, by order of the parish,⁵ had been somewhat repaired for its new use. Some of the most distinguished men of the state—among whom were John Langdon and the three signers of the Declaration of Independence, Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, and Matthew Thornton—served in this first New Hampshire constitutional convention, but their labors went for naught. The constitution which was finally agreed upon a year later contained no provision for a distinct executive, and was otherwise defective, if not positively objectionable, so that, when it was sent out to the people, it was "totally rejected."⁶ When the question of accepting the "plan of government" was put to vote in parish meeting in Concord, "there appeared," says the record, "twenty-six for receiving the said plan, and twenty-five rejected the same."⁷

¹ Town Records, 196.

² *Ibid.*, 202.

³ *Ibid.*, 182, 190.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 166-7.

⁶ Bouton's Concord, 277.

⁷ Town Records, 176.

This close vote in Concord was more favorable to the proposed constitution than was that of most other places.

Two years later, in obedience to a joint resolve of the legislature, a second constitutional convention was called to be held in Concord. To this, Colonel Timothy Walker was chosen a delegate. The convention first met on the 5th of June, 1781, in the hall over the store of "Merchant" Stevens, where were held most, if not all, of its seven sessions during an existence of nearly two years and a half. The last was held on the 31st of October, 1783, when, after the submission of two drafts of a constitution to the people, and their rejection, the third was found to have been accepted, and was accordingly declared to be the fundamental law of the state.

Upon the first "plan of government," as devised by the convention, and sent to the people in September, 1781, the vote in Concord stood "forty-eight against, and none for it."¹ This rejection, however, was accompanied by the suggestion of the following amendments: That there be "town representation;" that there be "a governor at the head of the legislative body; that the governor shall not have a privy council; and that the people at large shall appoint their militia officers."¹ When the second form of the constitution was submitted to the people by the convention, on the third Wednesday of August, 1782, the voters of Concord, wishing to act with due deliberation upon the question of acceptance, selected a committee of seven, consisting of Colonel Timothy Walker, Colonel Thomas Stickney, Captain Benjamin Emery, Captain Reuben Kimball, Lieutenant John Bradley, Dr. Peter Green, and Mr. Henry Martin, to consider the subject, and make report at an adjourned meeting.² When the matter came up for final decision, on the 16th of December, the plan of government, as it then stood, was rejected by all the fifty-two voters present; but with the amendments proposed by the committee, "it was received by thirty." The amendments were: "That the governor and privy council be left out, and that there be a president, a legislative council, and a house of representatives; and that the powers which are vested in a governor and council be vested in the council and house of representatives."³ Finally, at the third and successful attempt of the convention to present a constitution acceptable to the people, Concord, in September, 1783, contributed to the general popular approval, a vote of two to one—or twenty for to ten against.⁴

In view of the difficulties experienced in constitution-making, provision had been made, on recommendation of the legislature, that the constitution of 1776, which, by its terms, could be operative only

¹ Town Records, 199.

² *Ibid.*, 208.

³ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 212.

during the war, should be continued in force till June 10, 1784, even if peace should come before a new plan of government could be provided.¹ This proved a wise precaution; for peace was proclaimed on the 19th of April, 1783,—the eighth anniversary of Lexington,—and a little more than six months before the new form of government, as accepted by the people, was proclaimed by the convention to be the “Civil Constitution for the State of New Hampshire,” and to go into full effect “on the first Wednesday of June, 1784.”²

Meanwhile, the legislature had begun to hold sessions in Concord. The question of adjourning the general court from Exeter to Concord having come up at the January session, 1782, it was decided in the affirmative by the house, but was non-concurred in by the council. Thereupon, however, the house adhered to its vote, by twenty-seven yeas to twenty nays, and the legislature stood adjourned till Wednesday, the 13th of March, “then to meet at the meeting-house in Concord.”³ It was largely through the address and influence of Judge⁴ Walker, that the dissatisfaction of certain members of the legislature with the accommodations at Exeter was thus turned to the advantage of Concord, which that gentleman represented, and whose interests he always vigilantly watched. On the 13th of March, “sundry members of the House”—as runs the official record⁵—“met, according to adjournment, at the meeting-house in Concord, and, as it was inconvenient to hold the Court there, owing to the inclemency of the season, agreed to adjourn, and meet again forthwith in a building prepared for their reception.” The place thus “prepared” was a room in Judge Walker’s store,⁶ where the house was accommodated; while the council held its sessions in the south parlor of the minister’s dwelling, a short distance north. Concord was also the seat of the next two successive sessions; held, the one, in June, the other, in September. As to the place, in the first of the two adjournments, decision was made by a vote of forty-five yeas to twenty nays; in the second, without opposition.⁷ Thenceforward, Concord was a frequent, though, for more than twenty years, not the permanent, place of legislative meeting. The citizens of the parish duly appreciated the actual and potential advantage of even the earliest legislative recognition of Concord as a desirable seat of the state government; and discerned in that recognition the ultimate fulfilment of a “manifest destiny.” They

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. VIII, 968-69-70.

² N. H. State Papers, Vol. IX, 918-19.

³ N. H. State Papers, Vol. VIII, 931-2.

⁴ Timothy Walker, Jr., had been for some time upon the bench of the court of common pleas.

⁵ N. H. State Papers, Vol. VIII, 936.

⁶ *Ibid* (note); see, also, note at close of chapter.

⁷ N. H. State Papers, Vol. VIII, 938, 947.

sought to provide suitable accommodations—among others, a becoming temporary state house. For ten years the question of finishing the meeting-house, so as the better to meet ordinary parish uses, had been frequently agitated;¹ but, from various causes, especially the preoccupying demands of the Revolutionary struggle, the work had not been done.² Now, however, the new political exigency hastened the fulfilment of the delayed purpose. The right in the building, with its acre and a half of ground, held, since 1751, by individuals, under the style of “Proprietors of the Meeting House,”—as mentioned in the previous chapter,—was, in 1782, relinquished to the parish;³ and, ere long, the former structure was put in process of renovation⁴—a work which had made good progress in 1783, but

was not completed till 1784,⁵ when the pews were ordered to be sold at vendue.⁶

“The meeting-house was finished,” writes Dr. Bouton,⁷ “in what was considered a superior style. The entrances were at a door in the middle, on the south side, and at two porches, one at the east with a steeple, and the other at the west. The pulpit was about twelve feet



First Frame Meeting-house, with Subsequent Additions.

high, with a window back of it, and over head a large sounding-board. On the lower floor, aisles extended from the south door to the pulpit, and from one porch to the other, and side aisles separated the wall-pews from those in the body of the house. At the base of the pulpit, on a platform about two feet high, was a seat for aged men; and in front of that, less elevated, was the deacons' seat. Sus-

¹ Town Records, 128-9.

² *Ibid*, 166, 202-3.

³ Bouton's Concord, 285.

⁶ *Ibid*; also, see Recorded Assignment of Pews in note at close of chapter.

⁷ History of Concord, 286-7.

⁴ Town Records, 201.

⁵ *Ibid*, 216-17.

pended from the front of the deacons' seat by hinges was a circular board, which served for a table on sacramental occasions. The pulpit stairs were on the west side, and underneath the pulpit on the east was a closet. The wall and body pews were square, with seats hung on hinges, to be raised when the congregation stood in prayer. Near the middle of the house were five slips or 'seats' on each side, reserved for persons who did not own 'pews'—the men sitting on the west side, and women on the east. The gallery was also fitted up with pews, considerably elevated, around the wall. A large, square pew opposite the pulpit was built for the singers, with a circular table on which to lay their books. Two large pews were finished, contiguous to the singers' seat—one on the east and the other on the west side. The other space in the gallery was laid off into slips for common use; reserving—according to the custom of the times—one slip for negroes, near the east door of the gallery."

But on the first day of September, 1782, the pulpit of the church, about to be renovated, missed its wonted preacher. On the morning of that Sabbath day, the Reverend Timothy Walker suddenly died "in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the fifty-second of his ministry."¹ The congregation, gathering for accustomed worship, heard not the gospel from revered lips, but with sorrowful surprise, the tidings that those lips were sealed in death.² In due time came the funeral, conducted by a committee of the parish, when the people came together in a body to mourn for their lost pastor, as for a father; and when with fit solemnities, and with his ministerial brethren of the country round to bear the pall,³ the first minister of Concord was carried to his burial.⁴

The life, the close of which is here recorded, was so closely and prominently identified with the life of Concord, that the history of the latter has necessarily included largely that of the former. For more than fifty years, to this citizen and minister of the gospel, the well-being of the community in which he dwelt and for which he wrought, was precious even "as the apple of his eye." A round-about common sense was an eminent characteristic of his; and a keen sagacity was wont to discern the end from the beginning. Consequently, his counsel was safe; and his methodical action tended to success, whether in ministerial effort, or in the cultivation of his farm, or in the prosecution of Rumford's case before the courts of Great Britain. His superiority of mental training was an advantage which he used to promote the interests of his fellow-citizens and parishioners; and while it exalted his ideals, it did not lift him above

¹ Bouton's Concord, 284.

² *Ibid.*, 561.

³ *Ibid.*, 284.

⁴ See Funeral Expenses in note at close of chapter.

sympathy with the practical and even commonplace life of those less favored among whom his lot was cast. Hence, he enjoyed the affection of the people. Weight of character and accompanying personal dignity won universal respect for the blue-eyed, portly parson of medium stature, wearing, according to the fashion of his day, the powdered wig, three-cornered hat, short clothes, and buckled shoes.¹ This respect had one manifestation in the custom of his parishioners to remain standing after the Sabbath service, till their minister, with courteous bowing, had passed out of the church. The similar feeling used to be forcibly enough expressed by Ephraim Colby, the Revolutionary veteran and sturdy fisticuff and wrestler, when he said, "Parson Walker is the only man the Almighty ever made that I am afraid of." But the dignity of this serious man was without moroseness; and it is reported of him that "though not talkative, he was agreeable in social intercourse, and occasionally facetious."¹

A "moderate Calvinist," orthodox according to the Westminster Catechism, and tenacious of Puritan Congregationalism, Mr. Walker desired to keep his people united in religious faith and practice, and succeeded in doing so throughout his long ministry. His preaching, however, was more practical than doctrinal, and was embodied in half-hour sermons, carefully written, and calmly, yet effectively, delivered. Moreover, the religion of Concord's first minister embraced love of his country as well as of his God. His patriotism was genuine and ardent; the American cause, during its Revolutionary ordeal,—the actual, though not the formal, close of which he lived to see,—was in his prayers, and its triumph in his hopes—nay, in his faith. This triumph he had foreseen from the beginning of the struggle; but when the tidings of Bennington came to him, he could, with fervent assurance, exclaim, as he did: "Blessed be God! the country is saved—I can now die in peace!"² And in that peace did die, five years later, the aged Christian and patriot.

But the venerable pastor, whose efforts had contributed so much to rescue, in 1765, his municipality from chaos, did not live to see its legal name of Town restored. For nineteen years, Concord, much to the distaste of its inhabitants, held the title of "Parish of Bow," and, in vain, desired a restoration of "the bounds of Rumford." But, at last, on the second day of January, 1784, a legislative act—mentioned in the preceding chapter—annexed "a part of Canterbury and Loudon to the parish of Concord," thus partially restoring the ancient bounds; while in the same act, the sensible and desirable provision was added, "that the Parish of Concord be henceforth called the Town of Concord, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary

¹ Bouton's Concord, 557-8.

² Annals of Concord, 44.

notwithstanding.”¹ Thus was restored the proper municipal designation of which the settlement—first, as Rumford, then as Concord—had been deprived for the more than forty years it had been under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire.

NOTES.

Locations. The “middle way” location of the school “in the town street” was a few rods north of the modern Opera House, or the site of Gass’s American House. . . . Captain John Chandler’s residence stood upon the site occupied a century later by Hamilton Perkins, and, in 1900, by General Joab N. Patterson. . . . The site of Lot Colby’s residence was later occupied by Joseph S. Lund. *Bouton’s Concord, 244.*

Sarah, Countess of Rumford. Dr. Bouton, in History of Concord, 573, gives the following sketch of the eventful life of this lady:—“She was born in the family mansion—the Rolfe house—October 18, 1774. A portion of her early life was spent with her paternal grandmother, at Woburn. After the death of her mother, in 1792, she went to Europe, at her father’s invitation, and was introduced into the polite and fashionable circles of Bavaria, of Paris, and of London. Between the death of her father and her own decease she visited this country two or three times; but her principal residence was at Brompton, near London, in a house which she inherited from her father. A portion of her time she spent in Paris, where she had funds invested. In 1845 she returned to the spot where she was born, to live and—to die. Here she remained in great retirement, having, as her only companion and the solace of her declining years, a young lady whom she adopted when a child, at Brompton.” [This young lady was Miss Emma Gannell. She afterwards married Mr. John Burgum of Concord, who was a native of Birmingham, England.] “Occasionally the countess attended public worship at the North church, and visited her family relatives and friends, but spent most of her time in adorning the grounds about her house and fitting things to her taste. By her habits of strict economy the property she inherited, together with her pension of about eight hundred dollars, had accumulated to a very considerable sum at the time of her decease—all which she disposed of by will, partly to family connections, but mostly for charitable objects.

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1. To the Rolfe and Rumford Asylum, in Concord, | \$5,000 |
| which she founded—with all her real estate, | |
| apprised at | 5,000 |
| 2. To the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane, | 15,000 |

¹ Acts of 1784, p. 531.

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 3. To the Concord Female Charitable Society, | \$2,000 |
| 4. To the Boston Children's Friend Society, | 2,000 |
| 5. For the Fatherless and Widows' Society, Boston, | 2,000 |

She left a legacy of \$10,000 to Joseph Amedee LeFebre, a son of her natural brother, Captain LeFebre of the French army, on condition that he would assume the name of Joseph Amedee Rumford. The executor of her will was James F. Baldwin, of Boston, who was a neighbor and personal friend of the countess in youth, and her financial agent in later years. The paintings which she inherited from her father, consisting of a portrait of the Elector of Bavaria, and Prince Maximilian, afterwards king of Bavaria; also, of several ladies of the court, and several of Count Rumford, representing him at different periods of life—were given to Joseph B. Walker, to descend at his decease to his son, Charles Rumford Walker. A beautiful marble monument is erected to her memory in the old burying-ground, near the Walker family.”

Concord Men at Bunker Hill. In Captain Abbot's company were: Joshua Abbot, captain; Abiel Chandler, second lieutenant; Jeremiah Abbot, sergeant; Samuel Davis, sergeant; Nathaniel C., Stephen, Reuben, and Amos Abbot; Jonathan Bradley, Ephraim Colby, Ezekiel Dimond, Moses and Stephen Hall, William Mitchell, Richard Flood, William Straw, Peter Chandler.—IN Captain Hutchins's company were: Gordon Hutchins, captain; Daniel Livermore, lieutenant; Benjamin Abbot, sergeant; Simeon Danforth, corporal; William Walker, corporal; Robert Livingston, Isaac and Peter Johnson, Abraham Kimball, Thomas Chandler, Joseph Grace, Samuel Straw, Levi Hutchins, fifer; Michael Flanders, drummer; Ezra Badger.—IN Captain Kinsman's company were: Aaron Kinsman, captain; Ebenezer Eastman, lieutenant; Samuel Thompson, corporal. Most of this company were from other towns.—BESIDES those named above, there were at Bunker Hill the following Concord men: Jonathan Currier, Edward Evans, William Fifield, Timothy Simonds, and Andrew Stone; but to which of the three companies they respectively belonged is uncertain.—ABIEL CHANDLER, the Concord schoolmaster and surveyor, who led the men who flew to the front at the Lexington alarm, is recorded both as a lieutenant in Captain Abbot's company and as adjutant of Stark's regiment. *Adjutant-General's Report, Vol. II (1866), pp. 265-6.*—CAPTAIN GORDON HUTCHINS was wounded in the battle. His son Levi, fourteen years old, accompanied him to the front as a fifer, but was not allowed by his father to be present in the battle, though he witnessed it at a distance. The youth was afterwards in service with his father in New York. *See Autobiography of Levi Hutchins.*

Continental Service, 1775-6-7. The names of the following eight men were reported by Timothy Walker, Jr., and Benjamin Emery, selectmen, as being in the Continental service for the years 1775-'76: Jeremiah Abbot, Nathaniel C. Abbot, John Kinkson, William Straw, Andrew Stone, William Walker, Nathaniel Eastman, Jr., and Moses Hall.—IN Colonel Timothy Bedel's regiment, operating in Canada in the spring of 1776, and in the companies commanded respectively by Captains James Osgood and Ebenezer Green, were Concord men. In Captain Osgood's company were: John Webster, lieutenant; Richard H. Osgood, sergeant; Hubbard Carter, sergeant; Joshua Danforth, corporal; Nathaniel C. Abbot, Nathaniel Walker, Joseph Lund, Joseph Giles; Ezra, Elias, and Philip Abbot; Benjamin Fifield, Ezekiel Eastman, Nathan Kinsman, Benjamin Kenniston, Daniel Chandler, Samuel Danford, and William Simonds; in Captain Green's company were Irad Glines, Ebenezer Hall, and Joseph Chanler. Some of the above-mentioned were taken prisoners on the 19th of May, 1776, at the fort called "the Cedars," and were stripped of most of their clothing, and all of their equipments and utensils for camp and field. Among those faring thus were Elias, Ezra, and Philip Abbot, and Benjamin Fifield.—IN a company commanded by Captain Benjamin Sias of Canterbury, and belonging to Colonel David Gilman's regiment, on service in New York in 1776, were Philbrick Bradley, Peter Blanchard, Amos Abbot, Jr., Daniel Carter, and Richard Flood.—IN 1776 the following Concord men stood enrolled in Captain Joshua Abbot's company: Abiel Chandler, lieutenant; Ephraim Colby, ensign; Timothy Hall, Jonathan Haseltine, Philip Page, Amos Barnes, Terence McColley, Beriah and Moses Abbot, Stephen Hall, Peter Chandler, John Merrill, Seth Spring, John Blanchard, Benjamin Powell, Hezekiah Colby, William Walker, Phinehas Stevens, Jonathan Johnson, Samuel Worthen, Moses Hall, Peter Carey, Jonathan Bradley, and Ephraim Fisk.—FOR Captain Benjamin Emery's company, in Colonel Nahum Baldwin's regiment, of which Gordon Hutchins was lieutenant-colonel, and which reinforced the Continental army in New York in 1776, Concord furnished the following named persons: Aaron Kinsman, ensign; Israel Glines, Ezra Badger, John Carter, Jonathan Currier, Simeon Colby, Ephraim Kinsman, William and Ezekiel Stickney, Jacob Carter, Solomon Gage, Benjamin Elliot, and Bruce Walker.—IN 1777, in Captain Daniel Livermore's company of the Third New Hampshire regiment, the following Concord names were enrolled: Robert Livingston, sergeant; Amos Flood, corporal; Abner Hogg, Phinehas Stevens, Daniel Chandler, Philip Rowell, Samuel Worthen, Abiel Stevens, Solomon Fisk, Obadiah Kimball, Abner and Ebenezer

Farnum, Beriah Abbot, William and Jacob Eastman, John Straw, and Samuel Colby.—At Ticonderoga, in 1777, the company commanded by Captain Ebenezer Webster of Salisbury, and belonging to Colonel Thomas Stickney's regiment, contained the following named Concord men: Richard Herbert, lieutenant; William Simonds, Timothy Bradley, Simeon Danforth; Isaac, Elias, John, and Ezra Abbot; Phinehas Stevens, Ezekiel Dimond, John Peters; Nathaniel, John, and Stilson Eastman; Ebenezer Farnum, Ephraim Fisk, Jr., Abial Hall, Isaac Chandler, Israel Glines, and Benjamin Rolfe.

Relief of Ticonderoga. In Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrish's regiment, raised in Concord and vicinity, and which marched July 5th, 1777, for the relief of Ticonderoga, and having marched seventy-five miles, was met by the news of the evacuation of the fort, and turned back to be discharged on the 12th of July, were the following men from Concord: Richard Herbert, lieutenant; William Simonds, Timothy Bradley, John Chase; Richard, Joseph, Nathaniel, John, and Stilson Eastman; Simeon Danforth, Isaac and Elias Abbot, Daniel and Ebenezer Farnum, John Peters, Ephraim Fisk, Jr., Abial Hall, Isaac Chandler, Israel Glines, Phinehas Stevens, Ezekiel Dimond, and Benjamin Rolfe. (With these are set down the following who may not have belonged to Concord: Jacob Heath, Stephen Haines, John Cross, and Peter Blanchard.)

Committees of Safety. The Committees of Safety for the three years following 1776 were: For 1777, John Kimball, Thomas Stickney, Reuben Kimball, Benjamin Emery, and Richard Herbert; for 1778,

Lieutenant Joseph Hall, Captain Joshua Abbot, John Kimball, James Walker, and Lieutenant John Chandler; in 1779, Lieutenant John Chandler, Colonel Thos. Stickney, and Captain Aaron Kinsman.
—*Town Rec-*



"Elm-Croft."

ords, 153, 164, 172. Philip Eastman, of East Concord, was chairman of the first committee, or that of 1776—the members of which are named in the text. The committee meetings were frequently held in the southeast corner room on the first floor of the well-built, capacious house erected by Mr. Eastman in 1755; a house, which—it may be here added in passing—was to be occupied by his descendants in direct line to the fourth generation, and to stand, in the possession of Jonathan Eastman Pecker, in 1900, a finely preserved type of a colonial mansion, bearing the name of “Elm-Croft.”

Association Test of 1776. The following is a list of the subscribers to the Association Test, the words of which are given in the text:

Reuben Kimball,	Joseph Hall,	Amos Abbot, jr.,
John Kimball,	Richard Hazeltine,	William Coffin,
Thomas Stickney,	Joseph Hall, jr.,	Joseph Abbot,
Peter Green,	Benjamin Fifield,	Jonathan Merrill,
Tim ^y Walker, jr.,	Reuben Abbott,	James Mitchell,
Benjamin Emery,	Lot Colby,	Ezra Carter,
John Bradley,	Jonathan Eastman,	Asa Kimball,
Nathan Chandler,	Daniel Chase,	Jonathan Emerson,
Aaron Stevens,	David George,	Timothy Bradley, jr.,
James Walker,	John Stevens,	Joseph Eastman,
Robert Davis,	John Virgin,	Phineas Virgin,
Benj. Hanniford,	Phineas Stevens,	William Currier,
Daniel Gale,	Jabez Abbot,	Ebenezer Simond,
David Hall,	Benjamin Abbot,	Dan Stickney,
Simon Danforth,	Ebenezer Hall,	Josiah Farnum, jr.,
Nathaniel Abbot,	Henry Martin,	Elisha Moody,
Nathaniel Rolfe,	Timothy Simonds,	Benjamin Eastman,
Stephen Greenleaf,	William Fifield,	Jacob Green,
Samuel Thompson,	Reuben Abbott, jr.,	Benjamin Farnum,
John Gage,	Samuel Butters,	Ebenezer Virgin,
Moses Eastman, jr.,	Timo. Walker, [Rev.]	Ephraim Potter,
Jacob Carter,	Henry Beck,	Edward Abbott,
John Fowle,	Benjamin Rolfe,	Jonathan Stickney,
Levi ^{his} × Ross,	Oliver Hoit,	Eph'm Farnum, jr.,
_{mark}	Theodore Farnum,	William Virgin,
Jeremiah Bradley,	Ebenezer Farnum,	Obadiah Hall,
Peter Green, jr.,	Ephraim Farnum,	George Abbot,
Amos Abbot,	John Steven, (?)	Josiah Farnum,
Timothy Bradley,	Moses Eastman,	Joseph Farnum,
Ephraim Farnum,	Chandler Lovejoy,	Stephen Kimball,
Cornelius Johnson,	Samuel Kinkson,	Daniel Hall,
Philip Eastman,	Caleb Buswell,	Abner Flanders,

Daniel Abbot,	Richard Eastman,	Nathan Abbot,
Richard Flanders,	Solomon Gage,	Jesse Abbot,
Joseph Farnum,	Ezekiel Dimond, jr.,	Joseph Eastman, jr.,
Isaac Abbot,	^{His} John X Trumble,	Richard Potter,
Ephraim Abbot,	_{mark.}	Timothy Symonds,
Stephen Abbot,	Joseph Colby,	Philip Kimball,
George Abbot, jr.,	Ephraim Fisk,	Timothy Kimball,
Stephen Farnum,	Nathaniel Green,	John Farnum,
Daniel Farnum,	Thomas Wilson,	Ezekiel Carter,
Daniel Chandler,	Isaac Walker,	Richard Hood,
Philip Carigain,	Ezra Badger,	Henry Lovejoy,
Daniel Carter,	Richard Flanders,	Lemuel Tucker,
Joseph Clough,	Timothy Farnham,	Jacob Goodwin,
Richard Herbert,	Ezekiel Dimond,	George Graham,
Gordon Hutchins,	Joseph Haseltine,	Jeremiah Wheeler,
James Haseltine,	Phineas Kimball,	Zephaniah Pettey,
William Haseltine,	Robert Ambros,	Zebediah Farnum,
Simon Trumbel,	Benjamin Sweat,	Samuel Goodwin,
John Chase,	Abiel Blanchard,	Abner Farnum,
John Shute,	Benjamin Elliot,	Thomas Eaton.
Jacob Shute,	James Stevens,	

Bennington. Of Colonel Thomas Stickney's regiment in General Stark's brigade at Bennington, August, 1777, there were, from Concord: Thomas Stickney, colonel; Richard Herbert, lieutenant; Jesse, John, Elias, Ephraim, Ezra, and Stephen Abbot; Timothy Johnson, Benjamin Ambrose, Philbrick Bradley, Simeon Danforth, Reuben Dimond, Benjamin Elliot, Theodore Farnum, Richard Flood, Abner Flanders, Samuel Kinsman, John Peters, Ephraim Fisk, Ephraim Fisk, Jr., David George, Solomon Gage, Israel Glines, Abial Hall, Anthony Potter, Phinehas Stevens, William Simonds, Simon Trumble, and Gilman West. Of those named above Philbrick Bradley was wounded in the battle. John Abbot, uncle of the subsequent mayor of Concord, received a ball on the breast-bone, which fell harmless at his feet. He was the stoutest young man in Concord, as well as one of the tallest, standing six feet seven inches without shoes. *Bouton's Concord, 629.*

Saratoga. In Captain Joshua Abbot's company of volunteers that marched to reinforce the Northern army at Saratoga, in September, 1777, were: Reuben Kimball, lieutenant; James Mitchell, sergeant; Moses Abbot, sergeant; Amos Abbot, corporal; Jacob Carter, drummer; John Farnum; Moses, Stilson, Jonathan, and Joseph Eastman; Ezekiel Dimond, Phinehas Virgin, Daniel Farnum, Chandler Lovejoy, Enoch Coffin, James Johnson, Reuben and Philip Abbot, Ezekiel

Stickney, Timothy Hall, John Peters, Michael Flanders, Isaac Diamond, John Sillaway, and Benjamin Rolfe.

Rhode Island Expedition, 1778. In Colonel Stickney's regiment, raised for the defense of Rhode Island, were Peaslee Eastman, Jacob and Josiah Flanders, and Josiah Chandler.

New Levies in 1780. These were in service six months. Of these were: Joshua Graham, Thomas Carr, Daniel Stickney, Aaron and Peaslee Eastman, John Peters, Jonas Wyman, Benjamin Thompson, and Jonathan Moulton.

For Three Months' Service in 1780-'81. In Captain Aaron Kinsman's company of Colonel Stickney's regiment were enlisted the following persons: Elias Abbot, Gilman and Edward West, Reuben and Joseph Blanchard, Ephraim Fisk, John Dow, Keyes and Benjamin Bradley, Josiah Flanders, Ebenezer Gray, Elisha Virgin, William Eastman.—In July, 1781, the following persons enlisted with no special assignment recorded: Jeremiah Virgin, Jeremiah Chandler, Moses Read, Phinehas Ayer, Joseph Blanchard, David Eastman, Millen Kimball.

Ranger Service, 1782. In Captain Webster's company for defense of the frontiers, were: Abner Flanders, sergeant; Henry Eastman, private.—In general conclusion to the preceding notes of the present chapter, containing lists of Concord men, who, under various assignments, served in the Revolution, may be added the names of some whose times and places of service—with one exception—are not known. They are: David Davis, fifer; Simeon Locke, John Thompson, Joshua Thompson (aid to Lafayette), Moses Chase, Ebenezer Foss, Samuel Walker, Thomas or Benjamin Powell, Salem Colby (negro), Eliphalet Caswell, Nathan Shead, Thomas Pitts, Joseph Hale, Ephraim Hoyt, Nathan Stevens, Timothy Abbot, David Blanchard, Jonathan Chase, Peter Manual, Benjamin Chase, Enoch Badger, and Moses Reed. Possibly some of these were not citizens, but were only "hired" for Concord.

Dr. Carrigain. On the 13th of June, 1777, a special committee of the house, appointed to consider what was the best to be done with "John Maloney and Dr. Callighan, persons suspected to be inimical to the liberties of this State," reported that "they be committed to the gaol in Exeter for safe-keeping." *Journal of House, State Papers, Vol. VIII, 585.* There is no further record. "Dr. Callighan" probably meant Dr. Carrigain; and it is reasonable to suppose that the good Concord doctor was not held long in durance vile.

"Merchant Stevens." John Stevens was an Englishman by birth, and a gentleman of good education. He came to Concord from

Charlestown, Mass., and went into trade with Colonel McMillan, in the store on the northwest corner of Main and Pleasant streets. He built an addition, and fitted the upper story into a hall which was variously used, and, occasionally, as a place of meeting for the house of representatives. He bought for his wife the house built by Stephen Farrington, and situated near what was afterwards to be the northwest corner of State and Pleasant streets (in 1900-'01 the site of the Wonalancet Club House). His purchase included the adjacent field.—How the merchant was arrested and imprisoned for alleged Toryism is told in the text; also that he never forgave the town for prosecuting him on what he declared was a false charge. He died on the 25th of December, 1792, in the forty-fifth year of his age. "Some time before he died," says Dr. Bouton, "he said to his wife,—Wife, I am a justice of the peace, and I wish you to make oath, before me, that when I am dead, you will see that I am buried between those two apple-trees [pointing them out]; that no citizen of Concord shall follow me to the grave; no minister be present; that you will pay one crown apiece the four men who bear out my body and bury it.' His wife demurred to taking the oath, but promised to do as he wished. He was buried accordingly. His bearers were Zenas Wheeler, Job Page, Daniel Page, and ———. Several years afterwards, when the house owned by Col. William Kent was moved on to the spot [just west of the Farrington house], the bones of Stevens were dug up, put in a box, and re-interred in the back part of the same lot, where they remain unknown to this day."

Maximum Prices. The following were some of the maximum prices established in 1777, "to prevent monopoly and oppression," as mentioned in the text. Wheat could "not exceed the price of seven shillings per bushel;" rye, five; Indian eorn, four; oats, two shillings and sixpence; potatoes, in the fall of the year, one shilling and fourpence—at any other season, two shillings; butter, ninepence, per pound; cheese, sixpence; salt pork, ninepence—fresh, fourpence three farthings; veal, threepence; beef, grass-fed, threepence—stall-fed, fourpence; grass-fed mutton, fourpence; oak wood on the town street, eight shillings a cord; men's neat leather shoes, nine shillings a pair; women's, seven shillings and threepence; flip and toddy made of New England rum, one shilling per mug or bowl; victuals at the tavern, one shilling per meal; cider, at the press, eight shillings per barrel—other seasons of the year, in proportion—and threepence per mug; flax, one shilling per pound; wool, two shillings and sixpence; yarn stockings, seven shillings a pair; English hay, of best quality, six dollars per load in the field; farming labor in the best season, three shillings and sixpence a day—at other seasons, in pro-

portion ; shoeing a yoke of oxen, four shillings ; a horse, steel-corked, seven shillings—in other ways, in proportion ; plow irons, one shilling per pound ; hoes, six shillings apiece ; chains and yoke irons, one shilling and threepence per pound ; carpenter's labor, four shillings per day ; joiner's, three shillings and sixpence ; tailor's, three shillings—the making of a full suit of woolen clothes, one pound four shillings ; woman's common labor, two shillings and sixpence per week ; wool hats, nine shillings apiece ; mason's labor, four shillings and sixpence ; men's half boots of the best sort, thirteen shillings and sixpence per pair ; tow cloth a yard wide, two shillings and sixpence per yard—other widths, in proportion ; the best of all-wool cloth, dressed fit for men's wear, three-quarters wide, nine shillings per yard.

Judge Walker's Store. This historic building was afterwards removed to the west side of Main street, upon a site not far from the junction of Main and Penacook streets, where it has stood, occupied as a dwelling, to the present time (1900).

Recorded Assignment of Pews. In March, 1784, the parish raised a committee consisting of Captain Reuben Kimball, Colonel Timothy Walker, Lieutenant John Bradley, John Kimball, and James Walker, "to vendue the pews, and finish the meeting-house" ; with instruction "to proceed to finish the outside of the same the ensuing summer."—*Town Records, 216-17.* On the 21st of March, 1786, the town clerk was "directed to record the pews in the meeting-house to those persons who" had "purchased and paid for the same."—*Town Records, 226.* The following is the record of pews, with their respective numbers prefixed to the names of the persons entitled thereto, as, in substance, set down in Town Records, 229-30 :

On Floor. No. 1. Reserved for use of minister ; 2. Col. Timothy Walker ; 3. Timothy and Philbrick Bradley ; 4. Nathan and Jesse Abbot ; 5. Stephen Farnum ; 6. Lieut. Joseph Haseltine ; 7. Lieut. Benjamin Farnum ; 8. Capt. Richard Ayer ; 9. Lieut. Timothy Dix ; 10. Thomas Wilson ; 11. Ensign Ephraim Colby ; 12. Abel Harris ; 13. Major William Duncan ; 14. Capt. Benjamin Emery ; 15. William Coffin ; 16. Dr. Peter Green ; 17. Benjamin Hannaford ; 18. John Blanchard ; 19. John Souther ; 20. Ensign John Odlin ; 21. Abel Harris ; 22. Stephen Kimball ; 23. Isaac Abbot ; 24. Lieut. Richard Herbert ; 25. Ebenezer H. Goss and Nathaniel Rolfe, Jr. ; 26. Col. Thomas Stickney ; 27. Lieut. Robert Davis ; 28. David Hall ; 29. James Walker ; 30. Capt. Reuben Kimball ; 31. Lieut. Joseph Farnum ; 32. Ezra Carter ; 33. Ebenezer Dustin ; 34. Richard Haseltine ; 35. Col. Peter Green ; 36. Lieut. John Bradley ; 37. Ebenezer Hall ; 38. Benjamin Rolfe and Ephraim Farnum ; 39. En-

sign John Shute; 40. Vacant; 41. Vacant; 42. Capt. Joshua Abbot; 43. Col. Aaron Kinsman; 44. Robert and Jonathan Eastman; 45. Josiah Farnum, Jr. and Daniel Farnum; 46. John Kimball; 47. Lieut. Joseph Hall.

In Gallery. No. 1. David Carter; 2. Beriah Abbot; 3. Benjamin Davis; 4. Benjamin Elliot and Sarah Farnum; 5. Benjamin Kimball; 6. John Walker; 7. Richard Herbert, Jr.; 8. Richard Ayer; 9. Vacant; 10. Isaac Hustone; 11. Vacant; 12. Daniel Chase, Jr.; 13. Jonathon Runnals; 14. Benjamin Kimball; 15. Vacant; 16. Caleb Buswell; 17. Isaac Dimond; 18. Capt. Reuben Kimball; 19. John West; 20. Lieut. Joshua Thompson; 21. Daniel Abbot; 22. Vacant; 23. Jeremiah Stickney; 24. James Walker; 25. Anthony Potter; 26. Vacant.

Funeral Expenses. The charges of the Rev. Timothy Walker's funeral, as defrayed by the parish, were as follows: Eight rings, £4 16s.; two gallons wine, £1 4s.; a coffin, 9s.; biers, 1s. 6d.; a horse to Sanbornton, 3s.; do to Gilmanton, 3s.; do to Warner, 2s. 3d.; digging grave, 2s.; provisions, £1 2s. 3d.; gravestones, £4 4s. Total, £12 7s.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TOWN OF CONCORD.—POST-REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS.—CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.—REVISED STATE CONSTITUTION.—TOWN AFFAIRS AND PROGRESS.

1784—1800.

As the new constitution was to go into full effect on the second day of June, 1784, a president of the state, senators, and members of the house of representatives were elected by the people in March. In Concord, Timothy Walker, who had been the first and the last to serve the parish as representative under the old constitution, was elected as the first to serve the town in the same capacity under the new. Of the ninety-eight votes cast for president, fifty-six were for Woodbury Langdon, and forty-two for Josiah Bartlett.¹ But neither of these candidates was chosen to the chief magistracy, the venerable Meshech Weare being the choice of a large majority in the state. Only seven of the twelve senators having been elected by the people, the legislature made choice of Timothy Walker as one of the remaining five, and Peter Green² was chosen by the town to succeed him in the lower house.

The members elect of the two branches of the legislature convened at Concord on the first Wednesday of June. Their oaths of office were taken and subscribed before Josiah Bartlett, senior member of the old council, acting for President Weare of that body,³ detained by illness incident to the burden of years and the weight of public cares long borne. Thursday, the 3d of June, was the day on which popular interest in the inauguration of the government under the new constitution was especially manifested. "The occasion," it has been written, "was of great interest and importance, and attended with imposing ceremonies. A procession was formed, composed of members of the legislature, and civil authorities of the state, together with other persons of office and dignity; also, of ministers of the gospel of various denominations, and a large body of citizens, who marched at the sound of music to the meeting-house. The Reverend Samuel McClintock, of Greenland, preached on the occasion, and a public dinner was given at the expense of the State."⁴

This "Election Day" was typical of a holiday, which was, with

¹ Town Records, 216-17.

² *Ibid.*, 219.

³ Journals of House and Senate, 1784.

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 238.

changes, to celebrate for many a year the June organization of the legislative department of the state government, and especially the official induction of the chief executive. It was peculiarly a Concord day, and one anticipated with much preparation for fitly receiving the official guests, as well as throngs of visitants sure to be in town to witness and enjoy the enlivening holiday observance. Special interest in the day extended into all the country round about the capital, and "going to 'lection," in the popular abbreviation, was a favorite recreative feature of the people's life.

But the town was, and for some years would be, without a settled minister of the gospel. In October, 1782, a few weeks after the death of Mr. Walker, a committee of three was appointed "to supply the pulpit."¹ In March, 1783, two were added to the committee. Later in the same year, certain arrearages of the late minister's salary were "discharged" by leasing to his son Timothy, "for the term of nine hundred ninety-nine years, three acres of bog-meadow which" had been "laid out to the parsonage right for emendation." This question of salary arrearage had often been before the parish meetings, and ineffectual attempts had been made to effect a settlement. In March, 1782, "all former committees, chosen to settle with the Rev. Timothy Walker," were dismissed, and one was appointed "to request" him "to sue those persons who" were "delinquent in paying his salary from the year 1749 to the year 1765."² The singular request was not complied with, and the town finally adjusted the matter by a lease of a portion of its parsonage land, as just mentioned. Another committee was selected, in March, 1785, for supplying the pulpit, and "one half the money raised to defray the expenses of the town" was appropriated to that purpose.³ The services of Mr. Daniel Story were temporarily employed; but it is said that his Arminianism did not quite suit the orthodox views of his hearers. At any rate, in June, the committee was enlarged, and instructed to "procure a candidate on probation the first opportunity."⁴ At length, Mr. Jonathan Wilkins, a native of Marlborough, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Dartmouth college, in 1779, was engaged to preach as a candidate; and on the 17th of December, 1786, he received from the church a unanimous call to settle. The next day the call was seconded by the town, with the offer of a salary of one hundred pounds, the use of the parsonage, and two hundred pounds "towards a settlement." But Mr. Wilkins declined the invitation, "in conformity,"—as he said in his answer,—“to what appears duty and interest, which are inseparably connected.” Though declining the

¹ Town Records, 207.

² *Ibid.*, 202.

³ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 222-3.

pastorate on what he deemed an inadequate salary, he became a permanent resident of Concord, useful and prominent in its church and civil affairs.¹

Nearly three years later, on the first day of September, 1788,—just six years after the death of Mr. Walker,—Israel Evans, a native of Pennsylvania, a graduate of Princeton, and an army chaplain during the Revolution, who had been preaching in Concord, as a candidate, received the call of church and town “to settle in the work of the ministry,”² with an annual salary of ninety pounds, the use of the parsonage, and “two hundred pounds—in materials for building a house—as a settlement.”² This vote was modified at an adjourned meeting in October, so as to make the salary fifteen dollars more “in lieu of the settlement.”² Mr. Evans did not “approve of everything in the call,”³ and did not accept until the 17th of March, 1789,³ and was regularly installed on the first Wednesday of July, of that year.⁴

In those days, financial stress, more or less severe, was felt throughout the country. During the last years of the Revolution, silver and gold had circulated largely, but had gradually, since peace, been returned to the countries from which necessary and unnecessary commodities⁵ were imported; while no general system of impost⁵ had been adopted, whereby some part of this money might have been retained.⁵ This scarcity of money was a grievance which legislation, in New Hampshire or elsewhere, failed to remedy: and which also bred a morbid desire for inordinate issues of paper currency. In some localities, even in conservative New Hampshire, this desire manifested itself not only in misguided urgency as to its specific object, but also in clamorous opposition to laws obliging the payment of debts, and to courts and lawyers, as instrumental in enforcing those laws. The unhealthy sentiment ran into a high fever of excitement in 1786. It was determined to bring direct pressure upon the legislature. Thus, it was planned as an impressive stroke of policy, to hold a paper-money convention at Concord, during the early days of the June legislative session: it being hoped that the personal presence of the convention might materially help to ensure for its petition the favor of the legislature. But a practical joke upset the fond hope. For when, at the commencement of the legislative session, only five delegates to the proposed convention were in town, sixteen members of the house, of a waggish turn, among whom were several young lawyers, bethought themselves to pretend that they, too, had been chosen as delegates from their towns. They

¹ Bouton's Concord, 294-5; also, see note at close of chapter.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 253-4.

² Town Records, 243-4.

⁵ Belknap, 295.

³ *Ibid.*, 251.

succeeded in persuading the five to go into convention with them at once; urging that it was of the utmost importance to present a petition to the legislature as early as possible. Thereupon, a convention of the real and pretended delegates was organized, with one of the former for president, and one of the latter for clerk. The proceedings and debates were conducted with much apparent solemnity.¹ A petition was framed, complaining, in most extravagant terms, of their grievances, and praying for a loan of three millions of dollars, secured by real estate—the paper thus issued to be legal tender for all debts; also praying for the abolition of inferior courts, and for a reduction of the number of lawyers to two only in a county.¹ The members of the convention then marched in procession to the house of representatives,—some of whom, including the speaker, had been let into the secret,—and, with great formality, presented their petition, which was suffered to lie on the table, and afterwards to be withdrawn.¹ The convention quickly dissolved; and when other real delegates arrived they were exceedingly mortified on finding their purpose, for that time, thwarted.

But the cause of fiat money, though having the laugh against it, continued to find more or less support in various quarters. County conventions were held, from two of which, and also from several towns, petitions were presented to the legislature at its September session held in Exeter. “To still the clamor,” says Belknap,² “and collect the real sense of the people on the subject of paper currency, the assembly formed a plan for the emission of fifty thousand pounds, to be let at four per cent. on land security, to be a tender in payment of state taxes, and for the fees and salaries of public officers. This plan”—adopted on the 14th of September—“was immediately printed, and sent to the several towns; and the people were desired to give their opinions in town-meetings for and against it, and to make return of their votes to the assembly at the next session.” This way of proceeding did not coincide with the radical views of the party, and an attempt was made to coerce the legislature by mob violence. This, however, signally failed.

The financial craze, with its violent craving for impracticable measures of relief, soon after subsided. This result was forwarded by the refusal of the people to consent to the plan for emitting a paper currency, submitted by the general court in September, a few days before the riot at Exeter. The sense of the citizens of Concord upon the subject was emphatically expressed in town-meeting on the 30th of October, 1786, when it was voted “not to make paper money on any plan whatever.”³

¹ Belknap, 399; also, see *Life of William Plumer*.

² *History of New Hampshire*, 400.

³ *Town Records*, 228; also, see note at close of chapter.

The financial troubles in the land, fraught with peril even to the stability of state governments, helped to hasten the popular conviction that the thirteen articles of confederation, adopted in 1778, afforded an utterly inadequate fundamental law for the thirteen independent states. A new constitution was felt to be requisite for securing, among other advantages, public and private credit as one of the blessings of liberty, by delegating to the congress of the Union certain exclusive rights, such as to coin money and emit bills of credit. Hence, in 1787, was framed the Constitution of the United States. With giant conflict of opinion, and with much of concession and compromise, the great instrument of Union had been adopted by the convention of delegates from the United States of America, over whose deliberations George Washington presided. Now it had to pass the ordeal of the conventions of the several states, the approval of nine of which was requisite to give it effect. On the 14th of December the general court passed a resolution calling upon the people of New Hampshire to choose delegates to meet in convention at Exeter, on the 13th of February, 1788, "to take under consideration the proceedings of the late Federal Convention, and investigate, discuss, and decide upon the same."¹ Concord chose Captain Benjamin Emery "to sit in convention at Exeter."²

This convention, having met at the time and place appointed and having selected General John Sullivan, at that time chief magistrate of the state, for its president, occupied ten days in discussing the proposed constitution. There were two parties, the one for adoption being led upon the floor by Samuel Livermore of Holderness; the one against, by Joshua Atherton of Amherst—both men of distinguished ability and much personal influence. The opposition manifested such strength that the friends of ratification deemed it fortunate that an adjournment till June was effected, the convention then to meet at Concord. Here, accordingly, it met in second session on the 18th of June. "The convention," as it is recorded by another, "excited an interest with which the proceedings of no other deliberative body in this State have ever been regarded. The galleries of the church where it assembled were thronged with spectators, and its members were surrounded, not only by large numbers of their own constituents, but by individuals from distant states, engaged, some of them, in watching their deliberations, and some of them, no doubt, in efforts to influence the result."³ The session continued three days. Fifteen amendments were recommended on the report of a committee of fifteen, of which John Langdon, recently elected president of the state, was chairman. An attempt to ratify, with the pro-

¹ Town Records, 238.

³ Barstow's New Hampshire, 279-80.

² *Ibid.*, 239.

viso that the constitution should not be operative in New Hampshire without the amendments, was defeated; and on the afternoon of the 21st of June, 1788, the constitution, as it came from the "Convention of Delegates from the United States of America, held at Philadelphia, on the seventeenth of September, 1787," was adopted by a vote of fifty-seven to forty-seven. Captain Benjamin Emery, the Concord delegate, voted in the negative; but this action found, according to tradition, its offset in that of Judge Walker, a strong friend of ratification, who, anticipating a close vote, invited to dinner one or more delegates of the opposite opinion, and by prolonging his liberal entertainment beyond the hour of voting, helped to lessen the negative strength.¹ Indeed, a great historic act had been done in the old North church at Concord; for, as announced in the triumphant voice of Sullivan from the chair, amid acclaims of joy from floor and gallery, New Hampshire had felicitously won the fadeless honor of being the ninth state to ratify the constitution, and thus to give it practical effect as the sure bond of "more perfect union," and the life of the nation's future government. The news from Concord, speeding over the country, by courier and other means, relieved the anxious hearts of Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and their like, and was welcomed by the people with the heartiest demonstrations of joy.²

During these, as well as previous and subsequent events, there existed, as evidenced by the town records, considerable educational interest in the public mind. Thus, in 1779, in the very stress of the Revolution, the expense of hiring a schoolmaster was allowed with other accounts for "the year past."³ When no special appropriation was made, sometimes, as in 1781, certain lands belonging to the school right were ordered to be "leased out";⁴ while, the same year, it was suggested, in the warrant for a special meeting, that "the parish excuse those persons who have kept constant schools in Concord from paying taxes the current year."⁵ In March, 1785, it was voted "that a public school be kept in Concord the ensuing year."⁶ Probably this school was wholly or partially supported from the general appropriation made "to defray the expenses of the town."⁷ The next year forty pounds were specially appropriated for "a town school"⁸ and, in 1789, the same amount was voted, "to be divided into several parts or districts, as usual."⁹ From this time the annual appropriation was steadily increased, at short intervals, and within thirty years reached twelve hundred dollars, and the sum raised for

¹ Bouton's Concord, 303.

² See Centennial Observance of Ratification Day, 1888, in note at close of chapter.

³ Town Records, 175.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 190.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 195-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 250.

the support of the school rose from less than two thirds of that raised for the supply of the pulpit to more than twice as much.

The "house lot belonging to the school-right," located on the south side of the road running westerly by the Bradley estate, was, in 1790, exchanged for an acre and four fifths of land owned by Lieutenant Robert Davis, and situated southerly of the burying-ground and adjoining it.¹ During the same year a schoolhouse was located on Main street, at a short distance easterly of the church. This was effected by the vote "that the pest-house be moved into the town street near the meeting-house for the use of a schoolhouse." The structure thus utilized had been erected in July, 1775, at an expense of forty pounds, when pestilence had suddenly entered the parish, amid the alarms of war. For the smallpox had been contracted by Dr. Philip Carrigain, on professional service in a neighboring town, and by him communicated to John, the son of Nathaniel West, a neighbor.² It was on Saturday that the discovery of the real nature of the disease was made, creating intense alarm in the community. On Sabbath morning "the inhabitants assembled en masse and commenced the erection of a pest-house in a grove west of the residence of Captain Benjamin Emery,"² and before night "the timber for a convenient " structure, "to consist of four rooms, had been felled, hewed, framed, and raised," and "the boards for covering and the brick for the chimney " had been "drawn to the ground."³ To this house forthwith finished, the West family was removed, six or seven of the members of which were attacked, but all of whom recovered save the father. The doctor and his family of five remained in their own house, which was fenced off from all communication, and where inoculation was tried, and no death occurred. It was certainly a singular frugality of the citizens of Concord which has thus associated the story of a pest-house with that of a schoolhouse in a narrative of educational progress.

It is interesting to note the variety of personal preference expressed by the voters of Concord at the first election of presidential electors under the new Constitution of the United States, held on the 15th of December, 1788. All were Federalists in that they were in favor of George Washington for president, but they were of many minds as to the men who should directly express the people's choice in the electoral college. Hence, their two hundred and ninety-one⁴ votes were distributed among twenty-three candidates, though but five electors were to be chosen. There was no choice by the people of the state; but of the candidates subsequently elected by the legislature, two, Ebenezer Thompson and John Parker, received not

¹ Town Records, 259-60.

² See note at close of chapter.

³ Bouton's Concord, 282.

⁴ Town Records, 246.

a vote in Concord: of three, John Pickering received forty-five—the highest number cast for any one—John Sullivan, forty-one, and Benjamin Bellows, two. Votes were given for three citizens of Concord: ten for Timothy Walker, five for Peter Green, and one for John Bradley.¹

A somewhat similar division occurred in voting for electors at Washington's second election in 1792. It may be permissible to add here, that, at four successive elections for the presidency of the state, previous to the adoption of the national constitution, John Langdon had been Concord's favorite candidate; having in 1785 received one hundred and five of one hundred and thirteen votes cast. During the next three years, when Langdon and Sullivan were rival candidates, Concord steadily gave heavy majorities for the former; though, in two of them, the latter won the presidency. But while both of those excellent, patriotic men had their earnest personal following, no essential political differences then existed to make clearly defined political parties.

The establishment of Printing in Concord has, for its date, the first year of the federal government under the administration of Washington. George Hough, a native of Connecticut, where he learned the printer's trade, and whence he had removed to Windsor, Vermont, and had there engaged for some time in publishing a newspaper, came to Concord, and, on the 8th of September, 1789, set up his printing-press in a small building situated on the west side of Main street, upon ground afterwards to be included in the front part of the state house yard.² There he did the first printing done in New Hampshire north of Exeter; issuing, in October, Doddsley's *Christian Economy*. On the 6th of January was given to the public the first number of the first newspaper published in Concord, entitled *The Concord Herald and New Hampshire Intelligencer*—a small weekly of four pages, each fourteen inches by nine,³ but bearing "marks of the care and correct taste of Mr. Hough, who became known throughout the state as a workman that 'needed not to be ashamed.'"⁴ The publication of this paper was continued somewhat more than fifteen years—or until October, 1805—but not without a change of name; the title becoming, in 1794, the *Courier of New Hampshire*. The place of issuance had earlier been changed to the "Kinsman house," some rods south of the site of the subsequent "Eagle Coffee House," or the later "Eagle Hotel."

On the 29th of October, 1792, Elijah Russell began the publica-

¹ Town Records, 246.

² John Farmer's Letter; Proceedings of N. H. Press Association, January, 1882, 1883, p. 31.

³ Bouton's Concord, 310.

⁴ Asa McFarland in paper read before N. H. Printers' Association, January, 1873; Proceedings, p. 34.

tion of the *Mirror*, printed on a sheet of fourteen inches by eight, and issued from an office near Hannaford's tavern at the North End. The terms of subscription as announced were: "Five shillings per annum; one shilling only to be paid yearly in money, on receiving the first paper of every year, and the remainder, in country produce, at the market cash price, any time in the course of the year. Of those who cannot pay one shilling in cash, produce will be received for the whole, at the end of the year." These terms of subscription, taken as a specimen of those exacted in the earliest period of Concord journalism, though vastly easier for subscribers than publishers, did not secure large or promptly paying lists of the former; for the newspaper appetite was yet but imperfectly formed in the mass of population, and expenditure for its gratification was scantily and tardily made. Hence, one finds John Lathrop, a post-rider, who carried the papers on his northerly route from Concord, urging, in the fall of 1791, subscribers "to pay up" by the beginning of next year, and persuasively suggesting that though he was ever willing to gratify his customers with a reasonable pay day, yet that, when "the earth yields her increase in abundance," it seemed to him a "happy presage" of punctuality among those who had "kindly become his debtors." "Cash, wheat, rye, or flax will be received," adds the post-rider; and, "for the convenience of every one," he appoints "places at which the pay may be delivered." Delinquency still withstanding his accommodating offers, he puts forth the suggestive warning: "Delays are dangerous. Money, we all know, is always scarce. But when a grain debt is not paid in the season of it, the creditor says *money*. That will be disagreeable to the debtor; and the post, while produce is plenty, puts off the harsh expression."

The *Mirror* existed till 1799; its conductor publishing meanwhile, for six months of the year 1797, a literary and miscellaneous weekly, called *The Star*, and printed "in a small octavo of sixteen pages." After the discontinuance of the *Mirror* and *The Star*, Mr. Russell, in 1801, commenced the publication of the *Republican Gazette*, as the organ of the political party supporting the administration of Jefferson. This paper lived two years, or until 1803; Hough's *Courier*, till 1805.

When the first printing press was set up in Concord, and the first newspaper form worked off upon it, the population of the town, according to the first census of the United States, taken in 1790, was seventeen hundred and forty-seven—showing an increase of seven hundred twenty-five in fifteen years. A rudimentary postal system existed, under which inter-communication was somewhat expedited. Concord was a point whence and whither "post-riders" on horseback

passed through the country on various lines, carrying letters, newspapers, and packages of light transmission. Samuel Bean rode once a week from Boston to Concord and back, on a route lying through Andover, Haverhill, Atkinson, Kingston, Exeter, Epping, Nottingham, Deerfield, and Pembroke, and on return through Londonderry.¹ About the same time and somewhat later, John Lathrop—already spoken of—also rode post from Concord through Boseawen and intermediate towns to Hanover, and thence up along the Connecticut river to Haverhill, returning by way of Plymouth and New-Chester, otherwise Hill.¹ Lathrop, if not Bean, may have been a post-rider under the law passed by the state legislature of 1791, establishing “four routes for posts to be thereafter appointed to ride in and through the interior of the State.”² Two of these routes proceeded from Concord, passing through the principal towns westward to Keene, and northward to Haverhill.³ Under this state law one person was appointed in each of the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, Concord, Amherst, Keene, Charlestown, Hanover, Haverhill, and Plymouth, “to take charge of all matters conveyed by the posts”;⁴ receiving as compensation twopence, advanced on the postage of every private letter or package passing through the respective offices.⁴ “The postage, which on single letters was sixpence for every forty miles, and fourpence for any number of miles under forty, was granted exclusively to the post-riders.”⁵ New Hampshire assumed this temporary authority in postal matters for the reason, it seems, that the post-office department of the general government was not yet in complete working order; though there had been a postmaster-general since 1789 in the person of Samuel Osgood, and that of his successor, Timothy Pickering. Probably, George Hough was appointed under the state law to take charge, in Concord, of what was conveyed by the posts. Certainly, in June, 1792,—the last year of Washington’s first presidential term,—he received appointment as the regular postmaster of the town, with commission signed by Timothy Pickering, second postmaster-general of the United States.⁶ The first location of the post-office thus established was doubtless in the building before mentioned, where Mr. Hough was printing Concord’s first newspaper.

Seven months after the issue of the first newspaper in Concord, another step of judicious progress was taken in proceeding to the erection of a public building to answer, primarily, the purpose of a state house, and secondarily, that of a town house. The New Hampshire legislature was then a migratory body, yet there were encoun-

¹ Bouton’s Concord, 310.

² Barstow’s New Hampshire, 233.

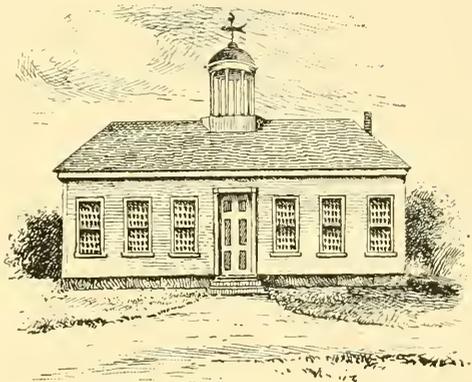
³ Bouton’s Concord, 310.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 311.

⁵ Barstow’s New Hampshire, 290.

⁶ Bouton’s Concord, 588.

aging indications that Concord would ultimately become the permanent place of session and the capital of the state. Hence, the town resolved to take action, and, accordingly, on the 30th of August, 1790, voted "one hundred pounds for building a house for the accommodation of the General Court."¹ For the encouragement of this undertaking, fourteen prominent citizens² had subscribed five hundred and fifty-five dollars, "in labor and materials." The building was ordered to be "set on land³ of Mr. William Stickney, near Deacon David Hall's." This land was given by the owner on condition that if the town should neglect or refuse to keep a public building on it for three years it should revert to him or his heirs.⁴ With Captain Reuben Kimball as building agent, a house was forthwith erected upon a sloping elevation, westward of the main street, and nearer to it than later structures that took its place. It was one-storied, eighty feet long, forty feet wide, and of fifteen-foot post. Its eastern front running lengthwise of the street, had its door without porch in the center, flanked on either side by three large windows, and opening inside upon "a spacious entry." On the north side of this passage was finished a room for the house of representatives; on the south side, one for the senate. These rooms not occupying the entire width of the building, space was left along the rear or westerly side for small committee rooms. To complete the inside arrangement, a stairway led from the entry to a small gallery overlooking the two legislative rooms. Outside, from the center of the roof rose a low cupola, surmounted by a vane; both being the handiwork of Ephraim Potter, the sailor, as well as the versatile mechanic, who had already made of wood some of the first clocks used in Concord, and had exercised his ingenuity upon the belfry and spire of the "Old North Church" at the time of its renovation.



Old Town House, 1790.

The town-meeting, which, on the 30th of August,⁵ had ordered the erection of the building, was the last ever held in the meeting-house; for on the 13th of the following December,⁶ the next meeting convened in the "Town House,"—as the yet unfinished structure was

¹ Town Records, 262.

² See list in note at close of chapter; also, Bouton's Concord, 305-6.

³ Part of the lot where later was to stand the building known as the City Hall and Court House.

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 306.

⁵ Town Records, 261-2.

⁶ *Ibid*, 262.

called,—being the first of the long line of Concord town-meetings which were to be held there for more than sixty years. There, too, the state legislature, migratory till 1808,—permanent afterwards,—was to find convenient quarters, to be exchanged in 1819 for a more commodious capitol. Though early so far completed as to answer the purposes of erection, the town house was not “finished” till 1796, upon an additional appropriation of sixty pounds.¹

On the 7th of September, 1791, commenced the sessions of a convention for revising the state constitution. These were held in the meeting-house where, seven years before, that constitution had been adopted; and where, too, three years ago, the constitution of the United States had, by ratification, been made the fundamental law of the American Union. To this convention the people had chosen many of their ablest men; one of whom was Timothy Walker, of Concord. The work of the convention, which required four sessions,—the longest continuing sixteen days,—was completed on the 6th of September, 1792, when it was ascertained that, upon a second appeal to the people, the amended constitution had been approved. The work as completed proved so satisfactory to the people that for nearly sixty years they allowed no attempt to amend.² The amended constitution went into full operation in June, 1793, when the legislature elected under it met in Concord, and Josiah Bartlett, President of the state for the two preceding years, was inducted into the chief magistracy as Governor, being the first to wear that title in New Hampshire since the days of the Province.

Hitherto, the Merrimack within the limits of Concord could be crossed by ferries only. In 1795 some of the public-spirited citizens of the thriving town bestirred themselves to substitute bridges. In January the legislature, in answer to a petition, granted to Peter Green and others the exclusive right to build and support a bridge between Butters’s—formerly Merrill’s—ferry and Concord south line, and prescribed the tolls for reimbursing the proprietors for expense incurred in building and supporting the bridge. Its stock was divided into a hundred shares, and was largely taken by residents of Concord.³ On the 9th of March, 1795, Paul Rolfe—son of Colonel Benjamin Rolfe—was chosen clerk of the proprietors, and Captain Reuben Kimball, Major Enoch Gerrish, and Captain David Kimball were selected as “directors or overseers.” This bridge, named “The Concord,” was erected on the site always thus to be occupied by itself and similar structures, and, for nearly a hundred years, to bear

¹ Town Records, 296.

² How Concord voted upon the amendments does not clearly appear from the Town Records, pp. 272, 274.

³ Bouton’s Concord, 326.

the same name.¹ It was completed on the 29th of October, 1795, at an actual cost of thirteen thousand dollars, upon an estimate of ten thousand.² On that day it was opened for public use, with considerable display of popular interest. A procession, headed by Major William Duncan, assisted by Captain David Davis, "with music and a guard of four men,"² passed over the bridge in the following order, as set forth in the records of the proprietors: (1) The building committee; (2) The treasurer and clerk; (3) The Rev. Israel Evans, with Mr. Wood and Mr. Parker, ministers of Boscawen and Canterbury; (4) The proprietors; (5) The workmen, with the master workman at their head; (6) The spectators in regular order. The proprietors' dinner was served at William Stickney's tavern near the town house. Thus, "in conviviality and mirth," as the ancient record has it, was spent the opening day of the first bridge to span the Merrimack in the town of Concord, and near the site of the first regularly established ferry in the plantation of Penacook.

On the 28th of December, 1795, two months after the completion of Concord bridge, another legislative act incorporated Timothy Walker, Benjamin Emery, William Partridge, Jonathan Eastman, Joshua Thompson, and others, their associates, to be known as the "Proprietors of Federal Bridge," for the purpose "of building a bridge over the river Merrimack, at or near a place called Tucker's Ferry in Concord." This ferry had formerly been called "Eastman's," for Captain Ebenezer Eastman, its first proprietor. It was on the principal thoroughfare between "the Fort," or East Concord, and "the Street," or main settlement. The charter required the completion of the bridge within three years, and the payment of four hundred and fifty dollars to the proprietor of Tucker's ferry. At the first meeting of the corporation, held at the inn of Ebenezer Eastman, in East Concord, on the 18th of January, 1796, Captain Benjamin Emery was chosen moderator, and Stephen Ambrose clerk. The stock, as in the case of the other bridge, was divided into one hundred shares, and mostly subscribed for by citizens of the town.³ All the requisitions of the charter having been duly complied with, the bridge was opened for use at a location somewhat above, or westward of, that of succeeding structures bearing its name.

This bridge building in Concord was closely connected with the inception of the turnpike system in New Hampshire. The legislature on the 16th of June, 1796, passed an act incorporating the "New-Hampshire Turnpike," being the first of fifty-three corporations of the kind in the state. Among the corporators named in the

¹ By resolution of city council, Jan. 17, 1893, changed to "The Pembroke."

² Bouton's Concord, 327.

³ *Ibid.*, 328.

act was Peter Green, one of those to whom had been granted "the exclusive right to build and support" the Concord bridge. The turnpike charter was enacted in answer to the prayer of a petition, setting forth "that the communication between the seacoast and the interior parts of the State might be made much more easy, convenient, and less expensive" than hitherto, "by a direct road from Concord to the Piscataqua bridge"; but that "the expensiveness" of such an undertaking would render it difficult of accomplishment, "otherwise than by an incorporated company," to be "indemnified by a toll for the sums that should be expended" by it.¹ This turnpike was promptly completed, running thirty-six miles, through the towns of Durham, Lee, Barrington, Nottingham, Northwood, Epsom, Chichester, Pembroke, and Concord, and between the Piscataqua and Merrimack rivers. It led well on towards Portsmouth, whose "progress and prosperity" were then thought by many usually sagacious observers to be "more assured than those of Boston."² The southern terminus of the road was at the Piscataqua bridge, which spanned the river, with half a mile of planking, between Durham and Newington, and was esteemed a marvel of bridge building. At the Merrimack, in Concord, the turnpike had two termini: one, at Federal bridge, being that of the main line; the other, at Concord bridge, being that of a branch diverging from the main line on the Dark Plains and running southwesterly to the river.

Here, to promote convenience and succinctness of narration, a few facts out of chronologic order will be added as to bridges and turnpikes. About 1806, the Londonderry turnpike, one of the charter grantees of which was William Austin Kent, was opened. It had its northern terminus in Concord, at or near the subsequent junction of West and Main streets. It extended to Massachusetts line, at or near Andover bridge.³ Its course in Concord lay along the thoroughfare afterwards to be known as Turnpike street. Within thirty years after the first turnpike was chartered, the popular demand for free roads became urgent; and in 1824 the town authorized the selectmen to purchase "that part of the New Hampshire Turnpike—including the Branch—which" lay "in Concord, for a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars."⁴ Subsequently, likewise, the part of the Londonderry pike lying in Concord became one of its free highways. But not, until they had existed more than half a century, did the two bridges become the property of the town, and thus free from tolls. The proprietors' franchise in each was at last acquired by the town, through the payment of fifteen hundred dollars. This occurred in the case of Federal bridge in 1850, when that structure, in rebuild-

¹ McClintock's *New Hampshire*, 456.

² *Ibid.*, 457.

³ Afterwards Lawrence.

⁴ Bouton's *Concord*, 371.

ing, found location where a bridge of that name has ever since stood. Eight years later, Concord bridge also became free.¹

While seeking corporate privileges for business enterprises promotive of material advantage, public and private, the leading minds of the community sought also, by similar organization, to supply good reading, and to encourage musical culture, for the enlightenment, elevation, and refinement of the people. Thus, in 1798, a legislative act was procured, incorporating Timothy Walker, John Bradley, Jonathan Eastman, and their associates, by the name of "The Proprietors of the Concord Library," and authorizing them to raise money by subscription, donation, and otherwise, and to hold property for the benefit of the library to the amount of one thousand dollars. This first public library in Concord, though neither a town institution nor largely endowed, contained a fair collection of valuable books, and "proved highly useful for about twenty-five years."² Thus, too, in 1799, a musical society was incorporated, and its organization effected, with Timothy Walker for president, John Odlin clerk, Timothy Chandler, Richard Ayer, and Jonathan Eastman for trustees. For years this society efficiently contributed to improvement in the art and science "of sacred music," its efforts being materially aided by the funded gift of five hundred dollars, made by Deacon Joseph Hall.³

Before the organization of this society Concord's third minister had, through the exercise of musical talent, been introduced to the favor of the people, and from the desk of the singing-school had gone to the pulpit of the town. Asa McFarland, a native of Worcester, Massachusetts, who was graduated at Dartmouth college in 1793, and was employed there the four subsequent years as preceptor of Moore's Charity School and as a tutor, had been wont to spend some of his vacations in Concord as a teacher of vocal music.⁴ In 1797 the Reverend Israel Evans resigned the pulpit and was regularly dismissed after eight years' service. The "ecclesiastical council, composed of the elders and delegates of the neighboring churches," in dissolving "the pastoral relations between Mr. Evans and the church and people" of Concord, recommended him "to the churches and to the work of the ministry wherever God in his providence" might "open a door."⁵ He never resumed pastoral service, but continued to reside in Concord till his death in the month of March, 1807, in the sixtieth year of his age. To mark his grave in the Old Burying Ground was set the first monument of marble erected there.⁶

¹ Sixth City Report, 24.

² Bouton's Concord, 329.

³ *Ibid.*, 532.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 532, 582.

⁵ Town Records, 308.

⁶ Other facts in the life and career of Mr. Evans have their place in the special chapter of ecclesiastical history.

Soon after the retirement of the second minister, Mr. McFarland had been employed to preach as a candidate; and in December, 1797, received a unanimous call from the church "to settle in the ministry in the town."¹ With this action the town concurred on the 28th of the same month, in a vote giving "Mr. Asa McFarland three hundred and fifty dollars salary yearly, and the use of all the improved land belonging to the parsonage right, and liberty to cut wood and timber on the out lands, as much as he" might "want for his own use during his carrying on the work of the ministry in the town."² To this vote twenty-two individuals entered their dissent: most of whom, however, afterwards cheerfully contributed their annual tax to the salary.³

Mr. McFarland, having accepted the call, was, at the age of nearly twenty-nine years, duly ordained on the 7th of March, 1798. This service was superintended by a committee, consisting of Captain Richard Ayer, James Walker, Jonathan Eastman, Jacob Carter, and John Batchelder, "with power to make provision at the expense of the town for the council and delegates" that might attend from ten churches invited to participate.⁴ On that ordination day Concord was the center of attraction for the people of towns around it, even to the distance of twenty miles, and the main street was thronged with sleighs bringing spectators and participants. Around and near the meeting-house were displayed refreshments for sale—not exclusive of "spirituous liquors." With music, a procession, comprising with others the ordaining council, passed from the town house to the meeting-house, where the sermon for the occasion was preached by the Reverend John Smith, the learned professor of ancient languages in Dartmouth college. The usual bountiful "ordination dinner" was served, probably at "William Stickney's tavern"; where, as tradition positively asserts, "a splendid ball in the evening" wound up the exercises of the day.⁵

While the people of the town were intent upon pursuits of peace, two alarms of war had come, testing their readiness to aid their country. When, in 1794, a dangerous rebellion arose in Pennsylvania against a direct tax laid upon distillers of whiskey, and a fierce Indian war was raging in the West, the call for troops made by the general government in preparation for the worst was promptly met in New Hampshire. At a special town-meeting held in Concord on the 8th of December, it was voted "to give, in addition to the continental pay for" the "town's quota of minute-men, so much as" should "make each one's pay eight dollars per month; and that one

¹ Bouton's Concord, 320; Town Records, 313.

² Town Records, 313.

³ Bouton's Concord, 320.

⁴ Town Records, 316.

⁵ Bouton's Concord, 321.

month's pay be advanced to each man when" he should "be called to march."¹ The call to march never came, for the "Whiskey Rebellion" was suppressed, and the Indian war was ended by forces already in the field. Again, in 1797, when, during the warlike embroilment with France, provision was made for raising eighty thousand men, with Washington at their head, the military spirit of the country was again aroused. Concord duly heeded the call. Forty of the most respectable citizens enrolled themselves as continental minute-men, while a company of volunteers from Concord and adjoining towns was organized with Nathaniel Green, of Boscawen, for captain; Moses Sweat, of Concord, first lieutenant; and Israel W. Kelly,² of Salisbury, second lieutenant. Benjamin Gale, of Concord, also served as commissary. The town voted on the 28th of December, 1797, that the men enlisting should "have ten dollars with what the Congress" gave; "and if called into service" should "have one month's pay in advance"; and further, that the selectmen should "give those persons that" enlisted "a handsome treat at the expense of the town."³ How effective a stimulus to enlistment this last offer proved to be is not a matter of record. The company, however, after a short rendezvous at "Mother Osgood's tavern," marched to Oxford, Massachusetts, and there awaited further orders. But American naval prowess, the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France, and the wise policy of President Adams wrought peace, so that no active service was required of the troops called out for the anticipated struggle, locally called "The Oxford War."⁴

In course of these years strong party spirit was generated from the foreign relations of the United States. Indeed, ever since the adoption of the constitution two parties had existed; the one strictly construing that instrument, and insisting more strenuously upon state sovereignty than upon a strong central government; the other construing more liberally the fundamental law, and laying less stress upon "state rights" than upon a strong government of the Union. The former were called Republicans, the latter, Federalists. Washington was a Federalist, and, from the popular faith in him, was twice elected president without party opposition. But during his second term a fierce partisan spirit was aroused at his determination to maintain neutrality in the war between France and England, especially as evinced in his earnest support of the Jay treaty with England, in 1795, by which peace, much needed by the United States, was preserved with that country. This measure, the expediency of which time was ere long to vindicate, was opposed by the Republicans, sympathizing strongly with France, and favored by the Federalists,

¹ Town Records, 286.

² Afterwards a resident of East Concord.

³ Town Records, 313.

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 323.

with sympathies less decidedly set in that direction. Washington declined a third term, and, in 1796, after a warm contest, the Federalists elected John Adams to the presidency, but by only three electoral votes over Thomas Jefferson, the candidate of the Republicans, who under the unamended constitution became vice-president. The Federalists were dominant in New Hampshire and in Concord; though in the latter Timothy Walker several times received more than twice as many votes as John Taylor Gilman, the successful Federal candidate for governor. Thus, in the spring of 1796, the vote in Concord stood one hundred and forty-four for Walker and fifty-three for Gilman. Both these gentlemen, however, were chosen in November of that year to the electoral college of New Hampshire, whose vote was cast for John Adams. The same party complexion was retained in town and state during the Adams administration, and even to a later period: though in the nation at large the Federal party, by incurring popular odium through the enactment of the "alien and sedition laws," and by partially breaking with the president in his policy of maintaining peace with France, came to defeat in the year 1800. But neither then nor for some years later did "partisan politics become permeated by enduring heat; and only few men, not the mass as now, had formed the habit of diligently following up current political events."¹

In 1785 a committee, consisting of Benjamin Emery, Joseph Hall, John Bradley, Reuben Kimball, and Joseph Farnum, was appointed "to lay out the Main street in Concord;"² but the work was not completed, and the final report, with plan annexed, accepted by the town till 1798.³ The width of the thoroughfare in the original allotment was ten rods: but the settlers had advanced two rods on each side, leaving the public highway only six rods wide. In some cases even this width had been infringed upon by a few feet or inches: and the duty of the committee had been to note the infringements, and to define accurately the course and width of the road by permanent metes and bounds. This duty was done along a distance of nearly a mile and a half from Butters' tavern or "corner" northward to "Judge Walker's barn." This was "the Street:" and by this name "the whole village was also known in town and out of it."⁴ It was, however, as yet only "the Centre road"⁵—as occasionally designated in the records—and without sidewalks, so that pedestrians sometimes found inconvenience, especially in winter. The town sought to obviate this difficulty somewhat by voting "that

¹ Asa McFarland in paper read before the N. H. Printers' Association, Jan. 17, 1872.

² Town Records, 222.

³ *Ibid.*, 320; also see Plan of Main Street in note at close of chapter.

⁴ Dr. Bouton's third Semi-Centennial Discourse, June 17, 1875, p. 8.

⁵ Town Records, 320.

those persons who drive sleighs on Sunday be desired to keep on the east side of the street."¹ The Rev. Dr. McFarland, during the greater part of his ministry, was wont, at the first sleighing of each year, to promulgate the rule from the pulpit in these words: "Persons who drive sleighs will please keep to the right, and let those who are afoot have the middle of the road." And the stout, fearless Captain Richard Ayer, once at least, practically enforced the rule. Following one day in the steps of a number of women on their way to meeting, he saw them compelled to turn aside into the snow, by a loaded two-horse sleigh from out of town. The captain, indignant at the neglect to heed his timely call to "turn out," sprang forward, and with a blow of a heavy staff or club which he carried brought one of the horses to its knees, while he exclaimed to the astounded driver: "There, turn out when you meet people on their way to meeting, or I will knock you down."²

Before the year 1800 this "centre road" had become a lively thoroughfare of business travel. Over it passed numerous sleds or sleighs in winter, or wagons in summer, drawn by oxen or horses, bearing the varied produce of the north country to seaport marts, or returning homeward, laden with merchandise. On all days of the week,³ and sometimes in long trains, this travel was seen streaming along "the street." In its necessary tarryings such well-supplied taverns⁴ as those of Benjamin Hannaford and William Stickney, Benjamin Gale and Samuel Butters furnished fit "entertainment for man and beast."

And here digressive mention may be made of another road in Concord, across the river, and beyond Oak Hill, much frequented by similar travel, and provided with John Hoyt's famous inn. For twenty-five years was that inn a public favorite. Its spacious oven allowed easy entrance to a boy twelve years old, and more than inside room enough in which to turn around. Its capacious barn, stored with hay of "natural mowing," often stalled over night thirty-three yokes of oxen at a "pistareen"⁵ the yoke. Its solid table d'hote supplied fresh meats from the host's own flock and herd, for hearty but frugal guests, who used to bring along "their own bread and cheese."

Having returned from "Hoyt's" through "the Fort," or village of East Concord,—where already Ebenezer Eastman had his tavern, and Stephen Ambrose his store,—one could count along the "main Street," in the first and second ranges of "home-lots"—as laid out

¹ Town Records, 313.

² Bouton's Concord, 322.

³ Dr. Bouton's Commemorative Discourse, March 23, 1865, p. 29.

⁴ See special chapter on Taverns, etc.

⁵ About twenty cents.

in 1726—seventy or eighty dwellings. These were wooden structures, rarely, if ever, exceeding two stories. They were topped with the gable, gambrelled, hipped, or pent roof, and were occasionally painted in red or yellow. Along with them, stood the taverns and sundry business establishments, consisting mainly of stores devoted to general or special trade, and shops for mechanical industries. The village was one of wood, for brick did not come into use as building material until later years.

Commercial enterprise, in which, at a period antedating the Revolution, Andrew McMillan, Timothy Walker, Jr., John Stevens, and Gordon Hutchins were pioneers, was destined never to slacken. In the last decade of the eighteenth century there were upon the list of Concord's merchants the names of William Duncan, Robert Harris, William Manley, David Wait, William Austin Kent, Jonathan Herbert, and Jacob Abbot, general dealers; and of John Thorndike, and the brothers Philip and Oliver Carrigain, apothecaries, all duly licensed by the selectmen "to be retailers of wines and foreign distilled liquors."¹ Though trade was not conducted on a large scale, yet it met the demands of an increasing patronage from within and without the town, and was fairly remunerative. Two traders, William Duncan and Robert Harris, seem to have been especially well-to-do, both from present income and past accumulation. They had both brought with them considerable means; and each rode in his chaise, on and after coming to town.² Prior to 1800 that vehicle signified wealth, and the use of it was a luxury in which not more than two or three others in Concord indulged; even ordinary wagons were few, and people generally rode on horseback or went afoot. Moreover, the Duncan and Harris families, which were united by marriage, lived in a style "reckoned genteel and fashionable,"³ and helped to introduce new social customs, as well as to modify those of the "old families," such as the Ayers, Bradleys, Kimballs, Stiekneys, and Walkers.³

Another of those early merchants came into business with scanty means, but ere long found himself a winning competitor, and rising into prominence in the civil and social life of his adopted town. This was William Austin Kent, a native of Charlestown, Mass., who came to Concord in 1789, at the age of twenty-four years. The fact that his sister Huldah had become the wife of the Reverend Israel Evans suggested the step. Having served seven years as an apprentice, and three more as a journeyman, in tin-plate working, he at length found himself able, by money and credit, to purchase a set of tools, a few boxes of tin, a barrel of sugar, a barrel of molasses, a keg of tobacco,

¹ Town Records (Appendix), 534-5.

² Bouton's Concord, 513.

³ *Ibid.*, 335.

a bag of coffee, and a chest of tea. With this mechanical and mercantile outfit, he journeyed from Boston to Concord, by the tedious conveyance of a farmer's team; and having reached his destination, he set up his modest establishment.¹ The venture proved successful. Within three years Charlotte Mellen became his wife and the light of his home—a home destined to be a noted center of “refined and generous hospitality,” and which Daniel Webster was to declare, sixty years later, to have been “one of the first in all the neighborhood in which” he “met intelligent and cultivated society.”²

And now, besides Kent, the mechanic as well as merchant, other enterprising men were plying all along the street their various industries. Of these were David George, the hatter; Benjamin Hamford, the carpenter as well as taverner; Richard Ayer and Ebenezer Duston, the tanners; Daniel Gale, the blacksmith; Elijah Russell and George Hough, the printers; Timothy Chandler and the brothers Levi and Abel Hutchins, the clock-makers. The first of the last three, a grandson of the proprietor, Captain John Chandler, was a skilful artisan in brass clock-making, while the last two, sons of Colonel Gordon Hutchins, carried on the same business near their dwelling-house, from the ashes of which the Phenix hotel was afterwards to arise. Many years before, the Reverend Timothy Walker had brought from England the first clock set up in Concord, and, subsequently, Ephraim Potter, who had settled with his brother Richard and nephew Anthony, in East Concord, near Turtle pond, made serviceable wooden timekeepers. But the enterprise of brass clock manufacture, the first of its kind in New Hampshire, was undertaken by Levi Hutchins at a date prior to the year 1786, when his brother Abel came into partnership. The business thus established was to be prosperously conducted by them for more than twenty years, and Levi could say, in his old age, with just satisfaction: “Our names may now be seen on the faces of many time-keepers, standing in the corners of sitting-rooms in houses situated in all the New England states; and probably there are eight-day clocks, or timepieces, of our manufacture in all the original states of the Union.”³

Along with these busy workers in the various departments of business were to be found those who wrought capably in the professions of law and medicine. Not far north of the Hutchins establishment stood the office of Peter Green, Concord's first lawyer; and a little farther on, his residence, somewhat noted for social refinement in those days. The proprietor, living down the imputation of Toryism, which had caused him some trouble in the Revolutionary time, be-

¹ Bouton's Concord, 594.

² Letter written to a son, George Kent, in 1853, cited in Bouton's Concord, 594.

³ Autobiography of Levi Hutchins, 121.

came an influential and honored citizen, and having practised successfully his profession thirty-one years, died in 1798 at the age of fifty-two. Samuel,¹ his younger brother, succeeded him, having, in 1793, commenced professional life, which, at the bar and on the bench, was to continue for more than forty years. Two other talented brothers, Edward St. Loe and Arthur Livermore, had somewhat earlier engaged in legal practice here, the former of whom, by marriage with Mehetabel, a daughter of Robert Harris, became the father of Harriet Livermore, born in 1788, and celebrated for romantic pilgrimage and sojourn in the Holy Land.

Now, too, Dr. Philip Carrigain still dwelt at the North End. This genial and popular physician had, for a generation, been pursuing the practice of medicine, and was to continue so to do until his death in 1806, at the age of sixty years. Now, also, another physician could have been seen riding away on horseback from his home opposite the town house, for the fulfilment of duty on a wide circuit of practice. For Peter Green² had removed hither, in 1772, from his native Lancaster, in Massachusetts. With the liberal training of Harvard, and the due preparatory study of medicine, he entered upon a prosperous career, characterized by high professional ideals, and destined to continue for more than half a century, until it should close with a life of fourscore years and three.³

Thus the mile-and-a-half of Concord's main thoroughfare was, in the last years of 1700, a scene of activity in the various departments of human effort that mark a prosperous, enlightened community. It was the center, the vertebrate column, as it were, of progressive, elevating influences for the whole town, with its increasing population of two thousand souls.⁴

In 1799, a new element of brotherhood and benevolence came into the social life of the town. Free Masonry had received its first organization in New Hampshire as early as 1736, when St. John's Lodge was established at Portsmouth. From that time to 1789, only two other lodges were formed in the state,—St. Patrick's at Portsmouth, and Rising Sun, at Keene. Early in July, 1789, deputies from St. John's and Rising Sun lodges organized the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire, with General John Sullivan, president of the state, for the first grand master. On the 23d of February, 1799, upon a warrant granted by the Grand Lodge, on petition of seven, for founding a lodge in Concord, a meeting was held in furtherance of the object, in "Union hall" at the inn of Benjamin Gale, one of the grantees. At the same place, on the sixth of the following May,

¹ See special chapter, Bench and Bar.

² See special chapter, Medical Profession.

³ Bouton's Concord, 668.

⁴ The census of 1800 gave two thousand and fifty-two.

Blazing Star Lodge was duly consecrated in appropriate services, conducted by Nathaniel Adams, of Portsmouth, Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire. Of the seven petitioners, Benjamin Gale and Moses Sweatt were residents of Concord.

Thus introduced, Masonry, in its various forms and grades, was destined here to abide. Within the next century, the number of lodges was to be trebled; a Royal Arch Chapter, a Council of Royal and Select Masters, and a Commandery of Knights-Templars were to be established and maintained, with eligible halls of assembly,—the one on the site of Concord's first store, the other at Penacook. Moreover, Concord was to become a central rendezvous for the mystic Brotherhood, where the "Grand" Masonic bodies, comprising all the local bodies in the state, would convene in Annual Communication, Convocation, Assembly, and Conclave.

But now the eighteenth century was about to lapse into the nineteenth, when, on the 14th of December, 1799, George Washington expired; and at the tidings of his death, a bereaved nation wept. When the news reached Concord, men from all parts of the town had met in large numbers to raise the frame of the ambitious Carrigain house¹ at the North End; but they straightway suspended their "work and went home in sorrow."² The national Congress was moved to recommend to the people of the United States to assemble on the 22d of February, 1800, "to testify their grief by public prayers," or other suitable services. The recommendation thus to celebrate Washington's Birthday by funeral observance, met with general compliance, in which Concord participated. The people, old and young, marched to the meeting-house, where solemn services were held. William Kent,³ who, a boy of seven, had trudged in the procession, and who was to outlive all other participants in the event, feelingly said eighty years later: "The solemnity of the occasion, the deep mourning dress of the pulpit and galleries, in connection with the sad countenances of the people, are vivid in my memory to this day."



The Philip Carrigain House.

¹ In 1900 the residence of Dr. William G. Carter.

² Recollections of Asa McFarland, 23 (note).

³ Son of William Austin Kent.

NOTES.

Deacon Wilkins. This gentleman married, in 1787, Sarah, granddaughter of Deacon Joseph Hall, an original settler of Penacook, who lived at the Eleven Lots. Mr. Wilkins had a farm on or near the ancient Hall premises, and lived in a house standing till a recent date, at the crotch of the roads, west side, near the Countess Rumford house. He was deacon of the North Church from 1811 to 1830, when he died at the age of seventy-five years. *Bouton's Concord, 295.*

Scarcity of Money. Money was so extremely scarce at that time, that John Bradley, elected representative, had great difficulty in getting enough to take him to Exeter; but Judge Walker supplied him with means to pay his board while attending the legislature, and he was the only one of fourteen boarders who paid their landlord in full. Sometimes representatives offered the whole of their State scrip received for services, in payment for board, but the landlords preferred their private securities. On one occasion, a dozen of them returning home, and passing through Concord, took lodging at the house of John Bradley over night, without a dollar amongst them.

CENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE OF RATIFICATION DAY.

It being deemed desirable that the New Hampshire Historical Society should celebrate, on the 21st of June, 1888, the centennial anniversary of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States by New Hampshire, the matter of making preliminary arrangements therefor was, on the 24th of April, referred to the committee on orator and the standing committee, to act conjointly, and to report to the next adjourned annual meeting of the society, to be held on the 9th of May. On that day, the aforesaid committees, by Samuel C. Eastman, made a report recommending the appointment of a committee to ascertain, by circular, the feasibility of providing a banquet, and defraying other necessary expenses for the occasion, and such feasibility being ascertained, to make the necessary arrangements for the proper observance of the day. Whereupon, a committee of three, with authority to add others, was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, and Joseph C. A. Hill. This committee subsequently added Messrs. Benjamin A. Kimball, Joseph B. Walker, Isaac W. Hammond, and Charles R. Corning.

Hon. James W. Patterson, of Hanover, had previously accepted an invitation to deliver the oration, and Mr. Allen Eastman Cross, of Manchester, to read a poem.

It was ascertained by circular issued to the resident members, that a sufficient number would attend the banquet, and a sufficient sum would be subscribed to meet the necessary expenses and render the occasion a success. Invitations were sent to the governors of the thirteen original states, to the President of the United States and members of the cabinet, to many other persons of distinction, and to historical societies. Other arrangements were made for the day's exercises, including an elaborate banquet, with Dooling, of Boston, as caterer, and for after-dinner speeches by men distinguished in public and private life, in politics and letters.

The regular sixty-sixth annual meeting of the society occurring on the 13th of June was adjourned to the morning of Tuesday, the 21st. At that time the society met, and having transacted the usual business of an annual meeting, adjourned to meet again at noon, in White's Opera House, to listen to the oration and poem. A fair-sized audience, comprising citizens of Concord and strangers, was in attendance. The president of the society, Hon. J. Everett Sargent, introduced the exercises with brief remarks. The oration was then delivered, and the poem read. These exercises completed. the members of the society, with invited guests, repaired to Chase's hall, where the banquet of two hundred covers was laid. The participants of the elegant, well-served repast sat at five tables. Among the guests were: His Excellency Governor Charles H. Sawyer: President Samuel C. Bartlett, of Dartmouth college: Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, Hon. Robert S. Rantoul, Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury, Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Captain A. A. Folsom, Colonel Albert H. Hoyt, Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford, William B. Trask, Charles Carleton Coffin, of Boston: Hon. George B. Loring, of Salem, Mass.; Hon. Frank B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass.; Rev. Henry A. Hazen, of Billerica, Mass.; Hon. E. H. Elwell, of Portland, Me.; Hampton L. Carson, F. A. Stone, of Philadelphia; Captain Woolmer Williams, of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of London, Eng. The resident members of the society and other citizens from Concord, Manchester, and other places were present in goodly numbers, and numerous ladies graced the occasion with their presence.

In course of the banquet, a telegram from Washington announced that the United States senate had, on motion of Hon. Henry W. Blair, adjourned in honor of the event celebrated. After dinner, President Sargent, at four o'clock, called to order, and introduced Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, of Concord, as toastmaster. Speaking ensued for more than two hours, to which the following gentlemen, in response to appropriate sentiments, contributed: Governor

Sawyer, President Bartlett, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Hampton L. Carson, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, Hon. Frank B. Sanborn, and Hon. George B. Loring.

With "America" effectively sung under the leadership of Mr. B. B. Davis, the first centennial observance of Ratification Day came to a close.

Dr. Carrigain's House. Dr. Carrigain lived at the North End, on the east side of Main street, and where now (1900) is the residence of Mr. Charles S. Parker. Mr. West lived on the opposite side of the street.

Benjamin Emery's Residence. This was afterwards the homestead of Captain Ebenezer S. Towle, at the northwest angle of State and Franklin streets, and where, in 1900, was to stand the residence of Mr. John H. Stewart. At an early period, Captain Emery removed to this location from the Carrigain place, where he formerly resided.

Subscription for Town and State House. The following were subscribers, pledging themselves to pay in labor or materials the sums annexed to their names, for accommodating the general court with a convenient house—which was also to serve as a town house: Timothy Walker and Peter Green, each, \$100; Benjamin Emery, Thomas Stickney, and Benjamin Hannaford, each, \$40; John Bradley, Robert Davis, Joshua Abbot, John Kimball, and Joseph Hall, each, \$30; John West, \$25; Enoch Coffin, George Hough, and James Walker, each, \$20.

PLAN OF MAIN STREET, 1798.

The following plan, with its key, is from *Bouton's Concord*, pp. 296–297:

MAIN STREET,

AS LAID DOWN ON ENGRAVED MAP, AND DESCRIBED ON THE ORIGINAL PLAN IN TOWN RECORDS.

EAST SIDE—beginning at the north end:

Judge Walker's barn—the north side of it 184 rods from the Great Elm.

Mr. Herbert's store*—77 rods from the Great Elm; two feet six inches on the road—about thirty-two feet front.

Maj. Daniel Livermore's house†—57 rods from the Great Elm; about nine inches on the road—forty feet front.

The Great Elm—opposite Capt. Ayer's tan-yard.

Mr. Aaron Abbot's—99 $\frac{1}{4}$ rods from the corner—seven feet on the road—twenty-four feet front.

Barber's shop—87 $\frac{1}{2}$ rods from the corner—eight feet on the road—fourteen feet front.

Mr. Wilkins's house—85 $\frac{1}{2}$ rods from the corner—eight feet on the road—twenty feet front.

Mr. Hough's printing office—68 $\frac{1}{2}$ rods from the corner—three feet four inches on the road—twenty-four feet front.

* Mr. Jonathan Herbert's store still standing, occupied as a dwelling-house.

† Formerly the residence of Dr. Bouton; on the site of John C. Thorne's dwelling in 1900.

Esq. Green's house—67 rods from the corner—six feet three inches on the road—twenty feet front.

Mr. Green's office—eighteen inches on the road—fourteen feet front.

Mr. Hutchins's shop—62 rods from the corner—two feet three inches on the road—twenty-two feet front.

Mr. Thorndike's store—10 rods from the corner—fourteen and a half feet on the road—twenty-eight feet front.

Mr. Dustin's bark-house—three rods from the corner to the south side—seven and a half feet on the road—twenty feet front.

Brick drove into the ground one rod and one link westerly of the north-west corner of Mr. Dustin's shop.

Mr. Butters's corner stone—four and a half feet west of willow tree.

WEST SIDE—north end:

Stone—twenty-six feet from the north-east corner of Jacob Abbot, Esq.'s, house, and 123 rods from the Great Elm.

Mr. Gale's house—50 rods from the corner; $70\frac{1}{2}$ feet front; north side $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet on the road; south-east end, five feet seven inches on the road.

Mr. Wait's store—44 rods from corner—seven feet six inches on the road—twenty feet front.

Mr. Manley's store—30 rods from the corner—six feet four inches on road—thirty-six feet front.

Corner, north of Capt. Chandler's.

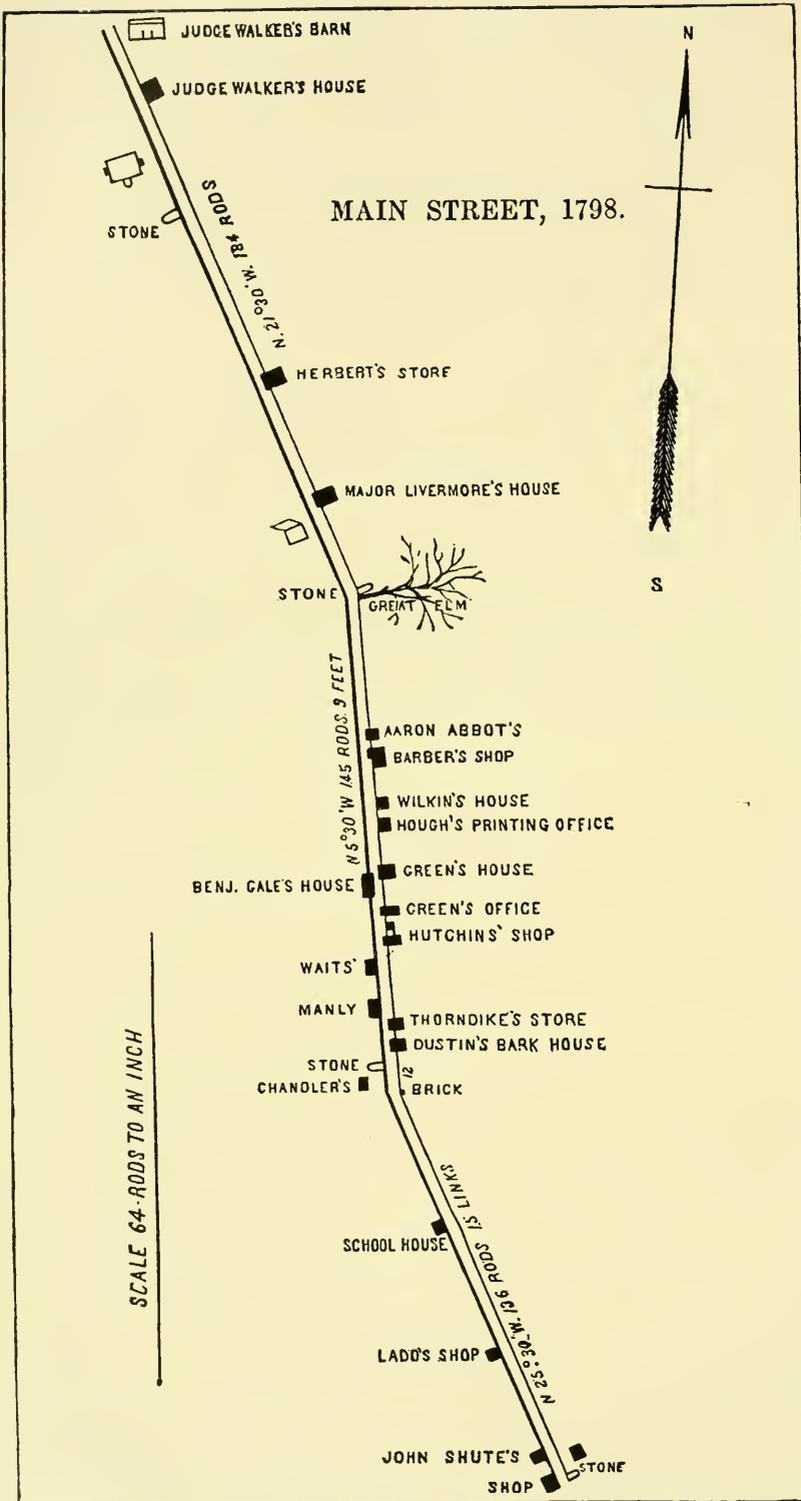
Birch pole—2 rods and six feet from an oak stump in Mr. Jos. Abbot's land.

School-house—85 rods from stone at Shute's corner.

Mr. Ladd's shop—41 rods from stone at Shute's corner.

South-east corner of Mr. Shute's house, six and a half feet on the road.

Mr. Shute's shop on the road twenty-two feet.



CHAPTER X.

THE TOWN OF CONCORD.—EARLY EVENTS OF THE NEW CENTURY.—BECOMES THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE.—THE WAR OF 1812.—OTHER FACTS OF THE PERIOD.

1800—1816.

The population of the town of Concord was, in 1800, two thousand and fifty-two, being one thousand more than in 1775, and seventeen times larger than that of the plantation of Penacook, in 1730. Slow, sure, and steady had been the increase of population, not only amid the usual hardships of pioneer settlement, but amid the extraordinary perils and persecutions which have been set forth in previous narration.

The enumeration of the living in the course of those seventy years has been better preserved than that of the dead. The death record for forty-four years—from 1750 to 1792—is entirely wanting, and for most of the remainder of the period is scanty. But death had been garnering for more than two generations. Ever since 1730, the one burying-ground, near the meeting-house, had subserved its sacred purpose. Hither, according to ancient custom, the bier uplifted by its twelve bearers had, for many a year, been bringing from whatever home within the borders of the town, over whatever distance, and at whatever season, the beloved dead, here piously to be laid to rest. There had been few interments elsewhere. In 1792 Jonathan Stickney, a victim of smallpox, was buried in a secluded spot on his land, at the foot of Stickney hill, as subsequently were some other members of his family. This lot was, fifty years later, given by Charles Smart to the town “for a burying-ground,”¹ and accepted as such. By 1800 there had been two interments, one of which was that of Ezekiel Dimond, in a lot near Millville, given by Warren Bradley,¹ and later accepted by the town as a public burial place.

It was on the 5th of March, 1800, that the town established its second public cemetery, by voting that “the selectmen vendue the fencing of the burying yard on the east side of the river, and charge the expense to the town.”² This inclosure was located—according to the record—“near Jeremiah Eastman’s house,” and was known as “The Fort Burying Ground.” Filled with its hundreds of graves, and afterwards disused for years, it was to receive, near the end of

¹ Bouton’s Concord, 312, 430.

² Town Records, 339.

the century of its establishment, becoming renovation and adornment, in especial honor of the thirteen heroes of the Revolution asleep beneath its turf, and, thus reconsecrated, was again to be committed to municipal keeping, as a precious historic trust.¹ The town having established its second public cemetery, made provision in 1804 for its third, by voting "to purchase" at Horse Hill, "one acre of land of David Carter, for a burying yard, and fence the same."² In such action, the municipality was but carrying out the earlier enlightened purpose of the plantation to provide fit resting-places for the dead—a purpose that was to count among its appropriate results cemeteries bearing the names of "Millville," "West Concord," "Pine Grove," "Woodlawn," and "Blossom Hill."

Meanwhile, in 1802, the meeting-house had been enlarged by Captain Richard Ayer and other enterprising parishioners, in consideration "of the addition of pew ground," and "without any expense to the town."³ Those gentlemen gave bonds to execute the work according to a plan, proposed by a committee of seven, namely, Jacob Abbot, Richard Ayer, Paul Rolfe, William A. Kent, Benjamin Emery, Stephen Ambrose, and Abiel Virgin, and adopted in town-meeting,⁴ on the 21st of December, 1801. The plan provided for a semi-circular addition "projecting thirty feet in front, and divided into seven angles."⁵ The meeting-house thus enlarged was accepted by the town, on the 1st of March, 1803. It was now "the most spacious and commodious⁶ edifice of its kind in the state," capable of seating "eight hundred persons on the floor and about four hundred in the gallery," and actually accommodating, "for many years," an average Sabbath "congregation of about seven hundred,"⁶ the largest in New Hampshire.

But as yet the meeting-house had no bell, though its belfry had long been up, surmounted by tall spire and literal weathercock. As early as 1800 the town had voted "to accept of a bell, if one" could "be obtained by subscription, and cause the same to be rung at such time as the town" might think proper;⁷ but it was not until 1809 that effective action was taken to supply the want. Then the selectmen were instructed "to mark out the ground of the two front seats on the floor of the meeting-house for pews, and sell the same at public vendue, the money arising from the sale to be appropriated towards purchasing a bell, when a sufficient sum in addition" should "be subscribed" to complete the purchase.⁸ The auction sale of

¹ See Old Fort Cemetery, etc., in note at close of chapter.

² Town Records, 370.

³ Dr. Bouton's Anniversary Sermon, 1830; Town Records, 350-1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 351-2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 352.

⁶ Bouton's Concord, 325.

⁷ Town Records, 340.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 426.

the four pews thus provided for brought a little more than three hundred dollars. With this sum duly swelled by contribution, the long desired bell was at last obtained, and at the March town-meeting of 1810 the vote was passed that it "be rung at seven o'clock in the morning, twelve at noon, and nine at night, except Sundays," on which the time of ringing was left to the direction of the selectmen.¹ It was further voted that "the ringing of the bell and the care of the meeting-house one year be set up to the lowest bidder, and that the person bidding off the same give bonds to the selectmen for the faithful performance" of duty. Sherburne Wiggin, having bid twenty-five dollars, became the first sexton. This place was, for the next two years, disposed of at vendue, Benjamin Emery, Jr., being the successful bidder. Afterwards, a definite sum, varying from twenty to forty dollars, was annually appropriated to this service, under the appointment of the selectmen. In 1814 the town ordered, in addition to the daily ringing of the bell, its tolling "at all funerals, upon application to the sexton."² This practice was to be continued thirty-seven years, till in March, 1851, the following preamble and resolution, offered by Asa McFarland, were unanimously adopted by the town:

"WHEREAS the tolling of bells on funeral occasions is productive of no good, and may, in case of the illness of the living, result in evil; Therefore, *Resolved*, That the practice be discontinued here, as it has generally been in other populous places."

With the beginning of the century, the school began to outstrip the pulpit in annual appropriations for support; the sum voted to the former in 1800, being four hundred dollars, and to the latter, three hundred and fifty. Educational interest was further shown, the same year, in the appointment of a committee, consisting of the selectmen and "one man from each district where there" was "a school-house," to divide "the town into school-districts."³ The addition of six members to the selectmen in the make-up of the committee denotes at least that number of so-called "districts"; while it may have been that two or three schools in the main village were not included in the selection of committeemen. Nothing practical seems to have resulted from this action. Indeed, it was not until 1805 that the state law was enacted, authorizing towns to lay out school districts. Accordingly, in April, 1807, another committee was appointed, similar to that of seven years before, but with an increased number of members to act with the selectmen, indicating the existence of at least seventeen localities, or districts, in which public schools were supported upon "orders drawn for school money amu-

¹ Town Records, 434.

² *Ibid.*, 466, 494.

³ *Ibid.*, 339.

ally.”¹ This committee, in the following May, with Ebenezer Dutton as its chairman, and town clerk, John Odlin as its clerk, laid out the town into sixteen school districts, duly bounded and numbered.²

The general location of these was: No. 1. Horse Hill; 2. The Borough; 3 and 4. West Parish; 5. West of Long pond; 6. Little pond and Ballard's hill; 7. Hopkinton road, three miles from Main street; 8. Millville; 9. South end of Main street; 10. Middle Main street; 11. North end of Main street; 12. South part of East village; 13. The Mountain; 14. "Snaptown," northeast part of the town; 15. Oak Hill road to Loudon; 16. Garvin's Falls.³ From these, by division, seven other districts were subsequently formed, as follows: From 8, Nos. 17 and 23, the first near Hopkinton line, the second near that of Bow; from 9, No. 18; from 12, Nos. 19 and 22, the latter on the Dark Plain towards Chichester; from 2, No. 20, in Fisherville, or Penacook.⁴

These twenty-three districts were permanent divisions of Concord's territory down to a recent period, and some of them yet exist. Here, too, it may be added in reminder and explanation of statements made in a previous chapter⁵ concerning the Bow gores, that the district numbered sixteen belonged to the southern gore, which, in 1804, was severed by the general court from the modern town of Bow and annexed to Concord. This action had been asked for by the former town and opposed by the latter. Bow, in view of liabilities incident to the holding of the detached gores, including this wedge of land that lay across the Merrimack, and between that river and its confluent Soucook, was eager to yield possession; for already the town had been obliged to build a bridge over the Soucook, and was asking the legislature "to make a county charge" of the same.⁶ Concord, on the other hand, did not desire the expansion of its territory over gores outside the original Rumford bounds which it wished to have restored, whereby would have been saved to it that triangular portion of its former domain, southeast of the Soucook, which was in 1804 set off to Pembroke.

In 1801, ten years after the regular establishment of the post-office in Concord, Charles, a son of Judge Timothy Walker, and a graduate of Harvard, who was then in the practice of the law, succeeded George Hough as postmaster, but did not serve long. His successor was David George, but, as there were a father and a son of that name, which of the two was the first to succeed Mr. Walker has been made a matter of doubt, though it was probably the son, sometimes desig-

¹ Town Records, 398.

² *Ibid.*, 398-404.

³ Bouton's Concord, 339-40.

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 340.

⁵ Chapter VII.

⁶ Bow, in History of Merrimack and Belknap Counties, 279.

nated as "David George, Jr." At any rate, whether the father, who was a tailor residing just south of the burying-ground, ever served as postmaster or not, it is certain that the son, who was a hatter and had a shop on the east side of Main street,—nearly opposite its junction with the modern Church street,—served as such from 1806 to 1816. There, in a six by eight compartment of his shop, Mr. George kept the post-office, where, in the earlier years at least, a Concord mail might have found accommodation in one of the postmaster's "good-sized hats."¹ Indeed, the high rate of postage, increasing according to distance, from the minimum of ten cents a letter for the shortest transmission, tended to make "correspondence rare"—as another has said—"and mostly of imperative necessity; love-letters were few and far between."¹ Still, the little office, while meeting the wants of its locality, also had central importance in affording postal facilities for a wide circuit of towns, including Allentown, Bow, Canterbury, Dunbarton, Henniker, Hopkinton, Loudon, New London, Northfield, Pembroke, Warner, Weare, and even others more remote.²

An important highway improvement was effected early in the first decade of the century. Hitherto, "the road from the meeting-house to Boscawen line" had been a very "crooked"³ one. It had run from the main street through a valley south of the modern Fiske residence, and onward, near the Coffin house, to the modern Penacook street, and westward along that to a point beyond the Bradley premises, whence, turning sharply northward, it skirted "John Bradley's land, at the west end of his dwelling-house," also "George Arlin's lot," and came to Wood's brook, at the southeast base of Blossom Hill. From this point it had run, at various angles, to West Concord, with westward deflection to the elevated site of Henry Lovejoy's fort, and of the later residence of Levi Hutchins—premises destined to become public property appurtenant to the city water-works. Thence the road had extended northeasterly for a considerable distance, and then, turning, had passed on northwesterly to the "Borough,"⁴ and from there northeasterly again to the bridge over the Contoocook, within the limits of the modern Fisherville, or Penacook.

In 1804 the selectmen, Jonathan Wilkins, John West, and Amos Abbot, Jr., as instructed by the town, "laid out a highway four rods broad, beginning at a stake and stones near Benjamin Hannaford's house,⁵ and running north forty-nine degrees west, one hundred and twenty rods to Wood's Brook bridge."⁶ This almost direct line of

¹ Col. William Kent's *Reminiscences*, cited in McClintock's *New Hampshire*, 462.

² Bouton's *Concord*, 330.

³ *Ibid.*, 325.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 325-6.

⁵ On what was to become North State street, and near the residence of V. C. Hastings, in 1900.

⁶ *Town Records*, 375.

road, extended along the east side of the Bradley and Arlin premises, instead of the west; the old road being subsequently relinquished as entire or partial compensation to the owners of the land through which this part of the new highway was laid.¹ From the Wood's brook bridge the new thoroughfare took a comparatively straight and northerly course to and along Rattlesnake plain and through West Concord—without westward deflection to the Hutchins place—"to the bridge over Hoyt's Brook on Contoocook plain."² The divergence to the "Borough" seems to have been, for the present, retained, as also the former course thence to the Contoocook bridge at Penacook.

This terminal bridge of the straightened highway had been built in 1765 at the joint expense of Concord and Boscawen, although wholly within the latter town. It was located in a bend of the river east of the site of Captain John Chandler's tavern, erected in 1787, and known, in modern times, as Bonney's hotel, or the Penacook house. The Concord road, crossing the town line, reached the bridge located at a narrow gorge below the falls, whence the Boscawen road wound north and west to the left, over a steep hill, and by the tavern site just mentioned.³

By 1805 the bridge, forty years old, was becoming unsafe, and already the question of rebuilding it had been agitated and a new location suggested. In this connection a question of boundary arose. The language of the grants as to the line between the towns was confusing. In the original grant of Penacook (Concord) by Massachusetts in 1725, the north line west of the Merrimack was described as "commencing where Contoocook river falls into Merrimack river." The probable intent of this indefinite statement was that the line should run from the middle of the Contoocook's mouth; for when, in 1733, Massachusetts granted the plantation of Contoocook (Boscawen), its south line was described as "beginning at the middle of Contoocook river where it empties into the Merrimack, where it joins on Penacook plantation." But when Boscawen was incorporated as a town, by New Hampshire, in 1760, its south boundary was fixed to begin "at the southerly side of Contoocook river's mouth, where the same falls into Merrimack river." In this uncertainty of description, the selectmen of the two towns perambulated the line in 1797, and established its beginning "at a stake and stones on the southerly side of Contoocook river, nearly opposite the middle of the main branch where the same empties into the Merrimack."⁴

In 1805, pending the question whether the towns should co-operate "in building and supporting a bridge across Contoocook river," Con-

¹ Town Records, 382.

² *Ibid.*, 376.

³ Coffin's Boscawen, 92-3.

⁴ Town Records, 306.

cord, on the 22d of March, chose a committee, consisting of John Bradley, Jonathan Wilkins, and Ebenezer Dustin, to consider the matter with a like committee of Boscawen, and to report upon the same.¹ The following report was agreed upon: "That the old spot where the bridge now stands shall be the place where a new bridge shall be built; and that the townis of Concord and Boscawen petition the General Court that the centre of the river Contoocook from the mouth be considered the line between said towns, until it reaches the present line crossing said river between said towns."² Boscawen accepted the entire report: but Concord, at a special meeting held on the 13th of May, accepted only so much of it as recommended the building and supporting of "one half of the bridge at the old place": it also being voted "to raise two hundred and fifty dollars to carry into effect that part of the report."³ The matter of petitioning the legislature to establish the line, as suggested in the report, not being approved by Concord, was left to be done by Boscawen alone, at the ensuing June session of the general court. At another special meeting, held on the 25th of the following November, the town declared that it was "not willing that the prayer of the petition preferred" by Boscawen "to set off a part" of that town, "lying on the southerly side of Contoocook river," and "annex" the same to Concord, "should be granted": and it was ordered that William A. Kent, the representative, should have a copy of the vote.⁴ The petition was not granted; but the bridge was rebuilt at the old place, and Concord paid half of the expense.

This, however, was not the last of the bridge controversy. Increase of travel and transportation demanded a straighter road on the north side of the river, and one that should avoid the steep hill beyond the Boscawen end of the bridge. This demand involved the erection of a bridge in a new place. In 1820 Concord had again offered to go halves with Boscawen in repairing, or rebuilding, the bridge at the old place; but in 1821 the court of sessions laid out a road from Chandler's tavern in Boscawen, on a direct southerly line across the Contoocook to the locality in Concord subsequently known as Washington square, on condition that Boscawen should give security to build and maintain one half of the bridge over the river. Boscawen gave bond to that effect in the handwriting of Ezekiel Webster, and of date, January 12, 1822. Inasmuch as the new location of the bridge was wholly within Concord, it was now Concord's turn to petition the general court "so to alter and establish the line between Concord and Boscawen that" it might "strike the centre of

¹ Town Records, 383.

² Coffin's Boscawen, 200.

³ Town Records, 385.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 386-7.

Contoocook river at the place fixed upon to build a new bridge." But nothing more came of this petition than of Boscawen's, seventeen years before; and the bridge was built in 1823.

Boscawen stood by her bond for years, and until another dispute arose as to the boundary line—in special reference, this time, to a factory erected by the Fishers on the north side of the river. Both towns claimed the soil on which the factory stood; each appealing to the description of the boundary line in its charter, and Boscawen especially insisting upon the construction given in the perambulation of 1797.¹ As the towns themselves could come to no agreement, the selectmen of Concord, in 1837, petitioned the court of common pleas for the appointment of a committee "to examine and establish the line." The committee, consisting of John Porter, Thomas B. Merrill, and Henry B. Chase, finally had a hearing on the 9th of October, 1840, at the Chandler tavern, then known as Johnson's hotel. Concord had for counsel its own lawyer, Samuel Fletcher; Boscawen was represented by George W. Nesmith and Ichabod Bartlett. The committee confirmed the old line of 1797, with more definite description, and stone bounds were set up according to the decision, to mark the permanent settlement of the troublesome question.²

Boscawen refusing after this to contribute to the maintenance of "a bridge out of town," Concord brought suit upon the bond of 1822. The case went up to the superior court, with Franklin Pierce and Asa Fowler as counsel for Concord, and Ichabod Bartlett for Boscawen. In 1845 Judge Woods rendered the decision of the court in favor of Boscawen, on the ground that "the contract by which" the citizens of Boscawen "undertook to bind themselves to raise money for building the bridge was not founded upon such a consideration as to create a debt, and thus give the town a power to raise money."³ Consequently, the entire burden of maintaining the bridge over the Contoocook, winding in and out between the contending towns, was left upon Concord.

The growing advantages of Concord, as a business and financial centre, received recognition in 1806, when the legislature made it the location of an incorporated bank, with "a capital of not less than twenty thousand dollars, nor more than two hundred thousand, in specie." The corporators, specially named in the charter, were men of means and influence, resident in Concord and neighboring towns; those of Concord being Timothy Walker, John Bradley, Robert Harris, Richard Ayer, and William A. Kent. There had been some delay in obtaining the charter, primarily occasioned by rivalry between Hopkinton and Concord. Two petitions were presented to the gen-

¹ Coffin's Boscawen, 199.

² *Ibid.*, 200.

³ *Ibid.*, 647-8.

eral court, in 1805; one praying for a bank in Hopkinton, the other for one in Concord. On the 19th of December of that year the house committee on banks made a report, giving "liberty to the petitioners to unite, and bring in a bill for the establishment of a bank in Concord."¹ But by sixty-one yeas to seventy-nine nays the report was not accepted, and the petitioners had leave to withdraw. Five days later, however, this vote was reconsidered by eighty-six yeas to fifty-five nays; and, on the 27th of December, the bill brought in by the united petitioners, according to the terms of the bank committee's report, was passed by the house, but on the 30th was postponed by the senate till the next session. At this session, then, it was that, at last, the act of establishing a bank in Concord passed both branches of the legislature, and was approved by Governor John Langdon on the 17th of June, 1806.

In organizing under the charter, a controversy arose as to the location and management, which, intensified by rivalry between North End and South End interests, resulted in the opening of two banks; the "Upper" or "North End" and the "Lower" or "South End"; each claiming to be "The Concord Bank." Of the former, Timothy Walker and Samuel Sparhawk were the president and cashier; of the latter, Joseph Towne of Hopkinton and William A. Kent. For some time the rivals pestered each other not a little; the "Upper" making runs upon the "Lower" for the redemption of the bills of the latter in specie; the "Lower" instituting suits against the "Upper" for issuing bills contrary to law. It is related that one Nehemiah Jones, in the interest of the "South End" bank, brought an action against Timothy Walker, in more than a hundred counts covering all points at issue. But his counsel, Jeremiah Mason, the great lawyer of his day, perceiving at last "the difficulties of the subject," and desiring to bring about a settlement, effectually cooled the ardor of his client by signifying to him that "as he had got into gentlemen's company he must expect to pay a gentleman's price." When, finally, the "disagreeable competition"² and unprofitable litigation ceased, the two institutions, offspring of one legislative act, gaining each its share of public confidence, successfully prosecuted business to their twenty years' limitation. The "Upper" then obtained a new charter, and took the name of "The Merrimack County Bank"; while the "Lower" secured a modification and extension of the old charter, and retained the name of "The Concord Bank." The former prosperously performed its functions for forty years longer, and until the expiration of its third charter in 1866, when, in perfect solvency, it voluntarily closed its doors. The latter trans-

¹ House Journal, December session, 1805.

² Bouton's Concord, 338.

acted business for fourteen years after receiving its second grant of corporate power, but in 1840 succumbed in bankruptcy to the financial stress of that period.¹

Historic interest attaches to the places wherein these first two banks of Concord did business. The "Lower" bank erected, about the time of its opening, a brick building of two stories on the main street, opposite the Hutchins, or Phenix, premises. This was the first public edifice of brick reared in Concord; though the first residence of that material had been erected in 1804, at Millville, by Jacob Carter, the miller,—the builder little forecasting that it would within half a century become, by the enlightened giving of another owner, the nucleus of the famous educational establishment of "St. Paul's." The bank occupied the first floor of its building, while the Blazing Star lodge of Free and Accepted Masons found quarters on the sec-

ond, which bore for years the name of "Masonic, or Masons', Hall." Later, with enlargements, the building was for a while to be owned and occupied by the First National bank of Concord; and later still, to be devoted to miscellaneous uses. The "Upper" bank having done business for twenty years in the former residence of Major Daniel Livermore, erected in 1827, upon southerly adjoining land, for its own and other uses, a three-storied, commodious edifice of brick—

—"somewhat ambitious for those times"—as it has been characterized—and "the pride of" the North End "portion of the town."² It was destined to answer well its earlier business purposes, and to subserve conveniently its later literary uses as the home of the New Hampshire Historical Society—once a tenant of its upper rooms, but becoming at length its sole owner and occupant.

And now the time came for the town to win, as the strongest assurance of future progress and importance, the prestige of being the Capital of the state. For a quarter of a century after 1782 the general court, though migratory, had held more sessions in Concord than in all other places taken together, including Exeter, Portsmouth, Hopkinton, Amherst, Dover, Charlestown, and Hanover. Indeed, the real competition for the coveted prize of permanent legislative session became, from considerations of requisite convenience and centrality, practically confined to a region in which Concord was the magnetic pole of attraction. Boscawen, Pembroke, and Salisbury



The Merrimack County Bank.

¹ Bouton's Concord, 338-9.

² Asa McFarland's Address before Board of Trade, Oct. 20, 1873, p. 8.

offered inducements, but the general court never sat in either of them. Hopkinton, in which several sessions had been held, became Concord's strongest competitor. In 1805 commenced the decisive contest. The legislature, having held its June session in Concord, convened in December at Portsmouth, in compliment to Governor Langdon. At this adjourned session Hopkinton was assigned as the place of meeting for the legislature in June, 1806. On the 18th of this June the house voted that the session for 1807 should be held at Salisbury, and a motion for reconsideration, made the same day, was defeated by sixty-three yeas to eighty-two nays. But the next day the vote came down from the senate with "Concord" substituted for "Salisbury." The house did not concur in the amendment, but by seventy-eight yeas to seventy nays, inserted "Hopkinton" for "Concord," and the vote thus re-amended was agreed to by the senate. The following year, 1807, on the 18th of June, a motion made in the house to hold the June session of 1808 at Salisbury, prevailed by eighty-three yeas to seventy-two nays, and though on the same day, the senate having non-concurred, another vote was passed by eighty-nine yeas to sixty-one nays to make "Hopkinton" the place of session, yet on the 19th the vote came down from the senate with "Concord" substituted, and in this amendment the house concurred. This concurrent action proved decisive as to the permanent location of the capital of New Hampshire. For the general court met in accordance therewith at Concord, in June, 1808, and no serious attempt was then made—or was afterwards to be made for more than half a century—to change the seat of the state government.

Though the recognition of Concord as the capital of the state had not been given by formal declaratory enactment—nor was so to be—yet it was to be decisively enforced by future legislative action; especially in the location of public buildings and institutions. The earliest instance of such recognition was the erection of the state prison, which was completed for use in 1812.¹ This structure, built of granite quarried from the southerly slope of Rattlesnake hill, was located upon two acres of land given by Joshua Abbot, and situated towards the northerly end of a public highway, three rods wide, regularly laid out in 1809-10, from the Hopkinton, or "Milk,"² road—later Pleasant street—to the modern Franklin street.³ This highway, designated almost from the first as State street, with another two rods wide, opened at the same time,—being the part of the later Washington street lying between State and Main streets,⁴—

¹ See special chapter on Institutions.

² Reminiscences of William Kent, cited in McClintock's New Hampshire, 461.

³ Town Records, 428-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 437-8.

gave improved access to the prison site, then deemed "quite out of the way of business and population."¹ The land for the State street road was either absolutely given, or the title thereto cheerfully relinquished upon slight nominal award, by public-spirited owners along the route, such as Benjamin Gale, George Hough, Thomas G. Stevens, Josiah Rogers, William A. Kent, William Stickney, Simeon G. Hall, Ebenezer Dustin, Richard Ayer, Abel Hutchins, and Peter Robertson.² In this movement of highway opening, primarily stirred by the establishment of a state institution in Concord, was a prophecy of that well-ordered system of streets which should, in the coming years, develop itself.

Probably, from some sense of pride in the growing importance of the town, as well as certainly for the convenience of a majority of its inhabitants, a determination was manifested in 1810 to rid the main thoroughfare of an annoyance more rural than urban, when it was voted in town-meeting that, "for every swine found running at large, at any season in the main street between John Bradley's and John Colby's, the owner be liable to the same penalty—to be recovered in the same way—as for swine going at large unyoked and unrung in the season that the law requires them to be yoked and rung."³ The next year "a penalty of twenty-five cents" was fixed "for each offence"; and in 1812 the prohibition was extended over the entire length of "road from Concord bridge to Boscawen bridge."⁴ Four years later the ranging of swine from the first day of April to the first day of November was prohibited over an area extending from the Merrimack to a line half a mile west of the main street and its extension, between the line of Wood's brook bridge on the north, and the town line on the south; also over "the common within one mile of Federal bridge on the east side of the river."⁵ This provision concerning swine was continued in force for some years. As early as 1807 sheep also had been restricted from running at large on Main street, between John Bradley's and John Colby's, from April to November;⁶ and the next year a new wooden pound was built a few rods north of the meeting-house, but was afterwards removed to Pond hill, where it stood till 1826.⁷ Indeed, the records show that the problem of effectively restraining the "lawless range"⁸ of domestic animals was one obstinate of solution in those days.

During the first half of the period now under historical retrospect, the popular thought of the whole country was intent upon political

¹ Bouton's Concord, 343.

² *Ibid.*, 341-2.

³ Town Records, 434.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 444, 450.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 481.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 398.

⁷ Bouton's Concord, 340; also see note at close of chapter.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 342.

questions—some of which were of international importance, and involved the ultimate appeal of war, and strong partisan feeling pervaded the public mind.

In 1800, the fourth presidential year, the Federal and Democratic-Republican parties stood in fierce array, with John Adams—serving his first term of the presidency—as the standard-bearer of the former, and Thomas Jefferson as that of the latter. Unwise legislation sanctioned by President Adams, though but slightly enforced, had, with other causes, tended to turn popular favor from him to Jefferson. But New Hampshire did not yield to the anti-Adams current; and, at the March election of that year, gave John Taylor Gilman, the Federal, or Adams, candidate for governor, ten thousand three hundred and sixty-two votes against six thousand and thirty-nine for his Democratic-Republican, or Jeffersonian, opponent, Timothy Walker of Concord. The latter, however, received in his own town one hundred and twenty-four votes against Gilman's one hundred and four. Without taking the sense of the people at the polls, the legislature, that year, chose presidential electors who supported Adams.

In 1801, the last year of Judge Walker's candidacy for the governorship, he received in Concord one hundred fifty-six votes, and John Langdon, another Republican, twenty-three against the divided Federal strength of forty-four votes for John T. Gilman, and thirty-seven for Timothy Farrar; a result showing Concord to have become strongly Republican. The state, however, was decidedly Federal; giving Walker five thousand two hundred forty-nine votes, and Gilman ten thousand eight hundred ninety-eight, with four hundred ninety-two scattering.

In 1802 the state remained Federal, and the town Republican; but in 1803 both town and state gave Federal majorities for governor. So, also, they did in 1804, the fifth presidential year, when on the second Tuesday of March¹—the date just assigned by law for annual elections—Gilman, still the Federal candidate, was elected, though by only two hundred and ten majority. But in November, though the town gave thirty majority against the Republican electoral ticket which bore the name of Judge Walker, that ticket prevailed in the state, and New Hampshire thus contributed to the election of Thomas Jefferson.

During the first three years of Jefferson's second term the town and state were both Republican. In 1805 a complete Republican ascendancy had been won in the executive and legislative departments of the state government, which was not readily to be broken.

¹ Town Records, 371, 373.

And here it may be noted in passing, that, among the personal official changes wrought by this political overturn, was the election of Philip Carrigain as secretary of state in place of Joseph Pearson, nineteen years incumbent. The new secretary was a native of Concord, thirty-three years of age, and a son of the physician whose name he bore. He had graduated from Dartmouth, and chosen the profession of the law. Never has there been in New Hampshire one holding the office of executive recorder more talented and versatile, more witty and genial, more gentlemanly in manners, and more artistic in tastes, than was Philip Carrigain, who, for four years, wielded his pen of dexterous chirography at the council board of Governor Langdon. He was loyal to Concord and to New Hampshire, and was the first to apply to the latter its popular and appropriate soubriquet, "The Granite State."¹ While in office he began, under the authority of the legislature, the preparation of the famous Map of his beloved state, which was to be published ten years later; and in aid of which Concord contributed Captain Edmund Leavitt's careful survey and map of the town.²

In the spring of 1808, the sixth presidential year, the Republican party won easily in both town and state, but in the subsequent elections of the year the federal party rallied, securing a delegation in congress, and electors to cast their votes for Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and against James Madison, elected as Jefferson's successor. The Federal electors each received thirty-one majority in Concord. In 1809 Federal ascendancy in the state government was regained, and with the help of Concord; Jeremiah Smith, chief justice of the superior court, being elected governor by a small majority over John Langdon. Concord cast two hundred and thirty-four votes for Smith, and one hundred and eighty-four for Langdon. The town having become Federal remained so for eleven years, or until 1819.

Within the first decade of the century, the newspapers of Concord began to be more distinctively political. Russell's *Republican Gazette* having been discontinued in 1803, and Hough's *Courier* two years later, William Hoit and Jesse C. Tuttle came in to occupy the vacant field of journalism. They commenced the *Concord Gazette* in July, 1806, but suspended its publication after a trial of seven months. The materials of its early outfit were scanty. They had been purchased of Dudley Leavitt of almanac fame, and brought from Gilmanston Corner to Concord, in a two-horse wagon, carrying also two men.³ The publication of the *Gazette* was recommenced by Mr. Tuttle, in June, 1807, and was continued by him and others for

¹ See the *Granite State* in note at close of chapter.

² Town Records, 382.

³ Asa McFarland, in an Address cited in a previous chapter.

twelve years. It was Federal in politics, had "some able writers, and, for a portion of the time, talented editors,"¹ one of whom was John Kelly, afterwards of Exeter. The circulation was considerable during some years of its existence. From "a wretched imitation of an eagle, so badly engraven that its groundwork was black as ink," which was its vignette for several years, it was nicknamed "the crow paper," and so was habitually called by its Concord contemporary of opposite politics.² This latter newspaper had come into existence on the 18th of October, 1808, and was named *The American Patriot*. William Hoit, Concord's veteran compositor, was its publisher, the literary labor upon the new journal being entrusted to an "Association of Gentlemen," of which one was Philip Carrigain, secretary of state. But soon its columns were not to depend upon any such "association"; an editor was to take charge of them who could help himself. Within six months, Isaac Hill, who had just completed his apprenticeship at printing in the office of the *Amherst Cabinet*, came into ownership of the paper, and issued, on the 18th of July, 1809, his first number, under its new name of *New Hampshire Patriot*. He was then a young man of only twenty-one years, but he soon breathed into the *Patriot* the breath of enduring and influential life, and made more fully realized than ever before in New Hampshire the efficacy of the newspaper in moulding and guiding the popular thought.

This master of political journalism had come to pursue his calling at the capital, on the persuasion of William Low, his friend and never-failing supporter. The latter and his neighbor, Benjamin Damon, had, in 1806, removed from Amherst to Concord, where, as partners, they engaged in painting and chair-making. Within the first decade of the century, the same migration was made by several other "active and enterprising young men"—as Peter Robertson, the baker; William Fisk, the shoemaker, resident many years at West Concord; Francis N. Fiske, the successful merchant of the "North End"; and somewhat later, after relief from war service, Joseph Low, younger brother of William, and capable man of affairs, both private and public. These seven constituted the "Amherst colony,"³ as this valuable accession to the citizenship of Concord was often called.

During the years 1810 and 1811 the Republican idea was vigorously propagated throughout the country, and became generally prevalent, that though both France and England had wickedly violated the commercial rights of the United States, yet that the latter, by adding to other outrages, persistency in the barbarous practice of "impress-

¹ John Farmer, in Letters cited in a previous chapter.

² Asa McFarland, in Address already cited.

³ Bouton's Concord, 677-8.

ment" whereby thousands of American seamen had been ruthlessly kidnapped, was the greater sinner of the two, and, as the last resort, should be called to account in war. This idea had to contend with strong Federal opposition, and nowhere with stronger than in commercial New England, where war with the vaunted "mistress of the seas" was especially dreaded. Hence, Madison's administration was bitterly assailed as hostile to American commerce, "unjust to Great Britain, and criminally subservient to France."¹ Isaac Hill, in his *Patriot*, condensed in a single sentence the Republican estimate of the Federal party, as one "whose principles are devotion to Britain, abhorrence of France, and contempt for everything American."

The war cloud thickened. There was premonition of the coming storm in the active hostility of the Western Indians, supposed to have been stirred by British influence. In 1811 General William Henry Harrison took station in Indiana, with a force of regulars and militia, to bring the hostile tribes to terms. To this force was attached the Fourth United States Infantry, in command of Colonel James Miller of New Hampshire. On the 7th of November was fought near Tippecanoe, the chief Indian town, a fierce battle, resulting in Indian defeat, but not without heavy American loss. The Fourth Regiment of Regulars, in which were men of New Hampshire and of Concord, was in the thickest of the fight.² Among those of Concord were the adjutant, John L. Eastman,² great-grandson of the Penacook pioneer, and the six privates, John Virgin,³ great-grandson of another original proprietor of Penacook, John Elliot, John Urann, and John and James Dunlap.⁴

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was formally declared against Great Britain. Congress had previously made provision for detaching quotas of militia in the several states, for service as needed. Accordingly, Governor Langdon, upon requisition of President Madison, had issued orders "for detaching three thousand five hundred from the militia of the state, and organizing them into companies, battalions, and regiments, armed and equipped for actual service, and in readiness to march at the shortest notice."⁵ The draft was made at once, but the completion of the organization was left by Governor Langdon to his successor, William Plumer. The first of Governor Plumer's military orders that directly affected Concord was one issued in August, 1812, to General Asa Robertson of the Third Brigade, to which belonged the Eleventh Regiment, requiring him to

¹ Barstow's New Hampshire, 350.

²Adjutant-General's Report, 1868, pp. 25, 26.

³ See note at close of chapter.

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 346.

⁵ Adjutant-General's Report, 1868, p. 6.

detach a company of artillery for the defense of Portsmouth. The order was complied with, and the company put under the command of Captain John Leonard, of Londonderry. The roll bore the names of thirteen Concord men, including a sergeant and two corporals.¹ The regiment did duty for about three months, at Jeffrey's Point, where was a government battery of two nine-pounders, commanding the western entrance of Portsmouth harbor.

Concord early became, and during the war remained, a prominent recruiting station, and a convenient rendezvous both for soldiers enlisting and enlisted into the regular service, and for troops on their way from Boston and other populous seaside towns to the Canadian frontiers. The barracks of the rendezvous had location in the Carrigain house on Main street, at the North End; on the Willey premises on the same street, at the South End; and on a spot—also at the North End—on State street, near the site of the later brick schoolhouse of District Number Eleven.²

On the 8th of May, 1812, more than a month before the declaration of war, Lieutenant-Colonel Bedel, of the Eleventh United States Infantry, who was in command of "the District of New Hampshire for recruiting," established his rendezvous at Concord. He was under orders to recruit seven companies; and by the 18th of September he had enlisted three hundred and ninety-seven men for his regiment, and marched them to Burlington, Vermont,³ where the organization was completed the following winter.

Captain John McNeil, of Hillsborough,—who, in higher grades of command, was to win distinguished honor in the war,—raised a company for the "Eleventh," and marched it to Concord. For some reason—probably the rush of soldiers into town—not finding accommodation for his men in the main village, he took them to East Concord, and quartered them for the night at the tavern of Isaac Emery, a Republican. Political feeling was running high, and one Aaron Austin, a Federalist, who kept an opposition tavern in the village, headed a company of his partisans in a call of no friendly intent upon the soldiers at Emery's hostelry. In the bar-room altercation soon ensued, and words led to blows—with Austin busy in the scrimmage. Soon, however, the captain appeared upon the scene—"a powerful man, six feet six in his stockings, well proportioned, and weighing two hundred and fifty pounds"—and, snatching up the belligerent inn-keeper, "threw him out of an open window upon the green."⁴ The other visitants, seeing their leader thus

¹ See note at close of chapter.

² Asa McFarland's "An Outline of Biography and Recollection."

³ Adjutant-General's Report, 1868, p. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

easily thrown out of the fight by the future hero of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, incontinently withdrew.

The Twenty-first Regiment United States Volunteers, raised in Maine and New Hampshire, and at first commanded by Colonel Eleazer W. Ripley, and subsequently, in 1813, by Colonel James Miller, had close relations with the "Eleventh"; the two, indeed, seeming to have been consolidated¹ for a time. In the "Twenty-first," Jonathan Eastman, Jr., of East Concord—a great-grandson of Captain Ebenezer Eastman—did service as lieutenant, captain, and paymaster.²

The First Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers, enlisted throughout the state for one year, was organized at Concord on the 29th of November, 1812, by the choice of certain officers of whom were Aquila Davis, of Warner, colonel; John Carter, of Concord, a Revolutionary veteran, lieutenant-colonel; and Joseph Low, then of Amherst but soon to be of Concord, adjutant. These were duly commissioned as such by the president; except Low, who, having declined the adjutancy, received commission as quartermaster. The regiment was ordered into camp early the next year, and thence was soon marched to Burlington. But near the end of January, 1813, congress repealed the "Volunteer Act," under which the regiment had been raised. Consequently, disbandment ensued; but the soldiers, having enlisted for one year, were held. The new law affected in the same manner a regiment in Maine under command of Colonel Denny McCobb. Some of the volunteers having enlisted into existing organizations of the regular service, the remnants of the two disbanded regiments were consolidated to form the Forty-fifth United States Regiment, with Denny McCobb for colonel, Aquila Davis for lieutenant-colonel, and Joseph Low for paymaster.³ The new regiment went on duty at Lake Champlain; and when the term of the one year's men had expired, its ranks were soon refilled, especially through the efforts of Paymaster Low, who, with other officers, had been sent into New Hampshire to obtain recruits.⁴ The regiment contained at least ten Concord men, including Marshall Baker, a lieutenant in Captain Joseph Flanders's company.⁵ And here suggests itself, in humorous relief to dryer details, the fact that once, while the regiment was stationed on an island in the lake, Colonel Davis kept the enemy "at a respectful distance from the shore," by "mounting a formidable battery of huge guns" improvised "from pine logs, hewn, fashioned, and painted" into marvelous resemblance to cannon of dreadful bore—a device of the Yankee lumber-

¹ Adjutant-General's Report, 1868, p. 58

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁵ Bouton's Concord, 316; also see list in note at close of chapter.

man, which, when discovered too late, thoroughly chagrined the British engineers.¹

About five hundred soldiers had their rendezvous in Concord in 1812 and 1813;² while many more passed through the town on their way to assigned posts of duty. "The place," says Asa McFarland,³ "suddenly derived additional consequence as a central and rising town. Every day was one of interest to the resident population. Troops were coming and going, and new faces constantly seen. The quiet and sobriety of Concord were somewhat invaded, and would have been more so but for the restraining influence of some officers of the highest personal character, who were determined that all under their command should be kept in as complete discipline as possible. Of this class was one Darrington, a colonel, who, with his wife and a servant boy, boarded at the Stickney tavern. Colonel Darrington and his wife were people who deserved and received marked attention. There were other officers stationed here of corresponding influence."

One disorderly affair, however, which created "great excitement,"⁴ occurred at the annual town-meeting in March, 1813, when certain volunteers attempted to vote, contrary to the decision of the moderator, Colonel William A. Kent. The latter willingly received "the votes of those in the service of the United States who were inhabitants of the town at the time of their enlistment, and" had "not yet departed from it."⁵ As he was proceeding to state the grounds of his opinion, that "the soldiers from the barracks who never were recognized as inhabitants could not be so considered for the purpose of electing or being elected to office," he was met "with interruptions, evidently intended to protract the meeting to a late hour."⁵

Therefore, he determined to desist from "that attempt," and at once decided that the ballots of those who were not inhabitants "should not be received in any way or manner."⁵ The following votes,⁶ passed the next day, show what ensued upon the practical maintenance of the upright decision, also what was the general sentiment of the citizens of the town as to the conduct of intruder and moderator:

"*Voted*, That the conduct of one McCoy, a volunteer in the service of the United States, and not belonging to this town, in attempting, yesterday, in defiance of the moderator of the meeting, to vote for state and county officers, deserves severe censure: but his

¹ Adjutant-General's Report, 1868, pp. 70, 71.

² Bouton's Concord, 344.

³ In "An Outline of Biography and Recollection."

⁴ Bouton's Concord, 344.

⁵ Reply of Colonel Kent to vote of approbation, Town Records, 459, 460.

⁶ Town Records, 458-9.

act of collaring the moderator while in the exercise of his official duty, we consider an outrage of the most destructive character."

"*Voted*, That the thanks of this meeting be given to William A. Kent, Esq., the moderator, for his temperate, resolute, and judicious conduct upon that occasion."

In closing his speech in reply to this expression of approbation, the moderator thus delicately alluded to the politics of the affair: "The insult offered to the town by the assault on its representative, I doubt not, is duly felt by my fellow-citizens; and I rejoice that, notwithstanding the difference of opinion respecting our national politics, so many of those who differ from me on that part united in reprobating and resenting that indignity."¹

This political excitement in Concord was accompanied by alarm and sorrow from another cause. A malignant scarlet fever broke out in the barracks, and spread thence to the homes of the inhabitants. Two hundred and ninety-seven persons were smitten: forty-nine regular soldiers, of whom seven died; one hundred volunteers—twenty-four fatally; ninety-three inhabitants, with six deaths.² A hospital was built upon the land owned by Nathaniel Abbot, west of the state prison, and the services of Dr. Bartley, of Londonderry, were employed to aid the two physicians of the town, Peter Green and Zadock Howe, in attendance upon the sick inhabitants.³ The June following, the town provided for Dr. Bartley's compensation by authorizing the selectmen, "after collecting what they" could "from the persons whom the doctor visited, to pay, out of any money belonging to the town, the remainder of the sum charged for his services and expenses."⁴

In the course of the years 1813 and 1814, detachments of the state militia were stationed at Stewartstown, on the northern frontier, but especially at Portsmouth on the seaboard. It was not, however, till 1814 that Portsmouth was most seriously threatened by British cruisers hovering about the coast, and it was then that militia drafts were made, in which Concord had a share. In July of that year the town contributed eleven recruits for three months, with William Shute lieutenant, to a company commanded by Captain William Marshall, who had been stationed at Portsmouth for some time. In August, the selectmen and the captains of companies in town were authorized to pay those who had been drafted such compensation as they might think proper, and to hire all soldiers thereafter called for during the year, "in lieu of drafting."⁵ This compensation was fixed by the town, early the next year, at four dollars a month for

¹ Town Records, 460.

² Bouton's Concord, 345-6.

³ *Ibid.*, 346.

⁴ Town Records, 462.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 469.

each soldier detached from the militia, in the service of the United States.

On the 7th of September, Governor Gilman, "in view of the recent depredations of the enemy upon the seaboard of the United States,"¹ issued a call for detachments from twenty-three regiments, and two days later the following supplementary one in "general orders": "That the whole of the militia, including infantry, cavalry, and artillery, hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, completely armed and equipped according to law, and as well provided as possible with blankets and ammunition. And whereas there are a large number of men able to bear arms, who are, by our militia laws, exempted from ordinary military duties, they are hereby invited and requested, in the present alarming state of the country, to assemble in their respective towns, organize themselves into companies, and prepare for defence, in case it should become necessary."

The orders to detach were promptly obeyed, and the detachments from twenty-three regiments were soon in Portsmouth. There they were organized into five regiments and two battalions, one of the latter being exclusively of artillery; the other mixed, being composed of infantry and one artillery company. In the First Regiment was a company commanded by Captain Nathaniel G. Bradley, of Concord, and containing ten² of his townsmen, engaged for three months' service; and to Captain Edward Fuller's company of the Second Regiment, Concord supplied sixteen² three months' men. In the mixed battalion was Captain Peter Robertson's volunteer company of artillery from the Eleventh Regiment of New Hampshire militia. Within twenty-four hours after the issuance of the governor's second call, the members engaged their services, and forthwith marched on the Sabbath, by the meeting-house, over Federal bridge, and along the turnpike, to Portsmouth.³ Officers and men, they numbered thirty-one,⁴ all of Concord, and were in service from the 10th of September to the 29th, or twenty days. About the 1st of October the main body of troops stationed at Portsmouth, now out of danger, were discharged.

The governor's appeal to military exempts, contained in his "general orders," issued on the 9th of September, met with immediate compliance in Concord. On the 10th, a preliminary meeting of men of both parties was held at Stickney's hall, Colonel William A. Kent presiding, and the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"WHEREAS, in defence of our altars and firesides, our property and our country, Americans can have but one opinion:

¹ Town Records, 474.

² See list in note at close of chapter.

³ Bouton's Concord, 347.

⁴ See list in note at close of chapter.

“*Resolved*, That it is expedient to form a military association in the town of Concord, of such persons as are not enrolled in the militia, to be in readiness, at a moment’s warning, to act under the direction of the commander-in-chief, for the defence of the state.”¹

A committee was raised without distinction of party to forward the movement. Over a hundred men, comprising some of the most respectable and venerable citizens of the town, were straightway organized into a company numbered the Sixth of Volunteers.² Stephen Ambrose was chosen captain, with a full list of subordinate officers. The patriotic spirit thus manifested was meritorious, though the only service done by the company was to march, fully armed and equipped, through Main street, on the first day of October³—presenting an “appearance,” said the *New Hampshire Patriot*, “that was accompanied with the proud conviction that this nation can never be conquered when such defenders shoulder the musket.”

By October, 1814, the war’s last campaign in the North was closed, while that in the South was progressing towards its end to be reached in the early winter. From August, peace negotiations went on at Ghent, resulting in a definitive treaty on the 24th of December. Before the news of this treaty could cross the Atlantic, the last battle of the War of 1812 was fought at New Orleans, and the great American victory there won on the 8th of January, 1815, crowned the nation’s cup of joy over the return of peace.

As narration comes again to the days and doings of peace, certain facts, falling within the years of war, deserve a passing backward glance. In January, 1812, at the active suggestion of Elizabeth McFarland, the minister’s wife,—pious, prayerful, and efficient in good works,—was established “The Concord Female Charitable Society,”⁴—the first organization of the kind in New Hampshire, if not in the United States,—that worthy social and religious device of benevolence, which was to become the model of similar institutions in town, and, in the holy competition of charity, was to pass in its green old age into another century. Nor did the Society confine its charity at home; for, in January, 1814, joining with other women of Concord, it transmitted to Portsmouth nearly two hundred dollars, for the relief of women and children suffering from the calamitous fire of the 22d of November, 1813.⁵

It was not until the year 1807 that the town took action looking towards the creation of an effective Fire Department, by choosing, on

¹ Bouton’s Concord, 348.

² Bouton’s Concord, 347-8; also see list in note at close of chapter.

³ *Ibid.*, 348-9.

⁴ Bouton’s Concord, 440.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 354.

the 10th of March, "Benjamin Kimball, Jr., Nathaniel Abbot, Sargeant Rogers, Timothy Chandler, and Paul Rolfe, Fire-wards."¹ Not long before this the town seems to have come into possession of an engine, or tub—but when or how is not recorded. On the 17th of the following June the legislature passed an act "to incorporate certain persons by the name of Concord Engine Company, No. 1." By virtue of this act, notice dated June 22d was issued over the signatures of Sherburn Wiggin and Abel Hutchins, calling a meeting of the members of the company at the town house, on the 3d of August, for the purpose of organization.² No further record of this movement is extant; but the town at its next annual meeting elected fire-wards, as it continued to do in subsequent years. It seems, too, that Concord Engine Company, No. 1, was re-incorporated in December, 1808.³

During more than eighty years after the settlement of Concord, only three fires are recorded as having occurred within its territory. The first of these was caused by lightning, early in July, 1797, when the barn of a Mr. Partridge—probably located at the south end of Main street—was struck, but the resulting flames were speedily extinguished.⁴ The second was thus described by the *Mirror*: "On Saturday evening, Jan. 20, 1798, about ten o'clock, the inhabitants of this town were alarmed with the cry of fire! fire! which broke out in the latter's shop of Mr. David George, Jr., contiguous to the store of Messrs. P. & O. Carrigan (north end Main street). The anxiety of the citizens, when so much property was exposed, was amazing, and by their assiduous exertions and regular procedure, together with the assistance of some ladies, they happily extinguished the destructive element with little damage to anything except the building. Let this, fellow citizens, excite every one to diligence. Query—Would it not be a good plan for every man to keep a good ladder and one or two proper fire buckets always ready?"

The third fire occurred in 1802, consuming Ensign Jacob Carter's grist-mill and Thomas Vesper's carding machine, at West Concord, the cause being overloaded gudgeons, and the loss two thousand dollars.⁴

Seven years later, and two years after the adoption of the fire-ward system, the fourth recorded fire destroyed, on the night of August 17, 1809, Major Timothy Chandler's clock manufactory, house, barn, and outbuildings, together with two barns belonging to

¹ Town Records, 395.

² *Concord Gazette*, June 30, 1807.

³ See First Fire Engine Company, in note at close of chapter.

⁴ From notes communicated by John M. Hill and Fred Leighton.

Robert Harris, the merchant. The loss of the latter was one thousand dollars; that of the former, five thousand,—twelve hundred dollars of which were generously reimbursed, since no insurance system yet existed, by a relief subscription from the inhabitants of the town.¹

Another fire, on the 15th of February, 1812, consumed a building² at the North End, occupied by Mann & Robertson, traders, and George W. Rogers, cabinet-maker, and greatly endangered the "Upper Bank," then having its quarters in the building² nearest on the south.³

Such reminders forcibly suggested the necessity of a better system of protection against fire; especially as the efficiency of the fire-wards had hitherto been seriously hampered through lack of adequate delegated authority. Hence, at the annual meeting held on the 11th of March, 1812, the town appointed its three lawyers, Thomas W. Thompson, Charles Walker, and Samuel Green, "to report at the next meeting a by-law for extinguishing fires."⁴ At the same time, "one hundred dollars" were "raised to purchase fire-hooks and make necessary repairs of the engine."⁴

A year later, on the 10th of March, 1813, the committee reported, and the town adopted, a by-law prescribing the annual choice of fire-wards, who should have, "for the distinguishing badge of their office, a staff five feet long, painted red, and headed with a bright spire six inches long." These officers were given full powers—enforced by penalties—to demand assistance of any inhabitants in extinguishing fires or preventing their spread; to remove property from endangered premises; to direct the operations of extinguishment; "to suppress all tumults and disorders" at fires; "to search and inspect all houses and places" where danger from fire might be apprehended, and to order precautionary "repairs, alterations, or removals."⁵

For years fire-wards with such powers managed the Concord fire department, with its one engine, till 1818, when was added the second, an invention of Samuel F. B. Morse,⁶—then resident in town as a portrait painter,—and an humbler effort of that genius which was yet to find out the electric telegraph. The same year were adopted by the town, upon report of the fire-wards, a recent act of the legislature relating to the prevention and extinguishment of fires, and an older enactment upon the same subject,—originally designed

¹ Bouton's Concord, 349.

² The building destroyed stood on the spot where subsequently Richard Herbert dwelt; the building threatened was the Livermore house, occupying the site of John C. Thorne's residence in 1900.

³ Bouton's Concord, 353.

⁴ Town Records, 450.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 455-6-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 494; see S. F. B. Morse in note at close of chapter.

for Portsmouth,—with the provisions of both statutes made applicable to the main village and to East and West Concord.

The two small engines were located in the main village, and were each worked “by a brake, six men on each side,” with twenty or thirty feet of hose for “delivery,” but none for “suction.” “At the cry of fire, and the ringing of an alarm bell,” writes Dr. Bouton,¹ “the fire-wards seized their badge,—with a blue ribbon streaming from the apex,—the firemen sprung for their engines, to be drawn by hand, and the people, with pails and buckets, rushed to the scene. Then would be heard the word of command from a fire-ward, ringing out in stentorian tones—‘Form a line.’ Then the people,—all the people (whoever disobeyed did it at his peril) fell into line,—rather, two lines,—one to pass single buckets of water from the nearest well, hand by hand, to be emptied, one by one, into the tub of the engine; the other, to return the buckets to be refilled. Then a stream of water from a half-inch pipe would be thrown upon the burning building. Very unfortunate was it if a well, with five or six feet of water, should give out before the fire was got under, but so it often happened. And if a building was so unfortunate as to be burnt up, it was not for want of good will and of a good sweat on the part of the brakemen, nor because the people in lines did not help all they could.” From such beginnings the progress of the fire department is to be noted in the future course of narration.

In May, 1813, Lewis Downing, a young man one month short of his majority, came to Concord from Lexington, Massachusetts, to engage in mechanical industry. The items of his capital were: Cash in pocket, sixty dollars; tools, valued at less than one hundred; a hand and a brain not to be appraised in dollars and cents. Locating himself in business at the north end of the main street, nearly opposite the “Upper Bank,” he worked for one year entirely alone, and in November after his arrival completed his first “Concord Wagon,” “every part of the work” having been “done by hand labor,” unaided by any “power machinery.” For the next twelve years he employed from three to six hands, having, meanwhile, in 1816, removed his shop to the “Duncan estate” at the South End, the permanent site of his carriage manufactory. With shop enlarged, and with blacksmithing, painting, trimming, and other branches of his industry started, he fortunately secured, in 1826, the services of J. Stephens Abbot, of Salem, Massachusetts, a promising young man and mechanic, twenty-two years old, to assist at first in the manufacture of the “Concord Stage Coach,” a vehicle to become famous round the world. The efficient employee constructed the first

¹Appendix to “Discourse on the Growth of Concord,” June 17, 1875, pp. 39, 40.

“coach bodies” ever made in New Hampshire, and in 1828 became a partner in the firm of Downing & Abbot, which, for nearly twenty years, by its skilful and honest workmanship, achieved prosperity and a high and wide reputation for itself and its forty workmen, as well as honor and other advantages for its town.

Such, in mere sketch, were the inception and early progress of this important enterprise—subjects which are fully treated in a special chapter; as are also the fortunes of the establishment from 1847 to 1900;—till, in fine, the “Abbot-Downing Company,” duly incorporated, should have its capital of four hundred thousand dollars, its pay-roll of nearly three hundred men, and its magnificent plant, covering six acres of that “Duncan estate,” on which stood the founder’s unobtrusive shop in 1816.

In the first year of the war, the “Merrimack Boating Company” was chartered by the legislature of New Hampshire. This action was promotive of a long-contemplated scheme for providing, by water transportation, cheap and convenient commercial interchange between Boston and the north country. The scheme carried out could but prove particularly advantageous to Concord, as a terminus and distributing centre. The Middlesex canal, from Charlestown “Mill Pond” to the Merrimack just above Lowell, had been opened in 1803; while also a series of locks and canals to render possible the navigation of the river had been in process of construction. Governor James Sullivan, of Massachusetts, brother of the distinguished Revolutionary general of New Hampshire, projected the “Middlesex”; his son, John L., supervised its construction, and superintended it after its completion. Most of the locks and canals along the river were also constructed under his supervision. Indeed, it was mainly through the energy of John L. Sullivan that the navigation of the Merrimack was consummated. Of the company incorporated in 1812 he had general control for twenty years. In the autumn of 1814, the last year of the war, the company’s first boat arrived at Concord,¹ with only “a small cargo of general merchandise,” as some of the locks along the river were not quite completed. But, with the completion of these, and a storehouse near Concord bridge put in order, boats, with regular freight from Boston to Concord, commenced running in June, 1815; the first arriving in Concord on the 23d of that month.²

The same corporation—though after seven years bearing the name “Boston and Concord Boating Company”—successfully prosecuted this river navigation until the railroad supersedure in 1842. Twenty boats, of twenty tons burden each, were employed, and respectively manned by crews of three, who propelled them up river with “set-

¹ Bouton’s Concord, 740.

² *Ibid.*, 371.

ting poles," and down stream with oars, or in either direction with sails when the weather was fair. The entire annual freighting upon merchandise thus conveyed to and from Boston, averaged twenty-five thousand dollars. For the last twenty years of the company's active existence, Theodore French, one of its most capable agents, was in charge of the Concord Landing—a busy place in its season: with the little fleet, lading and unlading, going and coming, floating upon the quiet waters of the Merrimack, or threading in search of a safe level the "locks" along its falls and rapids. This river navigation has further mention in a special chapter.

During the last two years of the war, Thomas W. Thompson presided in the lower house of the state legislature; being the first representative of Concord to hold the position of speaker. With Stephen Ambrose he represented the town in the general court for four consecutive terms—a continuous length of service entirely exceptional for Concord members of that body. This speaker of the New Hampshire house of representatives, in 1813 and 1814, was a native of Boston, a graduate of Harvard, a lawyer of ability and prominence, a trustee of Dartmouth college, and a politician of statesmanlike capacity, who had been a member of the lower house of congress, and was to have a seat in the upper—Concord's first United States senator. Having in the political overturn of 1809 become state treasurer, he, the next year, removed to Concord from Salisbury, hitherto his residence. The tall, dignified, courteous gentleman filled the speaker's chair with unusual ability and success; and, though a strong Federalist, won Republican approval for his upright performance of official duty, in the severe partisan stress of that day. His home was in Concord for more than ten years—a home of refined enjoyment, and of refining social influence. There was drawn the last breath of a useful, honored, and Christian life in the year 1821, the fifty-fifth of his age.¹

NOTES.

OLD FORT CEMETERY.

Dedication of Memorial Tablet. On Monday afternoon, October 29, 1894, occurred in East Concord the dedication of a mural tablet at the Old Fort cemetery, in special memory of the thirteen Revolutionary patriots whose mortal remains were deposited in that ancient burial-ground—long ago filled and disused. The execution of the filial and patriotic undertaking, thus celebrated, was due to the earnest, noble-hearted efforts of two ladies, lineal descendants of

¹ See *Passed Away*, in notes at close of chapter.

Revolutionary ancestors—Mrs. Ruth Eastman Staniels, of East Concord, and Miss Annie M. Phelps, of Brookline, Massachusetts. The former, more than fourscore years of age, in carrying out her purpose of renovation and adornment, found in the latter a congenial spirit of more youthful years, ready, in filial affection and noble generosity, to supply the means requisite to its fit accomplishment. The memorial tablet, a massive, highly polished monolith of Quincy granite, seven feet in length, five in height, and one foot in thickness, adorning the cemetery wall, bears this inscription :

SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Timothy Bradley — — —	Renben Kimball 1731-1814
Philbrick Bradley 1756-1840	Mellen Kimball 1761-1844
Jonathan Eastman 1746-1834	Simeon Locke 1756-1836
Joseph Eastman 1738-1815	Anthony Potter 1755-1826
Nathaniel Eastman 1755-1839	John Thompson — — —
Moses Eastman 1732-1812	Joshua Thompson aid to
David Eastman 1762-1824	Lafayette 1750-1831

This tablet erected in behalf of Matilda Hutchins Phelps by Annie M. Phelps.
—1894—

The dedication was in charge of the local members of the New Hampshire Society of Sons of the American Revolution, of which

Mr. Charles E. Staniels, son of the lady already mentioned, was president. A good number of members, with many ladies, were in attendance. The monolith having been inspected by a large party, the services of formal dedication took place in Merrimack hall, which was well filled with an interested audience. President Staniels called to order, and, after prayer by the Reverend George H. Dunlap, made the opening address, which closed with the

following words addressed to Mayor Parsons B. Cogswell :

“It becomes, sir, my pleasant duty to present to the City of Concord, through yourself as chief executive, and present custodian of its interests, this beautiful memorial in the name of the donor, Miss Annie M. Phelps, of Brookline, Massachusetts. It is hoped and



The Fort Burying Ground, now Old Fort Cemetery.

expected that as one of the landmarks of the city, it will be preserved and cherished for the lesson it conveys; that its influence will be more than local; inspiring to patriotism, love of liberty, and native land, even unto the remotest generation."

The mayor having replied, and accepted the memorial in behalf of the city of Concord, addresses were made by Joseph B. Walker, Amos Hadley, Thomas Cogswell, John H. Oberly, and Benjamin E. Badger—and the pleasant occasion itself became history.

The Last Pound. Enclosures for the detention of stray or trespassing animals having been maintained from an early date, the town now, in 1830, authorized the selectmen to contract for the building of "a pound on the Poor Farm" at West Concord. Zebediah W. Gleason contracted for and finished the work, receiving, as the auditors of that year reported, sixty-two dollars and fifty cents "for building a stone pound." This structure, the last of



The Pound.

its kind in Concord, had location on the premises mentioned, and on the west side of the highway (the modern North State street), where, though early disused, it was to stand the century through.

The Granite State. It is said that the name "Granite State" was first applied to New Hampshire in a song by Colonel Carrigain, to be sung at the Lafayette dinner, June 22, 1825, the first stanza of which was—

"North, and South, and East, and West,
Grateful homage have expressed—
Greeting loud the nation's guest:
 Son of Liberty ;—
Whom tyrants cursed—whom Heav'n approved—
And millions long have mourned and loved—
He comes, by fond entreaties moved,
 The GRANITE STATE to see."

John Virgin. This eccentric character, commonly called "Uncle John," was always proud of his war service with General Harrison of "Tippecanoe" fame. Though in his later days he was an invalid, he determined to live upon his pension of ninety-six dollars a year, independently of everybody. For the last three years of his life he dwelt alone in a little hut near Sugar Ball, where he was found on the 24th of February, 1853, lying dead upon the floor, almost naked, with one hand in the stove, and with lower limbs frozen. Dr. Bouton (in History of Concord, 496-7) says of him: "He would

occasionally visit the main village, where his haggard appearance, and his loud, patriotic harangues always excited attention."

Captain Leonard's Artillery. 1812. The following Concord men served in Captain John Leonard's Artillery Company: Keser C. Powell, sergeant; Samuel Powell, Jonathan Stevens, corporals; Eben Flanders, musician; Solomon Mann, James Foster, Abial Bradley, Jonathan Elliot, 3d, Jonathan F. Elliot, Benjamin C. Waldron, Ebenezer Frye, Daniel Weeks, Benjamin York.

Captain Joseph Flanders's Company. 1813. The following men from Concord were in Captain Joseph Flanders's Company: Marshall Baker, lieutenant; Ebenezer Frye, James and Samuel Emerson, Jonathan and John Urann, Daniel Arlin, Jonathan B. Worth, Nathaniel Parker, James Elliot.

Captain Nathaniel G. Bradley's Company. 1814. Concord supplied the following officers and men to this company: Nathaniel G. Bradley, captain; Keser C. or Keyes B. Powell, sergeant; Joseph Hutchinson, Elijah Munsey, Robert Haynes, Enoch E. Bradley, Willey Tasker, Loammi Reed, Amos Abbot, Hazen B. Elliot, Benjamin Bradley.

Captain Edward Fuller's Company. 1814. In this company were the following men from Concord: Reuben Osgood, corporal; John Farnum, David Knowles, Joseph Glines, Ephraim and Jerry Abbot, Barnard C. Elliott, Peter Powell, John Blanchard, Isaac Runnells, Jeremiah N. Howe, Joseph F. Dow, Joseph Tasker, William Hoit, Jr., Hazen Kimball, Ephraim Pettengill.

Captain Peter Robertson's Artillery. 1814. This company—officers and men—was entirely supplied by Concord, as follows: Peter Robertson, captain; Samuel Herbert, 1st lieutenant; Chandler Eastman, 2d lieutenant; Walter W. Hill, Jacob Hosman, John Robertson, William Bell, sergeants; Jeremiah Birch, Nathaniel Parker, Jeremiah Elliot, William Moody, corporals; Jeremiah Glines, Harmon Eastman, Samuel Hosmer, musicians; Moses Bumford, Moses Eastman, Jonathan Elliot, Josiah Fernald, Cooper Frost, Thomas Greenleaf, Samuel Blanchard, Jacob Carter, Moses Dickerman, John Gould, Josiah Knowles, Robert Rogers, John Stanyan, John Wheeler, Charles Wait, Charles Whipple, Charles Herbert.

The Company of Volunteers. With Stephen Ambrose, captain, other officers were chosen, as follows: Samuel Sparhawk, secretary of state, 1st lieutenant; Nathaniel Ballard, 2d lieutenant; Ezra Hutchins, ensign; Dr. Moses Long, G. W. Rogers, Samuel Davis, Samuel Runnells, sergeants. A majority of the more than one hundred privates comprised some of the oldest and most respectable citizens, among whom were: John Bradley, Charles Walker, William

Stickney, Captain Richard Ayer, Major Timothy Chandler, Captain Edmund Leavitt; Captains John, Charles, and Jacob Eastman; Jonathan Eastman, Jeremiah Pecker, Millen and Asa Kimball, Asa Graham, William A. Kent, Isaac Dow, John George, Philbrick Bradley, Ballard Haseltine, John Garvin, and Daniel Clark.

First Fire Engine Company. The *New Hampshire Register* for 1811 contains the following statement:

“CONCORD ENGINE CO.—No. 1.”

“Incorporated Dec., 1808. The annual meeting is holden on the first Monday of October. Daniel Greenleaf, Captain; Abel Hutchins, Clerk; James Ayer, Treasurer; Bowen Crehore, William Huse, Timothy Butters, Trustees.”

Samuel F. B. Morse. “Repeatedly have we been honored with the presence among us of the late Professor S. F. B. Morse, who, we are proud to say, came to us early in his illustrious career as a painter of portraits, and who, leaving us, carried with him not only the picture but the heart of the fairest of our daughters. After he had completed his great invention of the electric telegraph and entered on his wide-world fame, he came back to us, and asked the privilege to look once more upon the very spot where he first met and was introduced to the beautiful bride of his youth—Lucretia P. Walker.” [Dr. Bouton, in “Discourse on the Growth, etc., of Concord,” June 17, 1875.]

Passed Away. During the sixteen years embraced in this chapter of the text, four citizens, whose names had been especially prominent in former narration, passed away: In 1804—September 1—in his ninety-first year, Philip Eastman, who accompanied his father Ebenezer in the earliest planting of Penacook, and took a leading part in the business of the proprietors and in town affairs; in 1809—January 26—in his eightieth year, Colonel Thomas Stickney, who filled places of important civil trust and duty in his town, and led his regiment to victory at Bennington; in 1815—July 16—in his seventy-second year—John Bradley, conspicuous for half a century in town affairs, and who had served repeatedly as a representative in the legislature, and as a senator five years in succession, from 1804 to 1808 inclusive; and, in 1815, on the 8th of December, at the age of eighty-two, Colonel Gordon Hutchins, another honored citizen and Revolutionary veteran, to whose useful and patriotic services preceding pages have borne testimony.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TOWN OF CONCORD.—THE STATE HOUSE ERECTED.—THE TOLERATION ACT, WITH CONSEQUENT SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND TOWN.—MERRIMACK COUNTY FORMED.—OTHER EVENTS IN CHRONOLOGIC ORDER.

1816–1830.

The town house, which had accommodated the general court since 1791, came, after nearly a quarter of a century, to be regarded as quite inadequate to the purposes of a state house. Accordingly, at the June session of 1814, a committee, appointed to consider the subject, reported in favor of building a state house: declaring that all the States of the Union, except New Hampshire, had provided themselves with a state house, and “located a seat of government”; and that it was “derogatory to a respectable and independent State to suffer the officers of its government to sit and transact the business of the State in a building mean in its appearance, and destitute of suitable accommodations.” A committee was thereupon raised, consisting of John Harris, of Hopkinton, Benjamin Kimball, Jr., of Concord, and Andrew Bowers, of Salisbury, to sit during recess, designate a location, prepare a plan, ascertain the probable expense of erection, receive proposals therefor, and report to the next legislature.

As instructed, the committee reported, in June, 1815, a plan, with an estimate of thirty-two thousand dollars for expense of a building of stone, according to an offer made by Stuart J. Park to complete the structure for that sum. The majority of the committee—being the members from Concord and Hopkinton—recommended the proposed building to be located in Concord, near the town house, and in a westerly direction therefrom. The report also announced that the inhabitants of Salisbury would contribute seven thousand dollars if the building should be located in that town. Thus, not so readily as Hopkinton, did Salisbury acknowledge defeat in the contest to become the capital of the state which had been settled in favor of Concord, seven years before. The legislature then appointed another committee to ascertain what appropriation would be made by Concord, or its citizens, should the building be located in accordance with the report just made. The committee found two local parties

of townsmen—the North End and the South End—contending, one against the other. Each party was willing to contribute a satisfactory sum, but to do so only upon condition that its own favorite site for the proposed capitol should be selected. One insisted upon the “Town Hall or Stickney lot;” the other upon a “piece of ground” down town, once belonging to Peter Green, the lawyer, and hence distinguished as the “Green lot.” The North Enders, while making much of the fact that their lot had already been recommended by a legislative committee, contrasted it, as elevated, dry, and commanding a wide prospect, with the other, characterized by them as “low and wet,”—a “quagmire” even.—and needing ruinous expenditure to render it fit for the purposes in view. The South Enders, on the contrary, strenuously insisted upon their lot, maintaining it to be more central, easier of access, and, consequently, more eligible than the “sand heap” of their rivals. This disagreement as to exact site, and the straitened condition of the treasury owing to the recent war, caused the state house question to go over to the next legislature.

A year having elapsed, the legislature, in June, 1816, passed a resolution “that a State House, agreeably to the plan communicated by Stuart J. Park, be erected in the town of Concord; the spot of ground to be selected, and the place on which to erect said State House to be located, by His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable the Council.” The resolution also authorized the governor and council to appoint a committee to make contracts, and to superintend the erection, with instructions to begin the work as soon as practicable, and to employ the convicts at the state prison in hewing the stone. For commencing operations the sum of three thousand dollars was appropriated. These provisions of the resolution were to be of effect only upon condition that the town of Concord, or its inhabitants, should “convey to the State of New Hampshire” a suitable building lot, “level and well prepare” the same, “give all” the necessary stone, and “convey” it to the lot—all to be “performed free of any charge or expense to the State.” Having thus disposed of the matter, without settling the hotly contested question—one rather of local than of public interest—whether the location of the state house should be “north or south of a given line on the main street in Concord,”¹ the legislature, on the 29th of June, adjourned till November. The resolution of 1816, however, fully confirmed that of 1807, whereby the session of 1808 was held in Concord, and really made it the capital of the state.

Within a week after this adjournment, Governor William Plumer

¹ *Life of William Plumer*, cited in *McClintock's New Hampshire*, 542.

and his council proceeded to take action under the legislative resolve. The two contending parties of townsmen had been active in efforts to influence opinion in and out of the legislature; had made liberal subscriptions—that of the South End amounting to four thousand dollars—and now each bound itself to comply with the terms imposed by the legislature, if its favorite site should be selected. On the 3d of July the North End bond was presented to the governor and council by Charles Walker, and that of the South End by William A. Kent and Isaac Hill. One of the councilors, Colonel Samuel Quarles of Ossipee, had leave of absence for that day and was away on private business. The governor and the four remaining councilors, acting as a committee, duly examined lots and proceeded by ballot to make selection; no one objecting to so doing, though the governor asked each of the councilors if he was ready thus to proceed. The “Green lot” was selected by a vote of three to two—the governor and two of the council constituting the majority. The next day, upon the return of Colonel Quarles, who favored the “Stickney lot,” a motion was made to reconsider “the vote of yesterday, selecting a lot of land whereon to erect a State House,” but it failed by the vote of three to three, which clenched the decision of the day before. With a sense of relief, doubtless, did Governor Plumer jot down in his private diary, under date of July 4th, 1816, the brief record, “Fixed the site for the State House.” On the following day the governor and council appointed three Concord men, Albe Cady, William Low, and Jeremiah Pecker, as a committee on contracts and of superintendence, and adjourned till September.

This committee entered upon its duties with commendable promptness. Stuart J. Park, whose original plan of the proposed structure had been approved by the legislature, and whose skill as a builder had been tested in the erection of the state prison, was appointed chief architect, with Levi Brigham, of Boston, for assistant. The entire “plot” of two acres having been purchased as a present to the state, beginning was at once made to prepare it for its new use. Thus, Captain Peter Robertson’s house, standing on the northeast corner, was sold to William Kent, and removed to Pleasant street; the Friend’s meeting-house, occupying another part, was transferred up State street to a location given by Benjamin Hannaford, north of and near the burying ground; and preliminary steps were taken “to level” and otherwise transform the selected site into a park suitable for the state capitol. Moreover, initial steps were forthwith taken towards the actual construction of the building; and the granite, which was to be its material, was soon beginning to be hewn by con-

victs at the state prison, under the special oversight and instruction of John Park Gass, nephew of the chief architect, and afterwards Concord's famous taverner. On the 24th of September, 1816, the corner-stone of the capitol was laid.

Though it could not have seemed probable that, with the work upon the state house and its grounds thus progressing, a change of location could be effected, yet those who had been disappointed at the selection of the site were clamoring angrily thereat all the while till the November session of the legislature. They asserted that a location had never been "made agreeably to the true meaning" of the legislative resolve; since—as they charged—contrary to the intention of the legislature, the governor and council had not, in deciding the matter, voted separately in executive board, but together in committee; and since, too, this action had been taken in the absence of one councilor, contrary to an agreement to await his return. Now, the case was, that with all six present, to act as a committee or an executive board, and with three of the five councilors in favor of the North End lot, the governor could, in executive board, by voting with the minority, in his right to negative the majority, have prevented a selection; but, in the absence of one favoring that lot, the governor would have had no vote in executive board,—there being no majority to negative,—while in committee he had one of the three votes to make up the majority for the South End lot.

During the recess the North Enders succeeded in stirring up considerable feeling in their favor among members of the legislature, so that at the November session an investigating committee was appointed, to whose inquiries the governor replied that he did not understand that any agreement had been made to delay proceedings on account of the absence of Colonel Quarles, and produced clear evidence that there was none, though the three defeated councilors, with less clearness and definiteness of proof, asserted the contrary. The governor also made answer that he and his council, in making the selection, had acted as a committee appointed by legislative resolve, and not in their executive capacity, a statement sustained by a majority of the council. The house of representatives, notwithstanding an adverse report of the investigating committee, sustained the governor, and on the 25th of December, not only killed a resolution to take from the governor and council the power of appointing the building committee, but passed another, by a vote of ninety-one to seventy, appropriating four thousand dollars towards the erection of the building.

Thus discouraged by adverse legislative action, the unprofitable controversy came to an end, and the work of construction went on

undisturbed. By the 18th of July, 1818, such progress had been made that the gilded eagle to crown the dome was raised to its place with public ceremony. A procession having formed in front of the state house, under direction of Major Robertson, passed down State street, and returning entered the capitol, where an address was made by Philip Carrigain. Refreshments were served and toasts were drunk amid cheers and the firing of cannon, with a band, at intervals, playing appropriate airs. Of the toasts, the thirteenth was the climax, and in phrase patriotic enough, albeit somewhat more "spread-eagle" than the six-foot golden image of the bird, with partially expanded wings, upon the dome, ran thus: "The American eagle—May the shadow of his wings protect every acre of our united Continent, and the lightning of his eye flash terror and defeat through the ranks of our enemies."¹

The work went forward to its completion in 1819, with a total expenditure much exceeding the early estimate, and reaching nearly eighty-two thousand dollars, for building, furniture, fencing, preparing the lot, supplying the stone, and hauling the same; the last three items, amounting to four thousand dollars, having been contributed by citizens of Concord. In June of that year the general court commenced its sessions in the new capitol,² and Governor Samuel Bell, in his inaugural message, uttered these words of congratulation: "The splendid public edifice in which you now for the first time assemble will add another honorable testimonial to future ages of the enlightened public spirit and liberal views of the citizens of New Hampshire. It reflects honor upon the Legislature, and upon that enlightened Chief Magistrate under whose auspices it was erected, and who has now retired from an office, the duties of which he has discharged with honor and usefulness."

The next year, the three Concord men, Cady, Low, and Pecker, who constituted the building committee, and had faithfully and successfully performed their responsible duties, were honorably discharged. The comely and convenient edifice, with its pleasant grounds, became an object of interest not only within the state, but in other parts of the country, so that within one year from the 1st of July, 1819, "six thousand eight hundred and seventy-two persons visited it, and were shown its apartments." It was praised by visitors, some of whom had traveled extensively, as "a very elegant stone edifice," and "one of the handsomest buildings in the United States." Praise of the capitol became even an inculcation for early childhood, for in a little educational work, entitled "A Book for New-Hampshire Children, in Familiar Letters from a Father,"—the first

¹ Bouton's Concord, 376.

² See frontispiece in this volume.

of several editions of which was published four years after the completion of the state house,—is found the following description, expressed in simple style to suit “the infant understanding”: “The State House is the grandest building in New Hampshire. It is built of hewn stone, almost as beautiful as white marble. The body of the house is much higher and longer than any meeting-house you ever saw. The windows are of the largest glass, with mahogany sashes. The front of the building has a noble projection and pediment with a large elegant door; and the whole is set off with a most beautiful cupola, with a great gold eagle on the top of it. There is a very large and beautiful yard in front of the State House, with a wide and smooth gravel walk up to it. I have seen many elegant buildings in the course of my life: but I never saw one so elegant as the State House.”

With such appreciation from abroad, and the evident natural tendency of events, the people of Concord themselves might well look with pride upon the capitol, and with satisfying assurance as well, that its erection upon their soil would date a new era of progress and prosperity in the history of the town.

The strife over the location of the capitol had been warmer than the weather in the spring, summer, and autumn months of the year 1816, as the designations, “the cold season” and “the poverty year,” denote. Indeed, it had almost seemed that the polar circle had slipped to the tropic, making of the temperate zone the frigid. This abnormal atmospheric condition prevailed over New Hampshire and the rest of New England. Snow fell in June, and killing frosts came in every month save August. Indian corn could not ripen, the crop of other cereals nearly failed, apples and other fruits came to naught. In consequence, “there was,” as Asa McFarland has recorded, “a real lack of food throughout New Hampshire in the autumn and winter of 1816–17.”¹ Even in Concord there was privation; and the scarcity of provisions, with consequent high prices, caused some suffering among the poor, which the Female Charitable Society, then four years old, contributed to relieve.

The same year the post-office was removed southward from the extreme North End, where it had hitherto been kept by David George, to an ancient building, soon afterwards remodeled into a dwelling by John West, and standing on the west side of Main street, opposite the site subsequently occupied by the Merrimack County bank, and later by the New Hampshire Historical society. The removal was made by Lieutenant Joseph Low, who had come from service in the recent war to dwell in Concord, and had succeeded to the postmastership in

¹ In “An Outline of Biography and Recollection.”

1816. After the completion of the state house, in 1819, he removed the post-office still farther southward to a store on the east side of Main street, opposite the foot of School, on the site of the later Rumford block, and next south of his residence. General Low,—for he became adjutant-general of the state in 1820,—having held the office of postmaster for thirteen years, was succeeded in 1829 by his elder brother, William, who took the office across the street to his own premises on the north side of School street, near its junction with Main. The new quarters became known as the “Old Post-Office Building,” and were occupied by Mr. Low for eleven years, and by later postmasters for a dozen more. Besides these homes the post-office was to find, in the course of years, others at various points between a line at a short distance south of Centre street, and one along the south side of School street—but never, as during the first nineteen years of the century, north of the line of contention between the North End and the South End.

In the spring of 1816 the Republicans had regained control of the state government, and, in the autumn, at the eighth presidential election, they chose electors to cast eight of the one hundred and eighty-three votes which made James Monroe president; Rufus King, the Federal candidate, having received but thirty-four. Concord, however, was still upon the Federal side, and remained there for three years longer.

The suspension of party hostilities in the national field of politics, which generally prevailed during the administration of Monroe, had a pleasant beginning in the president's tour through the Northern states in the summer of 1817. The appropriate demonstrations of honor for the man and his high office which were shown everywhere, and by all, without distinction of party, fitly inaugurated “the era of good feeling.” That tour included Concord in its course, where the president's reception¹ was marked by enthusiastic cordiality, and where he tarried from Friday the 18th to Monday the 21st of July.

The Dartmouth college controversy, beginning in 1815 and continuing until 1819, has more than a passing interest in the history of Concord. Two of its prominent citizens, Thomas W. Thompson and the Rev. Dr. Asa McFarland, of the board of college trustees, were upon one side of the controversy, while, upon the other side, their townsman, Isaac Hill, in his influential newspaper, earnestly supported the cause of those who sought to change the charter of the institution. Politics as well as religious preferences entered into the controversy and kept the question before the people for several years. In 1815 the dissatisfaction long existing, from various causes, between

¹ See description in a special chapter.

John Wheelock, the president of Dartmouth college, on the one part, and the trustees and members of the faculty of that institution on the other, reached an acute stage. The president memorialized the legislature, setting forth his grievances, charging the trustees with improper "acts and operations," and praying that a committee might be appointed "to look into the affairs and management of the institution, internal and external." The legislature, against the strong opposition of the trustees, granted the prayer of the president by a vote of more than two to one. The legislative committee of investigation proceeded to duty, and, on the 16th of August, gave hearing to the contending parties: but only ten days later, and with the legislative inquiry still pending, the trustees removed Dr. Wheelock from the presidency, which he had held for thirty-six years, and chose as his successor the Reverend Francis Brown, only thirty-one years of age, but of sufficient capacity for the position even in days of severest trial.

After this summary action of the trustees, the "College question" soon became a prominent one in the public mind. Its two sides had each strenuous partisans. Upon this new issue which had got into politics, Isaac Hill, the Republican editor of the *Patriot*, and William Plumer, the Republican candidate for governor in 1816, stood together. The openly asserted views of the latter were the views of the Republican party. These were, that, as the college charter of 1769 "emanated from royalty, it contained principles congenial to monarchy"—among others, in having "established trustees, made seven a quorum, and authorized a majority of those present to remove members" considered "unfit or incapable, and the survivors to perpetuate the board by electing others to supply vacancies;"¹ that "this last principle" being "hostile to the spirit and genius of a free government, sound policy" required "that the mode of election should be changed, that trustees, in future, should be elected by some other body of men," and that their number should be increased, so as not only to "increase the security of the college, but to be a means of interesting more men in its prosperity"; that "the college was formed for the public good, not for the benefit or emolument of its trustees, and that the right to amend and improve acts of incorporation of this nature" had "been exercised by all governments, both monarchical and republican."¹ The acceptance of such ideas was promoted by a prevalent impression that the management of the college unduly favored the "standing order," or Congregational denomination.

These views were opposed by the body of Federalists, who maintained that they involved an unconstitutional interference of the state

¹ Governor Plumer's message, June 6, 1816.

with chartered rights of the college and its trustees, impairing the obligations of a contract, such as the charter was:¹ that such interference as came within the scope of Republican views would, if constitutional, "destroy the former corporation, and consequently endanger the funds belonging to the college"; that "the college" was "in a prosperous condition, and no necessity" existed "for any legislative interference whatever"; and that "the inevitable tendency" of such interference was "to make the highest seat of literature and science in the state subject to every change and revolution of party, than which nothing could be more destructive to its welfare."¹

The Republican party having won a complete victory in the state election, the legislature met in June with a majority ready to adopt the recommendations of Governor Plumer upon the college question. On the 27th of June an act was passed to "amend the charter, and enlarge the corporation of Dartmouth College." By this, and a supplementary act passed at the following November session, provision was made for increasing the number of trustees from twelve to twenty-one, and for creating a board of twenty-five overseers; appointments to either board or the filling of vacancies to belong to the governor and council. The name of the corporation was also changed from Dartmouth College to Dartmouth University; and it was also expressly provided that perfect freedom of religious opinions should be enjoyed by students and officers of the university.

Against this enactment Thomas W. Thompson and Asa McFarland had, in behalf of the trustees, presented and urged able remonstrances. Moreover, the idea of establishing a new college at Concord, on principles of the most liberal religious toleration, and under the full control of the state, was favorably entertained by many—an idea which, it had been vainly hoped by the trustees and their friends, might work such a division of sentiment among their opponents in the legislature as would prevent such radical adverse legislation as was actually accomplished in 1816. The idea of creating such a college, and locating it near the center of the state, was to survive the Dartmouth controversy; for in 1822 a law was passed levying a tax of one half of one per cent. upon banking capital to create a Literary Fund for the endowment of such an institution. Some years later, however, or in 1828, the college idea was given up, and the fund, already accumulated or thereafter to accumulate, was ordered to be distributed to the towns for the use of common schools—and thus Concord missed becoming a university town.

In the August following the passage of the college university act, a majority of the old board of trustees, including President Brown,

¹ Protest of minority in house, June 28, 1816.

declined to convene with new members whom the governor and council had appointed to complete the filling of the university board; they also removed William H. Woodward, a fast friend of Dr. Wheelock, from the office of secretary and treasurer, and formally refused to accept the provisions of the recent statute, or in any way to act under it. They were determined not to do anything whereby the college could be construed as merged in the university; for they were reasonably confident that, without their consent, the act of June could not be constitutionally enforced, and such merger wrought. Hence, when a quorum of the university trustees convened, on the 22d of February, 1817, "at the hall, commonly called Masons' Hall, over the Bank, at the southerly end of the Main Street, in Concord, in the county of Rockingham," as the governor expressed it in his summons, Dartmouth college was not represented by trustees or faculty. Whereupon, the university trustees removed by vote President Brown and three other trustees of the college, including Dr. McFarland of Concord, together with two professors, all of whom had refused to appear then and there as summoned. Dr. Wheelock, though lying on his death-bed, and within seven weeks of his end, was elected president of the university, with his son-in-law, Professor Allen, to act in his stead; William H. Woodward was chosen secretary, and the faculty was filled by the choice of two professors, one of whom was Nathaniel H. Carter of Concord. Thus Dartmouth University was organized.

Now, the trustees and faculty of Dartmouth college, upon being cited to appear at the meeting just mentioned, had at once determined to take decisive action towards testing their rights, and the constitutionality of the college act, by bringing suit against their late secretary and treasurer for the recovery of "books of record, original charter, common seal, and other corporate property of the college." Forthwith, they entered in the court of common pleas for Grafton county, at the February term of 1817, their famous action, "The Trustees of Dartmouth College *v.* William H. Woodward." They temporarily surrendered to the university authorities the college buildings, but they took with them most of the students to other quarters, where was pursued the usual collegiate work for two years, pending the final decision of their case in the supreme court of the United States. That decision came in 1819, reversing that of the highest court of New Hampshire, and declaring the legislation of 1816 in question, unconstitutional, and consequently null and void. Dartmouth university was no more; but Dartmouth college still lived—and would live with a long future of blessing and honor ever opening before her. So ended the controversy which had widely, deeply, and, to some extent, unprofitably, excited the public mind in

New Hampshire; unduly stirring up, by the bitter invective of newspaper and other discussion, personal, political, and religious animosities—to which fact, fortunately, allusion only is necessary here.

Rather, belongs here mention of a gifted son of Concord—the “accomplished scholar and gentleman,”¹ Nathaniel Haseltine Carter—who held the “Professorship of Languages” in the short-lived Dartmouth university. He came to that position at the age of thirty, having been born on the 17th of September, 1787, at the homestead on the Iron Works road, near Turkey river, upon the farm many years later to be named the “Moreland.” His father, Joseph Carter, being a man of some financial means, had been able to assist in gratifying the desire of his son for liberal educational training, academic and collegiate. He had been graduated at Dartmouth in 1811, and then for six years had taught in various places—including his native town—till called to the university. When that institution ceased to exist he removed to the state of New York, where he read law, but soon found journalism more congenial to his finely cultured literary tastes. His newspaper—*The New York Statesman*—which he conducted in Albany and New York city, “under the auspices of DeWitt Clinton”² and other leading men of that day, was eminently distinguished for ability, “candor, and literary merits.”² His reputation as an accomplished writer of prose was enhanced by his two volumes of “Letters from Europe,” embodying the observations of a journey made in the years 1825 and 1826. Moreover, he had poetical genius, and his thought was accustomed to seek expression in verse, the musical and inspired strains of which suggest that he had found a loving muse beside his “native stream”—that “scene,” as he has sung, of his “boyhood’s earliest dream.” In 1824 he, who five years before had been of the faculty of the rival university, delighted Dartmouth college with his thoughtful, elaborate poem, entitled “The Pains of Imagination,” read before the Phi Beta Kappa society of his Alma Mater. This effort, with other poetry, found publication in book form three years later. But his life was not to be long; his winters had to be spent in the sunny Antilles. In the autumn of 1828 Mr. Carter paid his last visit to his native and beloved town, where he was received with cordial welcome and marked respect and honor. Of one incident of that visit, Dr. Bouton, who was then in his early pastoral service, has thus written: “He attended church for the last time in the old North meeting-house, where his pale face, emaciated form, and brilliant eye attracted the notice and awakened the sympathy of the preacher, to

¹ Alumni of Dartmouth College, 152.

² Bouton’s Concord, 585.

him then a stranger."¹ Again, and in farewell, he trod "the wild and sylvan shore" of the little river, dear to him, and to which, in touching apostrophe, he addressed his finest poem, entitled "To My Native Stream"—a production which has, to the appreciative imagination, cast over the commonplace stream such charm of beauty as only true poetic genius can. Now he had bidden farewell to the home of his childhood and youth, and in the autumn of the next year, by the advice of his physicians, sailed for the south of France. On the second day of January, 1830, soon after his arrival at Marseilles, and in the forty-third year of his age, he breathed the last breath of a life of rich fruition and richer promise.

The question of religious toleration, incidentally arising in the college controversy, had for some time been agitated throughout the state. Under the ancient statute of 1714, virtually reaffirmed in 1791, "the Congregational clergy had been originally settled by the towns or parishes where they preached, and the inhabitants of the towns were all taxed for their support."² With increase of population and of dissent from the faith and practice of the "standing order," this system, which had been of good intention and of good results in the earlier days of practical unanimity in religious views, gradually outgrew its usefulness and became oppressive. The scope and intent of the system were to compel attendance upon "the public worship of God on the Lord's day," under the preaching of a "settled minister," to whose salary, agreed upon by a majority in town-meeting, the attendant must contribute in taxation; non-compliance with these requisitions to be tolerated only on proof that one was "conscientiously of a different persuasion," and "constantly attended public worship according to that persuasion." Such stringency of requisition, with its growing tendency to provoke resistance, involving burdensome litigation and other harassments, could not but give way before liberal and enlightened thought. The demand for more reasonable legislation slowly grew more and more imperative through the advancing years. At length, in 1816, the Reverend Dan Young of Lisbon, a Methodist minister, and for five successive terms a member of the state senate, presented a bill in that body, repealing the old laws, and providing that houses of worship should be built, and ministers of the gospel hired, exclusively by voluntary association. At that session, and the two annual sessions following, the measure failed of enactment. But the number of its friends steadily increased till, in 1819, it passed in a perfected form presented by Dr. Thomas Whipple, of Wentworth, a leading member of the house of representatives. It passed at the first legislative session held in the

¹ Bouton's Concord, 585.

² Life of William Plumer, 185.

new capitol, and after as able a discussion as would ever take place within its walls.

This Toleration Act prescribed that all religious denominations in the state might form societies of voluntary membership, having all the corporate powers necessary to raise money by taxes upon the polls and ratable estate of the members for providing houses of public worship and for supporting the gospel ministry. But in consequence of a remarkable unanimity of religious sentiment existing in Concord for long years from the beginning, the compulsory support of the gospel never produced the dissatisfaction and consequent troubles experienced in many other places. Dissent came late, and with gradual and comparatively unaggressive approaches. Denominational uniformity was scarcely rippled by the quiet presence of a small society of Friends that existed here after 1805, and worshipped in its own meeting-house after 1814. It was not until 1816 that Philbrick Bradley opened his house on the "Mountain" to the yet unorganized Methodists for occasional preaching. In course of the two years next preceding the passage of the Toleration Act, two church organizations were effected here—one by the Episcopalians, the other by the Calvinistic Baptists: the former, in 1817, with eighteen members; the latter in 1818, with fourteen. Nor was there any hurry in Concord to dispense with the old system; for it was not till the 9th of March, 1825,—nearly six years after the passage of the Toleration Act,—that the town, at the written request of the Rev. Dr. McFarland himself, then in failing health, annulled by vote his "civil contract with the town," at the end of his twenty-seventh ministerial year. Though thus, after ninety-five years, the town in its corporate capacity ceased to provide for the support of the ministry, yet it voted that "the Rev. Dr. McFarland have leave to cut firewood sufficient for his own use, on the Parsonage land the current year; and also have," for the same time, "the use of the improved lands" belonging to the town. Nearly two years later, on the 18th of February, 1827, came to its end, in its fifty-eighth year, the life of Concord's third minister, so diligently and fruitfully blessing church and town for more than a quarter of a century.

The minister's request that his contract with the town should be closed had been made on the 11th of July, 1824, whereupon a new society was organized under the Toleration Act, on the 29th of the same month, composed of two hundred and twenty-three taxable members—including "nearly all the descendants of the original settlers living in town."¹ During the following autumn, Nathaniel Bouton,

¹ See Change of Constitution, etc., of Society in note at close of chapter.

twenty-five years of age, a native of Norwalk, Conn., a graduate of Yale, and very recently of Andover Theological seminary, served upon invitation seven weeks as a candidate for the pulpit. On the 24th of December he received from the church a unanimous call to become its pastor. This call, having been six days later unanimously concurred in by the society, was accepted; and at a council held on the 23d of March, 1825, the pastoral relation of Dr. McFarland having been dissolved, the Reverend Nathaniel Bouton was ordained to the ministry of the First Congregational Church and Society of Concord—a ministry to continue more than forty years with a church and society whose years would be measured in centuries. But the detailed story of the “Old North,” and of other churches—either of the same or of different faith and practice—for the ensuing three fourths of a century will be told in a special chapter of this history.

The minister’s salary of seven hundred and fifty dollars—being more than twice that which had hitherto been usually paid—indicated that voluntary associated contribution would more liberally support the gospel ministry than would compulsory town taxation—a fact that proved universally true. And it may be worth noting here, that the town had, under the old system, sometimes practically recognized the principle of voluntary contribution in eking out an inadequate ministerial salary. Thus, for years after 1811, in making appropriation to supply the pulpit, about one hundred and fifty dollars were added to the usual three hundred and fifty, with the proviso that “no person be compelled to pay his proportion” of the sum additional.¹

Under the new order of things a committee, consisting of William A. Kent, Joseph Walker, and Abel Hutchins, was appointed in March, 1826, “to take into consideration the subject of selling the interest or right the town” might “have in the meeting-house, to the First Congregational Society in Concord.”² The subsequent report of the committee estimated the town’s interest in the meeting-house at two hundred dollars; in the land on which the meeting-house stood, measuring six rods, north, south, east, and west, to the original reserve for a road, at three hundred dollars; and in the bell, at three hundred dollars. The estimate was accepted, and the town’s interest was accordingly sold to the society for eight hundred dollars.³ The claim of three hundred dollars for the bell was, however, subsequently relinquished; and in 1829 the town ordered the remaining five hundred dollars to be divided among the incorporated religious societies, as was the interest of the Parsonage Fund.

¹ Town Records, 469.

² Town Records (manuscript).

³ Bouton’s Concord, 387.

It will be recollected that along with the original allotment of lands on the west side of the river, in 1726, to the hundred proprietors, special assignments were made for the "Minister," the "Parsonage," and the "School"—each containing a "house-lot" of an acre and a half, and a "home-lot" of six acres, more or less. To the one hundred and three allotments grants were severally made in after years from the common and undivided lands, under such titles as the "Twenty Acres' Division," the "Emendation Lots," the "Eighty Acres' Division," the "Twenty Acres' Grant," and the "Last Division." The "Parsonage" allotment was entirely distinct from the "Ministerial;" and its "house-lot," which, in part, became by lease, in 1820,¹ the site of the schoolhouse in the Eleventh School District, was never occupied as the home of the minister. The Parsonage lands, however, contributed to the support of the ministry. It having now become necessary, under the operation of the Toleration Act, to make some disposition of those lands lying in various parts of the town, a committee was raised in March, 1826, consisting of Joseph Walker, Robert Davis, and Jeremiah Pecker, to sell them, and to secure the proceeds of the sales as a permanent fund—the interest of which should "be applied to the purposes for which said lands were reserved."² Promptly, on the twenty-second of the following April, the committee sold at auction most of the lands³ for \$5,335.61. This sum constituted the original Parsonage fund, but was subsequently increased—mainly by land sold—to \$5,623.01.⁴ In 1828 the town established by vote the following rule for disposing of the interest annually accruing upon the fund: "That the selectmen request each man in town to designate annually the incorporated religious society in Concord, which supports the preaching of the gospel, to which his proportion of the interest of the ministerial fund—according to the amount of his tax on poll and estate—shall be paid; that the selectmen divide the interest accordingly;" and that, in case any persons did not choose to designate to what society their proportion should go, the same should be divided equally among all the societies.

The next year William A. Kent, Robert Davis, and Joseph Low were appointed to invest the principal of the fund in bank or other public stocks, as they should judge it to be for the interest of the town. Thirteen shares of Concord bank stock were taken at \$1,326.25. This was lost, about the year 1840, through the failure of the bank; but with other investments—including a loan to the town of \$3,231.99 on certificates of the selectmen, the fund amounted

¹ Bouton's Concord, 369.

² *Ibid.*, 387.

³ See Sale of Parsonage Lands in note at close of chapter.

⁴ Asa Fowler's Report in Proceedings of Town Meeting, 1851, p. 26.

in 1850 to \$4,296.76.¹ The town loan was subsequently increased to \$3,896.16. Thus the interest upon the fund came from an assumed municipal debt, and reached annually the sum of about two hundred and eighty dollars. This had to be raised by general taxation, and distributed to fifteen or more religious societies, and in sums so small as to be of little benefit. Indeed, the advantage derived hardly compensated the trouble of apportionment—a trouble that was constantly increasing with the influx of new taxpayers and the establishment of new religious societies. Besides, there was reason to doubt the legality and constitutionality of the system that really compelled the taxpayers to contribute to the support of religious societies of which they were not members, and of religious persuasions not their own. It was, therefore, wisely determined, about the year 1875, to dispense with appropriation and distribution under the head of the parsonage fund, and to close all accounts therewith.

When, in 1825, the Toleration Act went into effect in Concord, the population of the town was about three thousand: the census of 1820 counting two thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight inhabitants against two thousand three hundred and ninety-three in 1810, and three thousand seven hundred and two in 1830. Its rank in population was the sixth in the state; Portsmouth, Dover, Gilman-ton, Sanbornton, and Londonderry being in advance. But in the prestige that attracts and the qualities that promote healthy growth and eminent prosperity, the town was second to none. Long a legislative center of the state government, it had now become a judicial one; for in 1823 the county of Merrimack was formed of twenty-three towns severed from the northerly parts of Rockingham and Hillsborough counties, with Concord designated as the shire town. Thus had come, at last, long-desired relief,—especially for the Rockingham towns,—from the inconvenience of attending courts in places so remote as Exeter and Portsmouth. Hopkinton, which had been a half-shire town of Hillsborough county, but was now within the new jurisdiction, retained the old jail till 1852, when the new one was provided within the limits of Concord.²

The citizens of the new county seat, who had given six hundred and twenty-two votes in the affirmative to six in the negative, upon the question of forming the county of Merrimack, were not backward in complying with the terms imposed by the legislature as to providing accommodation for the courts. The following vote was forthwith passed in a special town-meeting: “That the town so far comply with the act of the legislature of June session, 1822, as to remove the town-house back, turn it end to the road, raise it one story, and com-

¹ Asa Fowler's Report in Proceedings of Town Meeting, 1851, p. 26.

² Bouton's Concord, 492.

plete it to the acceptance of the justices of the superior court—provided Mr. Stickney will give the land which may be necessary for this purpose: and provided, also, that one third of the expense of removing and repairing said house be defrayed by individual subscription.”¹ Jeremiah Pecker, Robert Davis, and Joseph Low were appointed superintendents of the work, and eight hundred dollars were appropriated towards carrying it out.¹ Straightway the one-storied structure, which for more than thirty years had served as a town house, and during a part of that period as a state house, was moved westward a short distance up the slope, to stand, in a more eligible location, capped by its second story, and with its modestly colonnaded “end” turned “to the road,” or Main street. The second story accommodated the courts of the new county. The north and south rooms of the first story—as the building originally stood facing eastward lengthwise—now became one town hall. The former of the two rooms, and the larger, had been both a representatives’ and a town hall. It had also been used for other purposes, secular and religious; notably among the latter being the regular Sunday evening services held there in course of the ministry of Dr. McFarland, at which the faithful pastor was accustomed to preach his third sermon for the day, after the delivery of his two stated discourses from the pulpit of the “Old North.”² The other room, or the senate chamber, had also been variously occupied, particularly, however, as it seems, for select schools. Thus, the Reverend Joshua Abbot, a native of Concord, and a son of Captain Joshua Abbot, conducted there, for a few years, a school on the Lancasterian system, as he subsequently did at Norfolk, Virginia, where he died in 1824. Of the system, a Concord pupil, writing in old age, briefly says, “that it combined pleasure with instruction.”³

The one room resulting from the union of the two was to answer the specific purpose of a town hall in the transaction of municipal business for thirty years more, though at an increasing disadvantage, from proving too small to accommodate the steady increase of the voting population. But it answered other purposes, and many. “In this room,” as one has racily said, “were enacted scenes that assumed all the characteristics of the kaleidoscope. It was, emphatically, a free hall. In it were enacted all kinds of transactions, from a free fight to a conference meeting; from a prosy sermon to a violent political harangue. All kinds of religions were inculcated and enforced there. The old hall welcomed all kinds of isms, at all times, upon all subjects, and upon all occasions.”

¹ Bouton's Concord, 370.

² *Ibid.*, 583.

³ Woodbridge Odlin, in *Concord Monitor*, March 28, 1884.

In the new upper room of the building was held, in January, 1824, the first term of the Superior Court of Judicature for Merrimack county—the first, too, of any duly established court of law ever held in Concord. The town supplied one of the justices of that court in the person of Samuel Green, spoken of in an earlier chapter. During the session, an association of the Merrimack County bar was organized, and the event was celebrated by a supper served at the Columbian hotel, then in charge of John P. Gass. This general sketch will not dwell upon the participation of Concord in the doings of bench and bar in that first court house, for thirty years, and thenceforward, in the second, but leaves that subject to be especially treated in its own chapter.

After the war, and in course of the two terms of Monroe's administration, the Federal party became disbanded, and the Republican party was dominant in the state without organized opposition for most of that period. But by 1823 some division had come into the Republican ranks, and at the state election of that year two candidates for governor, one regular and the other irregular, were in the field. Large numbers of former Federalists voted for Levi Woodbury, the irregular nominee, who was elected over Samuel Dinsmoor, the regular. The Republicans of Concord were divided in their support of the nominees, and, as the *New Hampshire Patriot*, then in sole occupancy of the field of political journalism at the capital, was vigorously advocating Dinsmoor's election, Woodbury's friends had determined to have a newspaper to represent their views. Hence, on the 6th of January, 1823, the *New Hampshire Statesman* had appeared.¹ The next year (1824) Judge Woodbury was again a candidate, but, there being no choice by the people, the legislature elected his competitor, David L. Morrill, then of Goffstown, but afterwards of Concord.

The tenth presidential election came in 1824, with its four candidates: John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, William H. Crawford, and Henry Clay—all bearing the Republican name. In Concord, the *Patriot* advocated the election of Crawford, while the *Statesman* and the *Concord Register*,¹ another newspaper recently started by the veteran George Hough, and edited by George Kent and George Kimball, supported Adams, for whom New Hampshire went. Jackson stood highest on the electoral count, with Adams standing next; but the choice of president having been thrown into the national house of representatives, Adams was elected.

During the heated political contest, amid the loud and discordant campaign cries for and against Adams and Crawford, Clay and Jackson, General Lafayette arrived on his last visit to America. In his

¹ See additional particulars in special chapter on Journalism, etc.

triumphal progress through the twenty-four states of the Union, the harsh voices of partisan politics, whenever and wherever the patriot of two hemispheres appeared, became softened and attuned to harmonious acclaims of welcome. His visit to the capital of New Hampshire was an event long anticipated, and for which due preparation had been made by state and town authorities. How the elaborate programme of reception on the 22d of June, 1825, was carried out is specifically told in a special chapter.

In the presidential campaign of 1828, early begun and warmly prosecuted, political parties became more distinctly defined—one, as the Adams, or National, Republican; the other, as the Jackson, or Democratic, Republican. The Adams party contained many that had been Republicans, as against Federalists, under the old classification. For instance, in Concord, such former Republicans as Adjutant-General Joseph Low, Jacob B. Moore,—the latter associated with Isaac Hill in the conduct of the *Patriot* till 1822,—Richard Bartlett, secretary of state, Samuel Sparhawk, cashier of the upper bank, and General Robert Davis, found themselves in party affiliation with such former Federalists as William A. Kent, Stephen and Robert Ambrose, Richard Bradley, Benjamin Gale, Abel, Charles, and George Hutchins. The Jackson party was largely made up of old-time Republicans; of whom in Concord were such as Isaac Hill, William Low, Francis N. Fiske, Abel Baker, Jeremiah Pecker, and Jonathan Eastman. Its newspaper organ was the *New Hampshire Patriot*. The other party was supported by the *Concord Register* and the *New Hampshire Statesman* separately till 1826, when the two newspapers were united. In September of that year, also, Jacob B. Moore, a printer and bookseller, commenced the publication of the *New Hampshire Journal*, that should more definitely represent, than did the *Statesman* and *Register*, the views of such of the Adams party as were not originally Federalists. The new venture in journalism proved a success; and with the business push and editorial ability of the publisher, aided by the capable pen of Richard Bartlett, the *Journal*, with its four thousand subscribers, became the strong antagonist of the *Patriot* in the eleventh presidential contest. The intense heat of that contest was felt in New Hampshire, and especially in its capital. The newspaper press on opposite sides of the taut-drawn party line “gave no uncertain sound”; and the fierce blows dealt were fiercely returned. A corresponding antagonism existed in the community. “I have not known a time,” has written Asa McFarland, “when the people of Concord stood in such hostile attitude on each side the dividing line as in 1827, 1828, and 1829.

. . . There was a cessation of that harmony which has been,

and still is, a delightful element in Concord society, and that causes the name of the city to be in the highest degree appropriate."

Politics developed able journalism; but, outside the newspaper, considerable literary activity was manifested within the last decade of the period under review. This activity took a strong historical turn, yet with many miscellaneous diversions, such as the efforts of Nathaniel H. Carter—already noticed—and the productions in prose and verse of George Kent, Philip Carrigain, Richard Bartlett, and Mary Clark.

In 1821, John Farmer, a native of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, came from Amherst to Concord, at the age of thirty-two, and engaged in business with Dr. Samuel Morrill as an apothecary. But the druggist had a genuine aptitude for antiquarian, genealogical, and historical research, in which he labored with conscientious zeal and eminent success. His work was of incontrovertible authority, crowning his life of only forty-nine years with unfading honor. In Concord he found appreciative and congenial companionship. His literary connection was especially close with Jacob B. Moore, "a gentleman of much ability as a writer, well read in general literature,"¹ fond of historical investigation, and a capable printer and journalist. The two, in collaboration, prepared the "Gazeteer of New Hampshire," which was published in 1823, and became the model of many similar productions. The next year, appeared the "Annals of Concord," the pioneer history of the town, prepared by Mr. Moore with important material supplied by Mr. Farmer: the publication having been encouraged by the town in its vote authorizing the purchase of a sufficient number of copies to supply each family with one. Somewhat later, the same industrious collaborators gave to the public their valuable "Historical Collections"—a treasury of antiquarian wealth.

Moreover, John Farmer, Jacob B. Moore, George Kent, and Richard Bartlett attested their literary activity by co-operating with William Plumer, Levi Woodbury, Ichabod Bartlett, Samuel D. Bell, Salmon Hale, and other intellectual spirits of that day, in the establishment of the New Hampshire Historical Society, the object of which should be "to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of "New Hampshire" in particular."² They were of the original thirty-one members of that society, formed at Portsmouth on the 20th of May, 1823, incorporated by the legislature on the thirteenth of the following June, and duly organized, under a constitution, in the council chamber at Concord, on the

¹ Asa McFarland's Address before N. H. Printers' Association, 1872, pp. 39, 40.

² Constitution of the Society.

evening of the very day of incorporation. The society found in Concord not only its permanent home, but also literary talent ready to aid in promoting its worthy purposes. John Farmer became, in 1825, its corresponding secretary, and for the remaining thirteen years of his life, dignified the office by eminent ability of service. All the while, too, he was enriching the Society's Collections with the fruits of diligent research, and doing other important work along his favorite lines of effort, whereby his own fame became widespread and reflected honor upon the society which he loved and served so well, and which was never to lose, in its long succession of membership through future years, the earnest, well-directed literary spirit of its founders.

There was also manifested a growing intellectual interest in the general mind of the community. In 1830 four bookstores existed,¹ providing for school wants, and supplying the larger public demand for miscellaneous reading. A reading-room, supported by the contributions of seventy subscribers, was opened on the 24th of May, 1827, in the second story of a building occupying the site of the later Sanborn's block.² Then there was "The Concord Mechanics' Association," consisting of fifty master mechanics, having a library, in 1830, of nearly one hundred volumes for the use of its members and their apprentices. At the annual meeting of this organization, on the 6th of January of that year, Richard Bartlett delivered an address, and the following list of officers was chosen: George Hough, president; Timothy Chandler and Isaac Eastman, vice-presidents; Jacob B. Moore, treasurer and librarian; Lewis Downing, Benjamin Barker, William Restieaux, and David Allison, directors.³

Literary amusement, in the form of dramatic entertainments,⁴ enlivened Concord in July, 1828,—in the very heat of summer and of a hotter presidential canvass. It was then that Gilbert & Trowbridge of Boston presented a series of plays at "Grecian hall" of the Eagle Coffee House, or at "Theatre Concord," as the bills had it. The plays presented Monday evening, July 28, were Shakespeare's "Othello," and a farce entitled "The Young Widow." The performances were continued during the week, exclusive of Saturday. The company consisted of John Gilbert, Mr. and Mrs. Trowbridge, Mr. and Mrs. Ashley, and two or three others. Gilbert was then only eighteen years of age, and was soon to make upon the boards of the old "Tremont" in Boston his first appearance in regular acting—the debut to a famous career of more than sixty

¹ Directory.

² Bouton's Concord, 202-3.

³ Newspapers; Bouton's Concord, 408.

⁴ See First Dramatic Entertainment, in note at close of chapter.

years upon the stage in Europe and America. The company, having been urged to return in the fall, did so; being, as they announced, "impressed with grateful recollections of the indulgence experienced from their friends and the inhabitants of Concord." This second engagement began on the 17th of November, and continued until the last week in December. The small orchestra was led by the noted violinist, Abraham Pushee, of Lebanon. The leading people of the town very generally gave this experimental theatre their patronage; and strangers dwelling fifty miles away sometimes came to attend it.

Soon after the second theatrical presentation, two home dramatic societies were formed: the "Evergreen Fraternity," composed of lads, and the "Myrtle Wreath," of young men. The theater was, for a time, much in favor. But it had its enemies; for, in 1831, a resolution was adopted in town-meeting "respectfully" requesting "the selectmen not to grant a license permitting any theatrical corps, circus, caravan, or any showmen to exhibit, or to be exhibited, within the limits of the town during" the ensuing year. Historically, however, this sweeping resolution has more interest, as naming the forms of popular amusement then prevalent, than as causing any general or permanent desistance therefrom.

Among the subjects demanding at this period the attention of the the community, the School was prominent, and the public interest therein was healthy and well directed. The annual appropriation increased twenty-five per cent. in the course of fifteen years; rising from one thousand dollars to twelve hundred and fifty. This continued until 1829, to be distributed among the districts, according to the number of scholars between the ages of four years and twenty-one; but in that year the plan was adopted to divide equally a part of the appropriation to aid and encourage "the smaller, less wealthy districts."¹ From this beginning came the settled policy thus to distribute about twenty-five per cent. of the town appropriation, and the whole of the town's annual share of the literary fund.

For years the examination of teachers and the visitation of schools had been *ex-officio* duties of the Rev. Dr. McFarland, as the minister of the town; but in 1818 was chosen for the first time a regular superintending school committee, which consisted of twelve members from different parts of the town, and of whom the minister was one. This practice, or a similar one, continued until the revision of the school system of the state in 1827. The committee, in annual reports, revealed the educational condition of the town, and sometimes made progressive recommendations. One of these the

¹ Bouton's Concord, 391, 393.

town adopted, in 1823, to the effect "that a sum not less than three per cent. of the moneys raised for the support of schools" should "be placed at the disposal of the committee, to be expended," partly, in premiums to schoolmasters distinguishing "themselves for ability and success in instruction and government; and," partly, "in useful books, to be given as rewards of merit to scholars" making "the greatest improvement in their studies." The figures of reported school attendance showed laudable appreciation of school advantages; reaching, in 1823, nearly one thousand, and averaging for some years between one fourth and one third of the whole population.

In the Reverend Timothy Walker's petition¹ presented in 1753 to the "King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council," it was set forth as one of the grievances of the inhabitants of Rumford for which relief was sought, that, being without town privileges they were "not able to raise any moneys for the support of their minister, and the necessary charges of their school and poor." The liability to "charge" for the public support of "the poor" was thus early recognized; though the actual public expense incurred as to pauperism for a long period seems to have been small. In fact, for eighty years after settlement—as found by thorough investigation—only "three different cases of paupers are mentioned in the records," or by tradition. It was not until 1810 that the support of the town's poor began to involve considerable expense with a corresponding increase of public interest in the subject of pauperism. Doubtless one efficient cause of the previous comparative fewness of the town poor had been the enforcement of the state law, whereby persons coming into town without property, and with the liability of becoming a town charge, might be warned to depart, and thus prevented from gaining a residence, with the consequent right to support as paupers. While Judge Walker was of the Court of Sessions for Rockingham county, he took special care that this law should be enforced in Concord.² In 1791 John Bradley, constable, officially reported by name fifteen persons who had come into town during the year from Boscawen, Bow, and Loudon, and whom, "having no estate," he had "warned immediately to depart out of and leave the town."³

From 1813 to 1827 the question how best to deal with pauperism, increasing with growth of population, and from other causes, was not infrequently the subject of careful deliberation and tentative action in town-meeting. It was steadily becoming more and more apparent

¹ Cited in Chapter VI.

² Rev. Mr. Bouton's Commemorative Sermon, 1830, p. 46 (note).

³ Bouton's Concord, 307 (note).

that the long prevalent system of bidding off the poor of the town to whoever would provide for them at the lowest rate was—other considerations waived—not even the most economical. As early as March, 1813, the feasibility of hiring or purchasing “a house to keep the poor in”¹ was considered, and a board of five overseers of the poor was chosen. In June of the same year, Jonathan Wilkins, William A. Kent, John Bradley, Captain Ayer, and Joshua Abbot, Jr., were appointed “to inquire into the expediency of the town’s building or purchasing a house for a Poor House, and to report at the next meeting.”² In March, 1814, the committee were not prepared to report definitely, but recommended that it should be left to the “overseers of the poor or the selectmen to devise the most economical plan for the maintenance of the poor, and to ascertain the expense of a suitable building, and the most eligible situation for it.”³ Again, in 1818 and 1819, the subject was referred to committees, without reaching any practical result; the committee of the latter year reporting in 1820 that in their opinion it was not expedient to make at present any alteration in the mode of supporting the poor.⁴

But the almshouse project, though delayed, was not forgotten. It steadily grew in popular favor, until, at the annual town-meeting of 1827, it received the sanction of these two decisive votes: “That the poor of the town be supported on a farm;” and “That the town will purchase a farm on which the poor of the town shall be supported.” To give practical effect to this action, Timothy Chandler, Stephen Ambrose, Abiel Walker, Abel Hutchins, and Isaac Dow were “authorized and directed to purchase, stock, and put in repair a suitable farm, on which all paupers which this town may be compelled to relieve or maintain may be placed for support.” The selectmen were also instructed to employ a suitable person to have charge of the paupers and farm aforesaid.

The next year the committee reported to the town that they had examined six farms, all of which embraced many advantages for the purpose required; but considering the farm of Mr. Timothy Walker, near the West Parish village, under all circumstances the most profitable, they had purchased it for four thousand dollars. “The farm,” said the committee, “contains over two hundred acres of land, about forty acres of which are good interval; also a number of acres of brook land, which will make good mowing. The land on the west side of the road amounts to about one hundred acres, on which is a large quantity of valuable timber and a great quantity of wood, which, being only two miles from market, must render it very valua-

¹ Town Records, 454.

² *Ibid.*, 462.

³ *Ibid.*, 467.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 516.

ble." The expenditure for stock, repairs, et cetera, added to the purchase price, made the total original cost of the establishment four thousand four hundred eighty-four dollars and fifty-seven cents.

Thus, at last, with Joseph Parker as first on the list of Overseers of the Town Farm, was instituted in Concord a new system of pauper relief and maintenance, more humane and economical than the old, and which was to continue in satisfactory operation for more than fifty years.

NOTES.

Military Facts. On the occasion of President Monroe's visit in 1817, Captain Abbot's cavalry, Captain Samuel Herbert's artillery, and Captain Long's company of infantry did duty on the exercises of reception—a fact denoting that Concord's military organization was not neglected at that date. Nor was it to be neglected in later days. "In 1825 there were," as Asa McFarland has written, "at least seven if not eight military organizations in Concord, as follows: One company of cavalry, in which were from sixty to seventy mounted men; one of artillery, forty to fifty men; a company of light infantry, about forty men; and four companies of militia (men dressed in their every-day apparel), with guns, knapsacks, and cartridge boxes. One of these last named companies was composed of men residing in the center part of the town; another, of those in the southwest part and Millville; a third in West, and a fourth in East, Concord. There was a company known as the Borough riflemen, composed of men living in the northwestern part of the town, including the neighborhood then known as The Borough; but whether all the preceding were then in existence the writer is uncertain. The fields of Mars, in Concord and Pembroke, where these troops made manifest the valor they would have displayed if called into the service of the country, are many. The earliest recollection of a militia muster was upon what was known as the lower interval, in East Concord, sixty or seventy years ago. It was a notable day. Two companies of cavalry, two of artillery, several of light infantry, and ten to fifteen companies of men with arms, but not dressed in uniform, from Canterbury, Loudon, Concord, Chichester, and Pembroke, and men, women, and children, upon the ground in numbers greater even than the troops, were assembled. The exhilarating effect of the spectacle, especially upon young folks, can be readily imagined."

Change of Constitution of First Congregational Society. In 1846 "the taxing system was laid aside and the voluntary subscription plan adopted" for paying "the minister's salary and incidental ex-

penses." *Rev. Dr. Bouton's Commemorative Discourse, March 23, 1865, p. 25.*

Sale of Parsonage Lands. This sale was made as follows: To John Eastman, Jr., eighty acre lot, for \$3,277.70; to Abiel Walker, six acre interval lot, for \$494.47; to Richard Bradley, twenty acre grant, on Little pond road, for \$542.06; five acre interval lot on east side of the river, to William Hurd, for \$357.64; three acre Emendation lot, on Contoocook plain, to Abiel Rolfe and Henry Rolfe, for \$147.34; twenty acre Emendation lot, on Little pond hill, to Henry Chandler and Henry Martin, for \$129.07; Parsonage house lot, near schoolhouse, north end of State street, to Robert Davis, for \$176; Last Division lot, on Beaver meadow, to Abner Farnum, for \$210.50;—the whole amounting to \$5,335.51, which constituted the parsonage fund.

First Dramatic Entertainment. The first dramatic entertainment in Concord was given by amateurs of the town in the town house April 11, 1793. Mr. H. Rogers was manager of the affair. The play was a tragedy entitled "The Revenge." Four days later the Concord *Mirror* said: "This was a virtuous, sentimental, and rational amusement to the respectable inhabitants of the town, and, as it was performed, was certainly an honor to Concord. The characters were as follows: Zanga—Mr. Philip Carragain, Jr.: Alonzo—Mr. Obed Carragain: Alvarez—Mr. Russell: Don Carlos—Dr. I. Sanborn; Manuel—Mr. A. Sanborn: Leonora, the wife of Alonzo, personated by Master John Roche: Isabella, wife to Zanga, by Master J. Chase." For several weeks following, correspondents argued pro and con, in the local newspapers, the question as to the propriety and effect of such entertainments.

OBITUARY.

On the 5th of May, 1822, Timothy Walker, the only son of Concord's first minister, and bearing his name, died at the age of nearly eighty-five years. Born in Rumford, June 27, 1737, graduated at Harvard in his teens, teaching for two years, studying for the ministry and licensed to preach at the age of twenty-two, the young man came to his life-work. But this was not to be done in pulpit or pastorate. He preached occasionally for six years, notably in Rumford, during his father's visit to England in 1762-'63; and there, too, the young minister contributed service as a schoolmaster, at a time when Rumford, deprived of rights as a town, could not regularly raise support for the school. Relinquishing the profession of the ministry he was for some time engaged in mercantile pursuits, and, ere long, had entered upon his public career of varied and honorable service, civil.

military, and judicial, the main features of which have been incidentally depicted in previous narration. He virtually withdrew from public life when, in 1809, he retired from the bench of common pleas, or court of sessions, where he had sat for a quarter of a century,—for the last five years as chief justice. In the historic mansion built and occupied by his father, Judge Walker dwelt in domestic happiness, and, with his wife, Susannah Burbeen, reared to promising maturity his family of ten children. Concord never had a truer or more serviceable friend; he was, indeed, the worthy son of a worthy father.

Captain Benjamin Emery, who died November 2, 1819, at the age of eighty-one, was not a native of Concord, but came hither about 1766. His mother, the wife of Stephen Emery, was Hannah Rolfe, who was the daughter of Henry Rolfe, and sister of Colonel Benjamin Rolfe, both distinguished in the early history of Penacook and Rumford. Captain Emery became prominent, and was called to fill many important civil and military positions. He did good service in the Revolution,—at home, and in the field. He was, in all respects, a strong man, a valuable citizen, and one whose memory deserves special honor.

Lieutenant Richard Herbert came to Concord about 1752. He first engaged in shoemaking, and afterwards in the manufacture of malt. In the Revolution he did duty in the field at Bennington and elsewhere. At home he was of the Committee of Safety for two years. At other times he held offices of trust and responsibility, and was never found wanting. Lieutenant Herbert was noted for his “shrewdness and knowledge of human nature,” often evinced in “original and pithy sayings.” He died July 17, 1823, in the ninety-fourth year of his age.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TOWN OF CONCORD.—TEMPERANCE REFORM.—RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS.—CATHOLIC-IRISH IMMIGRATION.—POLITICAL EVENTS.—CITY CHARTER ADOPTED.

1830—1853.

In the later years of the preceding period, the spirit of temperance reform had begun to move the popular mind and heart in many parts of the land. By 1827, "The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance" was efficiently at work; and the bold pulpit efforts of such eminent divines as Nathaniel Hewitt, Justin Edwards, and Lyman Beecher were arousing public thought and pricking the public conscience to the realization of total abstinence from intoxicants as the practical synonym of temperance. Early in January of that year, the voice of reform was heard in New Hampshire, when Jonathan Kittredge, afterwards chief justice of the court of common pleas, and a resident of Concord, delivered at Lyme a powerful address on the "Effects of Ardent Spirits," the publication of which, as a tract of many large editions, spread far and wide startling facts and convincing arguments. And now, the Reverend Nathaniel Bouton, the young and only settled minister in Concord, resolved "to lift up the voice of warning, and urge to reform," and having carefully collected "facts from traders, from the selectmen, from the elder and most judicious citizens," as well as other reliable sources, delivered on Fast Day, the 12th of April, 1827, at the Old North church, "the first temperance discourse ever preached in town, inculcating total abstinence from ardent spirits."¹ Of the effect of the discourse, the preacher himself has said: "While the facts that were announced were astounding to all; while some disbelieved, and some mocked; and some declared the whole a slander on the town; and some pitied and regretted the indiscretion of the young man; yet others gave him credit for honesty of intention: and many on that day, and under the impression of that discourse, formed the resolution, from which . . . they never swerved, to drink no more."¹

The facts set forth in that early discourse its author was spared to restate, nearly fifty years later, and when he could recount, in triumphant contrast, decisive victories of reform over the alcoholic evil. Said the Rev. Dr. Bouton, in his historical address, delivered

¹ Bouton's "History of Temperance Reform," discourse delivered in 1843, p. 6.

on the 17th of June, 1875, on the occasion of Concord's third semi-centennial: "At that time (1825) and for about five years later, the use of ardent spirits in Concord, in the form of rum, brandy, gin, whiskey, with wine and other mixtures, was universal. In the families of the more wealthy and fashionable, they were displayed in elegant decanters in an ornamental case on the side-board, placed on the table at dinner, offered as a token of civility to visitors by day and evening, and regarded as among the indispensable comforts of life. These liquors were used equally on occasions of joy and sorrow, for cold and heat, at births and deaths, at marriages and funerals. Farmers carried well-filled bottles into the fields with them, mechanics kept them in their shops, and professional men in their offices. At funerals, it was the custom to pass round well-filled glasses to all the mourners and relatives—and bearers received a double portion.

"We aver that, in 1827, every store in town—then nineteen in number—sold ardent spirits, not only by the quantity, to be carried away, but by the glass, to be drunk by customers at the counter; that all the taverns—ten in number—kept an open bar, glittering with glasses, and labeled decanters of the choicest liquors, to accommodate their guests. The aggregate quantity of ardent spirits of all kinds,—not including wines,—sold from stores in Concord, in the year 1827, was equal to four hundred hogsheads, of one hundred and twenty gallons each, or about forty-eight thousand gallons; enough to furnish more than one gallon to every inhabitant of Merrimack county; and the portion of it actually sold to the people of "Concord, "as estimated and put down by the traders themselves, was about fourteen thousand five hundred gallons—equal to four and a half gallons to every man, woman, and child in town. The cost of these liquors to consumers was not less than nine thousand dollars, which was more than double the amount of all taxes, the year previous, for state, county, and town expenses, including schools, and the support of the poor. . . . These were the good old times of license, when any man who wished to accommodate his neighbors, and help himself, could, by asking for it, obtain a license from the selectmen to diffuse the curses of rum broadcast over the town—only he must pay twenty cents to the town-clerk for recording his license. And any man, on a certificate of good moral character and the payment of two dollars, could obtain a license for a taverner—rum and all. This is not all. The product of every orchard in town, in those times, was converted into cider. From fifteen to twenty, thirty, fifty barrels, and often more, were stowed away in cellars for family use and for hired laborers—and at the end of the next season not enough left for vinegar!

“Such was the exact state of things in Concord in 1825, and till 1830 and later. Has anything been done in the intervening years to stay and roll back the mighty flood of rum and cider which overflowed our goodly town? In this temperance cause the first blow was struck on Fast Day, April 12, 1827, in that Old North Meeting-house. The battle there begun in weakness has been bravely fought out on the line of total abstinence, and many a glorious victory has been achieved. In proof, I point you to visible trophies: (1). That in the whole city there is but one place where spirituous liquors can be lawfully sold, and that only for ‘medicinal, mechanical, and chemical purposes,’ adding wine for sacramental uses. (2). That in all the stores in Concord, two hundred or more in number, there is not one where a glass of such liquor can now be bought to be drunk on the premises. If, as is conceded, it is sometimes sold by apothecaries and druggists, it is presumed to be in the line of their profession, for medicinal or chemical purposes, rather than for use as a beverage. (3). That not a single tavern in our city keeps, as formerly, an open bar; and that there is not visible in all the families of Concord, on side-board or anywhere else, any sign of having on hand intoxicating liquors for daily use, or for treating callers or visitors. (4). In brief, that the customs and usages of social life in this regard have undergone a total change, in the last fifty, or, rather, the last thirty years. If the same proportion of people in town were now reckoned intemperate, as then, we should have a staggering battalion of not less than six hundred drunkards.”

This historic view of facts and results vividly presented suggests that present narration may, with profit, trace more specifically the steps of temperance reform. Now, it was not until three years after the delivery of the discourse of 1827—the first public blow dealt in Concord, for the cause of temperance—that force enough could be gained against the inertia of conservatism and the imperious sway of social custom, to form a temperance society in town. In the mean time, liquors were retailed from every store; in the heart of the village, down eastward from Main street, near the northwest angle of what was to be Railroad square, Bullard’s distillery had been set up in 1828; “and the great body of the people,” yet unconscious of evil, “continued to drink, as their fathers had done before them.” And, indeed, in this respect, the people of Concord were not sinners before all others in the land, for “the average quantity of ardent spirits sold and drunk by them was a little less than the average amount consumed throughout the United States.”¹ At last, however, a few friends of reform determined to try resort to organized

¹ Bouton’s “History of Temperance Reform,” p. 7.

effort, and at a meeting held in the afternoon of Fast Day, April 1, 1830, at the Old North church, took measures to form a temperance society. At an adjourned meeting held at the town house on the 8th of April, a constitution was adopted. It contained the pledge of the members of the society organized under it, "to abstain from the use of ardent spirits entirely, except for medicinal purposes; to exert their influence to exclude them from social parties and visiting; to discountenance the use of them by the members of their families, and by laborers in their employment;" and to "use all proper influence, at all times and on all occasions, both by precept and example, to suppress intemperance and to co-operate with the friends of temperance throughout the state and country."¹ This pledge—deemed by some "too strict"—received thirty signatures, at the meeting, and the organization of Concord's first temperance society was completed by the choice of the following officers: Timothy Chandler, president; Albe Cady, secretary; Joseph Low, Ira Rowell, Elijah Colby, William Kent, and Henry Fisk, executive committee.²

In this movement, and at its beginning, two recently ordained clergymen, Moses G. Thomas, the Unitarian, and Nathaniel W. Williams, the Baptist, united in earnest effort with the zealous pastor of the North church; the three receiving the hearty co-operation of Samuel Kelley, the Methodist, when, a few months later, he became the first stationed minister of his denomination in Concord. And it is but simple justice here to add that the later ministers of churches then existent, and those of churches subsequently established, earnestly joined in urging and supporting the Reform; as did also the lawyers and physicians. The society at once commenced vigorous operations. Committees were appointed in each school district to solicit subscribers to the constitution. Temperance journals were, for two or more years, distributed gratuitously, and placed in each family of the town. In 1834 temperance meetings were held in every school district. The annual meetings of the society, occurring on Fast Day afternoons, at the Old North church, were occasions of great interest, on which the religious "congregations of the town harmoniously united and filled the ancient temple to its utmost capacity, while the ministers sat together in the pulpit," and preached in turn. Thus the people of all religious persuasions "had an annual opportunity to see each other's faces, to exchange greetings, to unite in hearing able and eloquent discourses on a theme which, every year, commended itself more and more to their judgment and conscience."³

By 1835 the members of the society numbered two hundred and

¹ Bouton's "History of Temperance Reform," pp. 7, 8.

² Bouton's Concord, 408.

³ Bouton's "History of Temperance Reform," p. 8.

sixty-two, of whom ninety-two were females. But, in the growing light of experience, its constitutional pledge, which had been at first thought "by some too strict," was found not strict enough, and must cover broader and higher ground if the organization was to work out effectually the hoped-for beneficial results. "Hence, after three unsuccessful attempts to alter the pledge so as to exclude the traffic and manufacture" of ardent spirits, "and also wine-drinking," the Concord Total Abstinence Society was formed on the 2d of April, 1835. It "was composed chiefly of men in middle life," who "pledged themselves 'not to use, as a drink, ardent spirits, wine, porter, or any intoxicating liquors; not to furnish them to their friends or to those in their employ; not to sell or manufacture; also to abstain from tobacco in all its forms.'" Under this pledge a large portion of the old society united, retaining still their first connection. "The annual meetings were held at the same time and place, and both societies moved on in concert for the accomplishment of the same object."¹ On the fifth day of April, 1835, only three days after the formation of the second society, a third was organized in connection with it, under the name of the Concord Young Men's Total Abstinence Society. It took a step in advance of any preceding society in pledging its members to entire abstinence "from ardent spirits, wine, cider, porter, strong beer, and all intoxicating drinks," together with "tobacco in every form," and, also, "to temperance in eating as well as in drinking." This society urgently pursued the work of reform, and in five years had a membership of three hundred and seventy-six, about equally divided as to sex. From 1835 to 1838 a conflict on the "wine question" was vigorously waged, till finally abstinence from wine, as "incorporated in what was called 'the comprehensive pledge' of the Young Men's Society," was assented to "by all the friends of thorough reform as essential to ultimate success."²

The women of Concord had all along manifested laudable interest in the cause. Especially—and before the reformatory movement began—had the directors and members of the Female Charitable Society tested to their sorrow the evils of intemperance as a cause of the destitution which they were called upon to relieve. Onward from 1817 "they lamented, exposed, and protested against the miseries produced by the sale and use of intoxicating liquors," and thus were indeed "the pioneers in the temperance reform."³ And now in 1836 the Concord Female Temperance Society was organized, having for its special objects "to discountenance and do away the use of wine

¹ Bouton's "History of Temperance Reform."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

³ Dr. Bouton's discourse on the fiftieth anniversary of the Concord Female Charitable Society, January 26, 1862, pp. 17, 18.

at social visitings, and to make appeal to all venders of intoxicating drinks, in behalf of husbands, sons, and brothers, and the poor families that, in consequence of drunkenness, were objects of charity."¹

These societies as they arose marked eras of reform in Concord, corresponding to the progress of the temperance cause throughout the country. They wrought faithfully through the fourth decade. They saw to it that "temperance newspapers, tracts, and addresses were scattered broadcast over the town." They provided that the effective voice of the temperance lecturer should be heard by the people. Hence, such eloquent champions of the cause as Nathaniel Hewitt, Justin Edwards, and Jonathan Kittredge—three already mentioned,—George B. Cheever, Lucius Manlius Sargent, and John Pierpont—all, with their breathing thoughts and burning words, "gave impulse as well as dignity to the reformation"² in Concord. The societies, however, relied largely upon the individual, or combined, labors of their members; "and means adapted to the end in view were varied as circumstances required."² Thus, in 1836, a committee of theirs, consisting "of three highly respected and influential citizens, visited all the taverners and retailers of spirits in town, to persuade them, if possible, to relinquish the traffic. The same year the ladies drew up a memorial, and a committee of their number went into all the taverns, stores, and cellars to present it, and to plead that the sale "might cease." Nor was the community allowed to remain in ignorance of the extent and consequences of the traffic; for the Young Men's Society did not fail to collect and publish pertinent and alarming statistics. Such and other efforts put forth by the societies were, however, but partially successful,² though aided, as in 1836, by a vote of the town instructing "the selectmen to withhold licenses from the retailers of ardent spirits," and, as a last resort, by prosecutions for the violation of the license law, "which, though not successfully carried through, yet had a good restraining influence." The appetite of buyers and the cupidity of sellers still manifested a strong, though somewhat weakening, opposition, which, in one instance, became riotous. On Fast Day, in April, 1836, the Reverend George B. Cheever, whose famous temperance allegory, entitled, "A Dream about Deacon Giles's Distillery," had, the year before, subjected him to unjust persecution and a month's imprisonment at Salem, Massachusetts, delivered on invitation, a powerful address at the North meeting-house. The ire of sundry opponents of the temperance reform was aroused thereby; and, in the evening, six or seven of them passed noisily along Main street, and stopping before the pastor's house, where the lecturer had lodging, violently assailed the front door, and

¹ Bouton's "History of Temperance Reform," pp. 9, 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

threateningly called for the man "who dreamed a dream." Timely police intervention hindered any direct personal violence; and the inebriate disturbers of the peace having satisfied their insane malice by burning a man of straw in the state house yard, were the next day convicted in Justice Albe Cady's court, and fined three dollars each.

The reform movements had produced, and were producing, intended results. The fashions of society and the sentiments of the community were undergoing a change. Even within a month after the formation of the first temperance society, Captain George T. Abbot's company of light infantry—one of Concord's six or seven military organizations at the time—abstained at its May training entirely from the use of ardent spirits—an incident of somewhat prophetic significance.¹ In 1836² the proprietor of the distillery, moved by argument and appeal, sold the "worm and still," and closed out a gainful business. Now and then a trader voluntarily gave up the sale of spirituous liquors: the first to do so being Asaph Evans,³ whose place of business, at the northwest corner of Main and Pleasant streets, was on the site of Concord's first store, opened by Andrew McMillan in 1761. In establishments not completely relinquishing the traffic, sales of liquor, in quantity or by the glass, were lessening. Taverns were making less and less display of bars; and two, the Phoenix and the Columbian, were to become by 1843 "strictly temperance hotels."⁴ Wine was disappearing "from tables and sideboards," and falling under taboo "as a token of civility," and an accompaniment of "social parties, public dinners, and weddings." While, "as for ardent spirits," the homes of the people were becoming "as free from them," says Mr. Bouton, "as were the houses of the Israelites from leaven at the Passover."⁵

Early in the month of April commenced a new era in temperance reform, when a drinking club of six, in Baltimore, became a temperance society under the pledge not to "drink any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider." This band of reformed men, now reformers, rapidly increasing in numbers and organized as "The Washington Temperance Society," soon had in its membership John H. W. Hawkins, who at once commenced his wonderful work of eighteen years as a missionary of temperance. It was on Sunday evening, the 20th of June, 1841, that this "reformed inebriate," then in his forty-fourth year, "of manly form"⁶ and "of much fluency, force, and effect" in speech, addressed, on his first appearance in Concord, more than a

¹ Bouton's Concord, 408.

² Bouton's "History of Temperance Reform," p. 14.

³ Bouton's Concord, 446.

⁴ Bouton's "History of Temperance Reform," p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ *Life of Hawkins*, p. 97.

thousand people assembled in the Old North church. "He told," says Mr. Bouton,¹ "his own experience of the progress and woes of intemperance and the blessedness of reformation. Hearts as hard as adamant were melted; eyes, unused to tears, wept; resolutions, often broken, were renewed; and hands, tremulous from former intemperance, grasped the pen to sign the pledge of abstinence." Eight days later the "Concord Washington Total Abstinence Society" was formed with a membership of sixty, mostly made up of those who had recently been hard drinkers, and for the purpose, according to their constitution, "of promoting our mutual benefit, and aiding each other in our resolution to abstain from all intoxicating drinks as a beverage."² To them the former friends of temperance extended cordial fellowship; and, when subsequently the society was opened to membership from all classes, its numbers, within two years after its original organization, reached nearly four hundred. Soon another society arose, composed of young men, and bearing the name of Tahanto, the Indian sagamore, who, nearly one hundred and seventy-five years before, had, at the trading fort on the east bank of the Merrimack, urgently protested against the sale of strong drink to the red man.

The spirit of reform thus effectually stirred was kept alive by varied efforts and instrumentalities. In the early '40s, Concord had its newspaper, *The White Mountain Torrent*, devoted to the temperance cause. Throughout the country "cold-water armies," composed mostly of Sunday-school children, with their teachers, were organized, and took a prominent part, especially in the temperance Fourth of July celebrations, which were held for some years. Concord had such an army, to which the religious societies respectively contributed their quotas. These were marshaled in distinct bands, each under its own banner, and marched in the procession of the day to the Old North, there to attend appropriate services, including temperance addresses; and thence to return, usually, to the state house yard for collation, where, as one has written, who, as a lad, participated in those occasions, "tired, hot, dusty and hungry, to be refreshed with cake and cold water or lemonade so long as the cake lasted, afterward with barrels of dry crackers brought from the bakery of Capt. Ebenezer Symmes."³ It was the 4th of July, 1841, that the first of these temperance celebrations was held, and everywhere with much preparation and enthusiasm. Concord's "cold-water army" numbered on that occasion eight hundred and sixteen: The Episcopal church contributed to this total, seventy-one; the Metho-

¹ Bouton's "History of Temperance Reform," pp. 14, 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ Henry McFarland's "Personal Recollections," p. 52.

dist, eighty; the Unitarian, one hundred and seven; the Baptist, one hundred and eight; the North Congregational, two hundred and twenty; the South Congregational, two hundred and thirty.¹ Three years later a temperance celebration of the nation's birthday was held which was more numerously attended, and, of its collation, prepared in the state house yard, more than two thousand persons, young and old, partook.²

In 1843 more intense local interest began to be manifested in the work of temperance reform. In the latter part of April of that year, a citizen's meeting, held at the court house, appointed a committee of twenty to report at an adjourned meeting, "such resolutions and plan as, in their judgment, would most certainly and speedily cause the use of intoxicating drinks," and "the traffic" therein, "to cease in town, except for mechanical and medicinal purposes."³ The committee—consisting of Franklin Pierce, Lewis Downing, Abraham Prescott, Hosea Fessenden, Nathaniel B. Baker, Moses T. Willard, Joel C. Danforth, Josiah Stevens, Jr., Zenas Clement, Joseph Low, Francis N. Fiske, Samuel Coffin, Richard Bradley, Chandler E. Potter, Abraham Bean, Joseph F. Dow, Harry Houston, Theodore T. Abbot, Moses Shute, and Atkinson Webster—reported, at the adjourned meeting held at the Old North, on the 7th of May, an appeal and preamble, with a resolution and pledge. The last two were as follows:

Resolution. "Resolved—That the signature of every individual present be solicited to the following pledge and appeal; and that the same be printed, and presented to the citizens of each school district in town for the sanction of their names."

Pledge. "We, the undersigned, citizens of the town of Concord, believing that intoxicating drinks of every description, used as a beverage, are not only useless, but injurious to men in health under all circumstances; and being fully persuaded that it would conduce to the best interests of said town, and tend greatly to promote the morality, happiness and prosperity of its citizens, of all classes and conditions, wholly to abolish the using and vending of such liquors within its limits, except for medicinal and mechanical purposes, hereby pledge to the accomplishment of so desirable an object our best exertions."⁴

The pledge, with accompanying appeal, received the signatures of one thousand seven hundred and sixty inhabitants of the town, male and female: while the movement was efficiently promoted by Franklin Pierce, who, on the evening of the 22d of June, following, at the

¹ Henry McFarland's "Personal Recollections," p. 52.

² Bouton's Concord, 460.

³ Bouton's Concord, 453.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 454.

Old North, delivered a powerful address in support of it, that held, for an hour and a half, the breathless attention of his audience.¹ But, notwithstanding the urgent appeal of more than seventeen hundred inhabitants, the liquor traffic was not discontinued; for the considerable capital invested in it, though deriving less profit from home demand, yet found much from supplying intoxicants to other towns, from which the sale of ardent spirits had been excluded. Early in the last month of the year 1843, the Reverend Mr. Bouton, the pulpit pioneer of local temperance reform, delivered a timely address² detailing the progress of that reform, in a faithful historical presentment of facts, accompanied by impressive inferences, and, by wise suggestions as to future procedure—but not yet by that triumphant display of “trophies,” as already specified in this chapter, which he would be able to make thirty-two years hence. As was natural enough, within twenty days after the delivery and publication of the stirring address, a temperance meeting was held, and, as a measure of restraint, at least, a committee was raised “to prosecute all persons who” should “continue to sell intoxicating liquors in town.” At the town-meeting in March, 1844, the question of “License or No License” was hotly contested, and the three “No License” candidates for selectmen were elected. These were Nathan Stickney, Whig, and Jeremiah Fowler and Jeremiah S. Noyes, Democrats—all of whom were re-elected the next year.

At length temperance organization took another effective form when the “Order of the Sons of Temperance” was instituted. Two divisions of the order were established in Concord—the “Tahanto, No. 6,” on the 14th of January, 1847,³ and the “Aurora, No. 12,” on the 13th of January, 1848.³ Each had an active membership of goodly numbers, and held regular weekly meetings; the former at Tahanto hall, opposite the Phoenix hotel; the latter at Temperance hall, in Dunklee’s building—one of the finest halls used by the order in the state.³ The order soon took largely “the place of the other active temperance organizations in town,”³ though the Concord Temperance Society remained in active existence.

As early as 1835 the Young Men’s State Temperance Convention had denounced “licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors” as “throwing over immorality the shield of legislative sanction,” and had thus struck the keynote of prohibition. Though moral suasion, with its pledge, and under license, was leading many an individual to give up alcoholic drink, yet all the while the question was recurring with ever-increasing emphasis, Would it not be better “to keep the

¹ Bouton’s Concord, 454.

² Bouton’s “History of Temperance Reform in Concord.”

³ David Watson’s Directory, 1850, p. 87.

drink away from all individuals”¹ by absolute prohibition of the traffic therein? Towards the affirmative answer to this question, public opinion, especially in New England, was tending years before prohibitory legislation was tried. Concord was abreast with the prevailing tendency. Thus, by the year 1848, the town had advanced so far towards prohibition as significantly to cast one hundred and eighty-six votes in the affirmative to none in the negative upon the question submitted by the legislature, “Is it expedient that a law be enacted by the General Court prohibiting the sale of wines, or other spirituous liquors, except for chemical, medicinal, or mechanical purposes?”² Again, in 1851, the selectmen were instructed to license but one person to sell spirituous liquors and wines for medicinal, mechanical, and chemical purposes; and accordingly Joel C. Danforth received license.³ Still again, on the 15th of March, 1852, the town authorized the appointment of two agents, having no “pecuniary interest in the quality or quantity” bought or sold—the “one residing in the main village, and the other, in Fisherville—to sell suitable spirituous liquors and wines for medicinal or mechanical purposes only—the said liquors and wines to be tested by some person experienced in the properties and qualities of the same, and having no pecuniary interest therein.”⁴ This action was accompanied by the decided expression in favor of prohibition, embodied in the following vote: “That the representatives elected on the 9th and 10th inst., to represent this town in the next legislature of this State, are hereby instructed to use their influence, and give their votes, for the passage of a law similar, in all its leading parts and provisions, to the law now in force in the State of Maine, entitled ‘An act for the suppression of drinking-houses and tippling shops.’”⁴ It was not, however, until after the town became the city that legal prohibition became the prominent policy of temperance reform, the progress of which under the new conditions will be noted in future narration.

It was natural that the moral awakening as to temperance should be accompanied by religious progress. In fact, it is recorded⁵ that, from 1827 to 1842, “almost a continuous religious interest” pervaded “the minds and hearts of the people,” resulting in the greatly enlarged membership of existing churches. Especially, both in Concord and throughout the state, was this true of the year 1831—the “memorable year,” as sometimes styled. It has been written of the meeting of the “General Association of New Hampshire,” held that

¹ Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott's introduction in John B. Gough's "Platform Echoes," p. 52.

² Bouton's Concord, 465.

³ *Ibid.*, 469-70.

⁴ Proceedings of Town Meeting, pp. 14, 15.

⁵ Dr. Bouton's Third Semi-Centennial Discourse, 1875, p. 33; also, Discourse Commemorative of a Forty Years' Ministry, 1865, p. 19.

year at the Old North in Concord, that the "ancient temple was filled with the glory of God. Touched by His spirit, the hearts of the people melted and bowed before the Lord. As the result, one hundred and one were added to the church. In subsequent years, sometimes in connection with special means, and sometimes by ordinary means diligently used, large accessions were made." Those "times of refreshing"—according to the same authority—increased not exclusively the membership of the North church, but correspondingly that of the Baptist, and of "other churches that improved the heavenly visitation."¹

With the growth of the town in population and material strength, the number and variety of church organizations increased. Of these seven existed in 1830:² The First Congregational, or the North; the Second Congregational, or the Unitarian; the First, or Calvinistic, Baptist; the Methodist; the Episcopal; and the Friends. Soon came a remarkable colonization. "Within a space of ten years, without so much as a ripple of discord," three churches left the parent North, for separate, permanent, and prosperous establishment—the West, in 1833, the South, in 1837, the East, in 1842. In the early '40's the Universalists, the Freewill Baptists, and the Adventists had their respective societies permanently established in the main village. Later the Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and Universalists were in organization at Fisherville; the Congregational church having been formed in 1850—an offshoot mainly of the West, or West Parish, church, and consequently, a grandchild of the North. As early as 1833 there was a Christian Baptist society in the region of the Contoocook, "the members of which resided principally at the Borough and Horsehill."³ This was recognized for more than twenty years later in the distribution of the parsonage fund.⁴ But while religious societies were multiplying, the "Meeting" of the Friends, which had existed more than thirty years, was discontinued in 1840, and its meeting-house becoming the property of the Eleventh School District, was for a time used as a schoolhouse.

By 1850 at least ten meeting-houses of varied but becoming architecture, and of more or less elaborate adaptation to their purpose, adorned the face of the town; and even the Old North had seen its congregation withdrawn, on the 27th of November, 1842, to a New North. That removal had been preceded in September by a two days' union meeting of the mother church and the three Congregational daughters. The pastors of the four churches, Nathaniel Bou-

¹ See The Sunday School, in note at close of chapter.

² Rev. S. L. Blake's Historical Discourse, 1877, p. 11.

³ Bouton's Concord, 619.

⁴ Town Reports, 1851, and following.

ton, Daniel J. Noyes, Asa P. Tenney, and Timothy Morgan, participated in the exercises. In the afternoon of the second day "five hundred and fifty communicants sat down to the Lord's Supper. It was," writes the pastor of the First church, "a season of tender and affecting interest. Many wept at the thought of separation from the place where they and their fathers had so long worshipped."

Thus was relinquished, as a place of public worship, the venerable edifice so richly garlanded with historic memories. Within five years it became, and for nearly twenty-one years continued to be, the seat of the first successful attempt of American Methodism to establish and maintain a distinct school for the training of its ministry. This school was "The Methodist General Biblical Institute." Though, as another has written, "a Methodist theological school could not be otherwise than radically Arminian in its teachings, and aggressively anti-Calvinistic," yet "it is a noteworthy fact that the establishment of the institute was made possible through the open-handed generosity and liberal sympathy of the First Congregational Church and Society of Concord—a church and society, which, for more than a century, had been a leading representative of New England Calvinistic orthodoxy."¹ The offer of the building and its acre and a half of ground made by the North society, and supplemented by a citizens' subscription for remodeling the structure, was accepted by the "Wesley Institute Association," to be occupied at least twenty years for a theological school—the property thereafter to revert to its former owners. A legislative charter was obtained, and the Biblical Institute was opened in 1847, and its eighteenth and last class in courses of three years was graduated in 1867. It was then removed to Boston, where it became the school of Theology of Boston university.²

From ecclesiastical and distinctively religious institutions, attention may properly turn to those of unsectarian fraternity, social improvement, and Christian benevolence. Of Freemasonry, the elder of two of these, mention has already been made in connection with the establishment of Blazing Star Lodge, No. 2, in Concord, in the year 1799. Thenceforward, during the first quarter of the new century, Masonry prospered throughout the country. But between the years 1826 and 1845 it declined in public favor, from causes which there is no room here to specify. More charters were surrendered than granted. But that of the Blazing Star Lodge was kept, and its organization was maintained by such "faithful brothers" as Hosea Fessenden, Abel Hutchins, Ebenezer S. Towle, and Isaac Eastman, until popular prejudice gave way to reason, allowing the work of the

¹ William F. Whitcher, in *Granite Monthly*, April, 1899, p. 224.

² For other facts see special chapter on Education.

institution to go quietly on; and "it was found that the brethren were good citizens, friends, and neighbors, and not engaged in plots and conspiracies, as their neighbors had professed to believe, but living creditably and acting honorably."¹

While Masonry was undergoing its ordeal, another secret benevolent and social institution had been growing in favor, numbers, and influence. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows had been instituted at Baltimore, on the 26th of April, 1819, by five men of English birth, of whom Thomas Willey was foremost. The first lodge bore the auspicious name of Washington. For some years the progress of the order was slow, but at length it became more rapid, when certain obstacles, including prejudice against secret societies, inflamed by anti-Masonic agitation, had been surmounted. At "Father Willey's" death, in 1837, the order "had 200,000 members enrolled in its ranks."² In 1843 Odd Fellowship was introduced into New Hampshire, the first five lodges constituted being, in order, the Granite at Nashua, the Hillsborough at Manchester, the Weeohamet at Dover, the Washington at Great Falls, and the one "known and hailed as White Mountain Lodge, No. 5," at Concord. The five charter members, authorized, under "the dispensation" of the Grand Sire of the Grand Lodge of the United States, "to constitute a lodge in the town of Concord," were Albert G. Savory, William T. Rand, Nathaniel B. Baker, George H. H. Silsby, and Edwin W. Buswell. On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 7th of February, 1844, the five met in Athenian hall, "small and somewhat stuffy,"³ situated a few steps north of the northwest corner of Main and Pleasant streets, and then and there instituted White Mountain Lodge. In the evening of the same day the membership became twenty, fifteen applicants having been admitted and duly initiated into the mysteries of the order. Within a month the twenty became fifty, and within a year the number swelled to one hundred and forty-three. Odd Fellowship, thus introduced, was to go forward in Concord, prospering and to prosper: with its Lodges, the White Mountain, the Rumford (instituted in 1867), the Grand, the Contoocook, and the Daughters of Rebekah, represented by the Fidelity and the Hannah Dustin; with its Encampments, the Penacook and the Rumford; with its Grand Canton Willey and Component; with its Harmonial Association, an important social element; and, finally, with its Odd Fellows' Home;—all effective means to desired beneficent results,—the last, moreover, being of itself, both a shining result and a blessed means.

¹ Horace A. Brown's Historical Address at Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of Blazing Star Lodge, June 1, 1899.

² John W. Bourlet's Anniversary Address, Feb. 7, 1883.

³ John W. Bourlet's Semi-Centennial Address, Feb. 7, 1894, p. 16.

That is proud testimony which could be borne by a competent witness, on the fiftieth anniversary of White Mountain Lodge, in these words: "This Lodge has been engaged in this work for half a century. . . . Where distress and want have been found, there it has given relief. Where disease has laid its paralyzing hand, there watchful care and sympathy have been extended. Where death has entered the household, the last rites which the living can render the dead have been lovingly performed. The widow and orphan have not been neglected, and the benefactions of this Lodge have not necessarily been confined to the limits of its own membership. . . . It is a boast of the order that no Odd Fellow, or a member of his family, has ever become an object of public charity; and it is equally true that no man imbued with the principles of the order can be other than an upright and exemplary citizen in all the walks of life."¹

Proud, also, is the testimony which another competent witness could give on the one hundredth anniversary of Blazing Star Lodge, wherein it was declared: "Our records attest that the lodge has not been unmindful of its obligations. It has dispensed its charity to the widow, the needy and unfortunate, from fire, from flood, from poverty's oppressive hand, quietly, and without ostentation, in the spirit of that charity which has for its sanction the Divine Master's command, 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth.'"²

Thus acting upon principles fundamentally the same, differences of ritual and formula could not destroy fraternal sympathy between Freemasonry and Odd Fellowship, or even prevent many a brother in one from being a brother in the other. Their commodious temples stand in brotherly neighborhood, significant of a common beneficent mission, while each order strictly preserves its identity—and properly: for the world of charity is wide enough for both.

Attention now turning in historic glance to certain means of intellectual progress existent in Concord, at this period, finds a growing interest in the common school, however reonservative may have been the public sentiment as to progressive educational changes. The appropriations for schools, keeping pace with the increasing number of scholars, were cheerfully made, but with comparative neglect of schoolhouses. An attempt made in 1846, under a law passed the year before, to effect a union of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh districts in the main village for the support of a High School, was unsuccessful. Nor could the scheme be carried out until ten years later, when, in 1856 the three districts became one Union District—an event to be marked with a white stone in the educational history

¹ John W. Bourlet's Semi-Centennial Address, Feb. 7, 1894, p. 29.

² Horace A. Brown's Historical Address at Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Blazing Star Lodge, June 1, 1899.

of the town. Before this, however, the Tenth district had adopted, in 1850, the Somersworth act, so-called, passed in 1848, and had graded its schools, with the high school at the head. The same year the Third district, at West Concord, was organized under the same act, and a year later the Twentieth, at Fisherville, both with gradation, but without the high school. The Ninth and Eleventh districts in the center precinct, though not organized under the Somersworth act, went on until 1856 with gradation similar to that of the Third and the Twentieth.

In the fourth decade more than two thousand district schools were supported in New Hampshire at the public expense. While these enjoyed general favor and confidence, there was a growing desire to supplement their advantages by academic instruction. This desire, unaccompanied by any idea of combining, to some extent, primary and secondary education in the common school, led to a great multiplication of Academies. One of these was the Concord Literary Institution and Teachers' Seminary. There was in its name and purpose a suggestion of the high and training schools of the future common-school system. It was established by the subscriptions of citizens, who became its proprietors, and erected upon Academy hill a convenient building suitably furnished and equipped; so that in September, 1835, the institution was, with enthusiastic hopes, dedicated to its purposes, and forthwith opened in four departments to pupils of both sexes. Its corporate existence continued nine years, in the course of which Concord's first and last public academy did useful, honorable work.¹

During this period the newspaper asserted itself as a potent educator; and journalism, political, religious, and miscellaneous, competently met the requisitions of a progressive day and generation. But as the newspaper press is treated in a special chapter, present or future reference thereto in this narrative need be only incidental to the treatment of other subjects.

It is a fact worthy to be noted, as attesting the popular appreciation of higher intellectual culture, that the Lyceum was a favorite institution in Concord. The lecture courses, provided by progressive young men in lyceum organization under the name of Concord, Penacook, or Merrimack, found cheerful public support; and the lecture platform of that and a later period, with such masters upon it as Emerson and Parker, Giles and Whipple, King and Chapin, Saxe and Gough, Holmes and Lowell, Phillips and Beecher, always had its full, enlightened, and appreciative audience.

Nor did Concord lack scientific diversions. On the 14th of Febru-

¹See other facts in special chapter on Education.

ary, 1846, a meeting was held at the office of Charles H. Peaslee for the purpose of considering the expediency of forming a Natural History Society. After remarks from Dr. William Prescott, who had suggested the movement, and from Rev. Mr. Bouton, Franklin Pierce, Nathaniel G. Upham, Paul Wentworth, Henry H. Carroll, and others, it was voted, on motion of Stephen C. Badger, to be expedient to form such a society. A fortnight later, one was organized with the following officers: William Prescott, president; Nathaniel G. Upham, Paul Wentworth, vice-presidents; Nathaniel B. Baker, recording secretary; Asa Fowler, corresponding secretary; Isaac F. Williams, treasurer; John H. George, librarian and cabinet keeper; Joseph Low, Charles P. Gage, Richard Bradley, Abiel Chandler, managers. In August of the same year a correspondent of Hill's *New Hampshire Patriot* wrote: "The Natural History Society, organized only the last spring, has enrolled more than two hundred resident members and about one hundred and twenty corresponding members, and promises to be an important auxiliary in diffusing and perpetuating a knowledge of the natural productions of our state and country, as well as a most efficient means of self-culture. It has a hall, fifty by thirty feet, and a spacious room adjoining, in Ayer's block on Main Street, at the southeast corner of the State House Yard. In these are contained five or six hundred specimens in geology and mineralogy; one or two hundred in conchology; a variety of insects; interesting artificial curiosities; and the nucleus of a library. Meetings are held Saturday afternoons with a view to mutual self-improvement."

The interest in the society, thus early manifested, continued for some time; its cabinet was enriched; addresses were delivered, and papers read at its meetings. It became also the depository of numerous specimens of New Hampshire geology and mineralogy, collected by Dr. Charles T. Jackson, in his scientific survey of the state. But at last, after eighteen years of more or less active existence, it lost, in a fire, which, on the 22d of April, 1864, destroyed the two upper stories of Ayer's block (then called Sanborn's), its hall with the valuable contents thereof, and never afterward renewed its praiseworthy efforts.

Dr. William Prescott, a diligent scientist, and the society's first president, had also his private cabinet of geology, mineralogy, conchology, ornithology, and miscellaneous curiosities, laboriously collected, and scientifically arranged, in a hall connected with his residence, formerly the abode of Dr. Peter Renton. The collection was especially rich in conchology, representing one hundred and ninety-six of the two hundred and ten genera of shell-fish known to science, with most of the species complete. The other departments were also

very full. Many visitants yearly examined and admired the extensive, interesting, and instructive cabinet, till at length it became by purchase the much-prized possession of a flourishing college in a distant state.

It seems worth while in this connection to record the fact that the hall thus latterly set apart for science had formerly been somewhat devoted to art. For in the early 40's it was occupied by the "Concord Thespian Society," consisting of ten ladies and twenty-seven gentlemen, for the frequent exercise of dramatic art in amateur theatricals, creditable to the histrionic talent of the performers and highly enjoyed by select audiences.¹

With such progress in the moral, religious, social, and intellectual life of the town, material advancement was keeping pace, both as cause and effect. The New Hampshire Savings bank was instituted in June, 1830—the first of its kind in town; and in which two hundred and twenty-one persons deposited nearly nineteen thousand and five hundred dollars the first year² of its long and honorable existence. More directly to meet the increasing wants of active business, the Mechanics' bank³ was organized in 1834—being Concord's third bank of issue. Its fourth was the State Capital, incorporated in 1852.

In 1830 two mutual companies—the New Hampshire and the Merrimack County—shared the business of fire insurance with the Etna of Connecticut. Twenty-three years later five additional companies, the New England, the Equitable, the Columbian, the Union, and the People's, were in the field. Of course, the fire risks of the town constituted but a small part of those dealt with by these companies. Their operations took a wider range; extending in some cases throughout New England, and even beyond. For some years Concord was a lively center for this department of business activity; but upon the prevalent adoption of the stock plan of insurance, and from other causes, most of the mutual companies ceased to operate.

Though the insurance companies proffered indemnity for loss by fire, the town, as ever, was seeking security for its people against such loss by maintaining an effective fire department. In 1835 two new fire-engines were purchased for use in the main village; the two before used there being respectively transferred to the East and West villages. In 1845 a new organization of the department was effected under a recent state enactment whereby a Board of Engineers, consisting of a Chief and not more than twenty Assistants, annually appointed by the selectmen, could be substituted for firewards. Luther Roby was appointed chief engineer, with eighteen assistants.⁴ He

¹ See Thespians, in note at close of chapter.

² Bouton's Concord, 412.

³ *Ibid.*, 421.

⁴ See Fire Department Reorganized, in note at close of chapter.

served in that capacity, with a varying number of assistants, till 1852, when he was succeeded by Nathaniel B. Baker. In 1846, upon report of a committee, consisting of Franklin Pierce, Joseph Low, and Richard Bradley, the town purchased for two hundred dollars Engine No. 3, its house and fixtures. It had hitherto belonged to Lewis Downing, who for two hundred and twenty-five dollars had purchased it in 1833, for the main purpose of protecting his manufacturing establishment. His employees had always manned it. There had been no occasion to use it for its special purpose, but the engine company had done good service in the protection of other property in different parts of the town; and private subscription had provided an engine house, buckets, and twenty-five feet of hose. In 1847 a Hook and Ladder company was organized: and thenceforward other requisitions of the department were successively met by the town.

But in spite of wise municipal precautions, Concord was not a stranger to destructive fires that got the better of its firemen. Thus, on the evening of February 13, 1849, the extensive plant of the Downing-Abbot coach manufactory (then owned by J. Stephens Abbot) was, with the exception of its fire-proof blacksmith's shop, entirely consumed. Thus, again, on the night of the 21st of August, 1851, occurred the greatest conflagration with which Concord was ever visited. At an hour before midnight the church bells rang out the startling fire alarm; for flames were seen issuing from the old "Mechanics Row" building, wooden, and three-storied, standing in rear of the apothecary shop of Edward H. Rollins, and near to and northerly of the Eagle Coffee House. The firemen, including those of Fisherville and East and West Concord, were prompt in answering the call to duty: but despite their best efforts, the flames spread in all directions from the place of origin, until they had reduced to ashes and charred ruins the whole densely occupied business area extending in length, south, from a point opposite Park street, to Rumford block, opposite the junction of School and Main streets; and in width, east, from Main street to the railroad tracks. Fortunately the atmosphere was calm; but within the doomed area, Stickney's block, the Eagle Coffee House, the Merchants' Exchange—recently erected upon the ashes of Butterfield's block—and other structures, large and small, were consumed with much of what they contained; what was saved mainly finding temporary security across the street, in front of or within the state house yard.¹ Four engines, manned by five hundred men, had come up from Manchester, but their arrival was too late to be of much service. "The night," writes Asa McFarland, "was one of great commotion, the parallel to which had

¹ See List of Sufferers by Fires, in note at close of chapter.

never been experienced by the people of Concord, many as had been the fire alarms to which they had responded by their presence and their labors."¹ The light of this "great fire" was seen far and wide over the state, and beyond, even as far as Franconia, Thetford, and Portland. "At Portsmouth," says Dr. Bouton, "it is said, it appeared as if only twelve or fifteen miles distant; and at Francestown it shone into sleeping chambers like the light of the waning moon." The fire was probably of incendiary origin, and a reward of one thousand dollars was offered for the arrest of the criminal, but without avail.

The work of rebuilding soon began and went briskly on. The reimbursement of losses by insurance materially helped the losers promptly to replace old structures by new and better. Within a year after the August conflagration, "the burnt district," which had been extended to Free Bridge road by a lesser fire in January, 1852,² was largely occupied by new and elegant buildings, nearly all tenanted or ready for use. Meanwhile, some of the merchants whose shops were destroyed had found tolerable accommodation in a line of long and narrow ten-footers, along and between the east side of the state house yard and the west margin of Main street, where was to be seen for about a year a busy Merchants' Row.

Newly and forcibly impressed by the August conflagration, as to the importance of a fully equipped fire department, the town, in November, held a special meeting, at which Joseph B. Walker, Luther Roby, and True Osgood were made a committee "to investigate the wants of the fire department." The committee reported in March, 1852, that the town was provided with six good engines: Nos. 2, 3, and 4, in the main village; No. 6, at West Concord; No. 7, at East Concord, and No. 8, at Fisherville; that it owned two thousand one hundred and fifty feet of reliable hose; and that it had fourteen public reservoirs in the main village, and three in Fisherville—aggregating a capacity of nearly ten thousand cubic feet. The committee's recommendations, to construct five other reservoirs, to obtain additional hose, and to continue the compensation of firemen at twenty-five cents per hour, as fixed the preceding year, were adopted. The town, however, while taking such measures to promote the efficiency of its fire department, indefinitely postponed the article of the warrant—"To see if the town will vote to abate any part of the taxes of the sufferers by the fire in August last."³ But, in fine, with all attempts to meet the wants of the fire department, there was the one great want—that of an adequate supply of water—which could not

¹ "An Outline of Biography," etc., 89.

² Bouton's Concord, 491; also, see List of Sufferers by Fires, in note at close of chapter.

³ Proceedings of Town Meeting, 1852, p. 17.

be met by the town; nor, indeed, was it to be until the twentieth year of the city.

In March, 1834, the town, conscious of growing importance, and aware, "from the great increase of inhabitants in the compact part, that new streets or highways" might be required, voted that "streets" might "be authorized by the selectmen, and become highways to be thereafter maintained by the town." The proviso was added that if any street should "be required for the especial benefit of the owner of the land through which" it might "pass, the necessary land" should "be given for the purpose by the owner," and "the road and suitable water-courses be first made" by him "to the acceptance of the selectmen." It was further voted that "whereas, for more easily describing lots and residences, the names of the several streets now made, or hereafter to be made, should be known and recorded, therefore, in order that suitable names may be given to such streets within the limits of the 9th, 10th, and 11th school districts, a committee be appointed, who shall be authorized, with the concurrence of the owners of the land, when it has been given for the purpose, to report proper names to the selectmen; the same, when approved by them, to "be entered on the records of the town," and the streets thereafter to be known by those names. Whereupon, William A. Kent, Abiel Walker, and Timothy Chandler having been appointed "to name streets," reported in June following twenty-six streets named and described, together with Rumford square, "a plat of ground appropriated by George Kent, for a public square, containing five acres, lying between Merrimack and Rumford streets."¹

The avenue afterwards to be known as Bridge street was not then defined, and there was no bridge to give it name. For the Free bridge in Concord—and the first free one on any part of the Merrimack—was not built until 1839. In that undertaking citizens in the central part of the main village took especial interest. At the first meeting for consultation called by John P. Gass, and held at the American House, in the fall of 1838, Governor Hill in the chair, a committee was raised to obtain subscriptions in Concord and towns to the eastward. The subscription having reached four thousand three hundred eighty dollars, Nathan Call and John P. Gass, of Concord, Bailey Parker of Pembroke, and Cyrus Tucker of Loudon, as building committee, erected in 1839 a bridge of wooden piers. A road, opened across the interval on both sides of the river, and through the gully eastward, was laid out by the road commissioners, who assessed one half the cost upon the town. In 1841 the bridge was carried off by a freshet, but was restored at a cost of three thousand dollars.

¹ Bouton's Concord, 394-397; also, see Streets, in note at close of chapter.

The next year a powerful opposition was raised against it by inhabitants in other parts of the town, and the bridge was voted to be, "in its conception, location, and construction, impolitic, unequal, and oppressive, and ought not to be continued at the expense of the town." The question of maintaining it went into court, but in 1850 selectmen in favor of a free bridge were chosen, and, as instructed, rebuilt the bridge in a substantial manner.¹

The street named Park, in honor of the builder of the state house, and running along the north side of the capitol grounds, was the opening, to Main street, of a court hitherto reaching from State street to the residence of Judge Nathaniel G. Upham, built in 1831.² At the northwest angle of Main and Park streets, from which, in March, 1834, the "green store" and the "Emmons house" had been removed a short distance,—the former west, the latter north,—John P. Gass and son laid the underpinning of the American House in April, and, in six weeks and two days, completed the spacious hostelry and opened it to guests, having thus accomplished a feat of expeditious building rarely equaled.³

Naturally, the defining of the streets, the number of which by 1850 had become forty-seven,⁴ was gradually followed by greater attention to making the side tracks, worn by pedestrians, into regular sidewalks, properly detached from the main highways, and otherwise improved, so as the better to answer their purposes. But the paving of the natural surface with brick or other material, with or without granite edge-stones, was rare for many years, while definite widths and grades were never established under the town government.

In those days, too, gradually accumulating capital sought more profitable investment, and business enterprise new channels of gain. The example of Lowell helped stir the desire of appropriating to manufacturing purposes the rapid waters of the upper Merrimack. The Amoskeag and Hooksett Falls, with Garvin's and Sewall's in Concord, promised returns more or less rich upon capital invested in their improvement. Naturally, "the mighty falls at 'Skeag," with which Governor Belcher had been so much pleased nearly a century before, were most attractive. Capitalists of Boston and vicinity were now taken with them, and in 1831 the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company was chartered with a capital of one million six hundred thousand dollars. To prevent competition, the corporation, four or five years later, absorbed by merger of stocks, the companies controlling the water-powers of Hooksett and Garvin's Falls, that of the latter being in the hands of the Concord Manufacturing Company, with an appraised capital of one hundred thousand dollars. In this merger,

¹ Bouton's Concord, 741-2.

² Residence of Dr. Charles R. Walker in 1900.

³ Bouton's Concord, 411.

⁴ David Watson's Directory, 1850.

the investments of several Concord men contributed to a corporate stock that, by wise handling, was to become one of the world's great manufacturing enterprises, as well as to found a new Manchester, and cherish its marvelous growth to metropolitan proportions. But a heavy river dam constructed above Garvin's became the sole sign, and was to remain but a sign, that "Bow Gore" might possibly become a populous manufacturing center. What there might have been of advantage to the growth and material welfare of Concord, had not the control of its fine water-power at that point passed to the Amoskeag Company, is a matter of speculation, not of history.

In 1835 an attempt was made by the "Sewall's Falls Locks and Canal Corporation" to utilize another water-power for manufacturing purposes. Already, some ten years before, a sawmill had been erected by Ebenezer Eastman, Simeon Virgin, and Jeremiah Shepard on the east side of the river, about midway between the place of the modern dam and Sewall's Falls bridge, and by them was used for sawing all kinds of lumber until it was destroyed by fire in 1837.¹ The new enterprise contemplated the construction of a dam at Sewall's Falls, whence a canal was to be excavated terminating near Federal bridge in the village of East Concord, the site of the contemplated cotton mills. The works were begun, but never finished, and the enterprise was given up, "with heavy loss to the corporation,"² and with not a little disappointment to many who had grounded upon its anticipated success high hopes, especially for the growth and improvement of the east village, and generally for the consequent advancement of the town. At the same time, however, just above on the Contoocook, where, for some years, miscellaneous manufacturing had been carried on, the property of the chartered Contoocook Manufacturing Company came into the possession of Freeman and Francis Fisher, of Boston, by whom were commenced operations, destined to a better issue than were those at the falls of the Merrimack, just below, and for whom a precinct of the town was long to bear the name of Fisherville.

In 1835 a company was incorporated in Concord with a capital of \$25,000 for the manufacture of silk. The feasibility of silk culture in New Hampshire had for some years considerably engaged the attention of thoughtful minds, and tests thereof on a limited scale had been made. The purpose of the new company was to experiment under more favorable conditions. Isaac Hill, Albe Cady, G. Parker Lyon, Stephen Brown, Moses G. Atwood, Samuel Evans, Charles Smart, and John Whipple were prominent in the enterprise. The farm of Ballard Haseltine in the southwestern part of the town

¹ Fact communicated by Charles Virgin.

² Bouton's Concord, 432.

was purchased, hundreds of mulberry trees were planted, and other provisions made for prosecuting the business. Silk was produced in small quantities for a few years, at the end of which the undertaking was given up—leaving in reminder the name of “Silk Farm” to the pleasant locality of the unsuccessful experiment.¹

But a more profitable industry had been for years, and was still, developing in the inexhaustible granite deposits of Rattlesnake hill. Here, from 1819 to 1834, the work of stone quarrying and finishing was pursued by different contractors with vigor and profit, giving employment to many, and finding a market near and remote for its products. In the 30's, 40's, and early 50's the “stone business” was energetically prosecuted by Luther Roby. In subsequent years its operations were greatly enlarged, the history of which is told in a special chapter.

The years from 1833 to 1837, inclusive, were remarkable throughout the country for a speculation in real estate and its signal collapse. This “wild-cat” scheme for getting rich became a mania by 1835; the phase of it prevalent in New England being known as the “Eastern or Maine Land Speculation.” It was not confined to real estate in the wilds and paper townships of Maine; it extended to lands in almost all the principal cities and villages of New England. It raged in Boston and infected Concord. As Dr. Bouton has recorded:² “Visionary schemes were projected, airy hopes raised, and extravagant sums paid for land with the expectation of amassing thereby a large fortune. Lots in Concord valued at from forty to sixty dollars per acre suddenly rose to twice and five times that sum; purchases were made—generally on credit—and many lots changed owners. Associations were formed of gentlemen who had by their industry laid up a few hundred or thousand dollars, and the whole was placed at stake in a race for wealth. In 1837 the crisis was reached, the bubble burst, and a large part of all who had enlisted in the enterprise found their money gone without an equivalent. The loss to persons in Concord, principally by speculation in eastern lands, was estimated at from seventy-five to one hundred thousand dollars. The consequence was a pecuniary embarrassment which lasted long afterwards, and from which some never recovered.”

That crisis of 1837, which put to crucial test the financial soundness of banks as well as of individuals, found in Concord the “Upper” or Merrimaek County bank in good trim and able to weather the storm of revulsion. Without formal suspension of specie payments it maintained its credit, suffering comparatively little from

¹ Bouton's Concord, 433-4.

² History of Concord, 423.

specie runs; the holders of its notes deeming them as good as Benton's bullion. The "Lower" or Concord bank was less fortunate. It foundered, and finally, in 1840, sunk into hopeless bankruptcy; thus contributing an element of temporary reaction to the financial progress of the town.

During these years the Railroad enterprise was developing throughout the country. In New Hampshire, notwithstanding the hostile tendency of excessively conservative legislation as to "right of way," and "the personal liability" of corporate stockholders—to say nothing of the financial stress of the times—it forged ahead. The iron track of the Concord Railroad, under the charter of 1835, was to thread the valley of the upper Merrimack. Concord had early appreciated the advantages to accrue from the undertaking, and had in its municipal capacity subscribed, in 1837, for eight hundred shares of Concord Railroad stock at fifty dollars the share. The public interest had become so enthusiastic by 1839 that William A. Kent, Robert Davis, and Joseph Low, who had already served as a subscription committee, "were empowered and directed, in behalf of the town, to subscribe for two thousand shares of the Concord Railroad stock, and to borrow a sum not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, redeemable after the year 1850; the interest on the loan to be paid from the income of the road, or otherwise, as found expedient."¹ But this proposed action was deemed, upon second thought, too venturesome, in view of all contingencies, and was not carried out. Moreover, the town, two years later, manifested its continued shyness of such investments in disposing even of its eight hundred shares of railroad stock without reluctance; for the future prosperity of the Concord Railroad could not be foreseen, nor had a glimpse of the golden gleam of its ten per cent. dividends been caught.

But this action of the town in its municipal capacity did not prevent individual contribution of wise, strenuous, and persistent efforts for completing the iron tie of communication between the metropolis of New England and the capital of New Hampshire. Nor did such efforts fail; the thirty-five miles of track from Nashua to Concord were duly laid: to Manchester by July, 1842; to Concord, the northern terminus, by September. Early in the evening of Tuesday, the sixth of the latter month, came into town over the completed road the first through passenger train from Boston. As the engine "Amoskeag," heading "three passenger cars and some baggage,"² puffed into the corporation grounds—afterwards known as Railroad square—the multitude of men, women, and children thronging about

¹ Bouton's Concord, 427.

² *Ibid*, 446-7.

the temporary station, received with loud acclains the wondrous visitation, while peals of cannon thundered welcome.

Thus, at last, had been accomplished a work of great promise for the progress and welfare of the town—a promise the fulfilment of which would and did at once begin. During the very next year thirty-seven dwelling houses, supplying fifty-one tenements, were erected; as were also buildings, not a few, for mercantile, mechanical, and other business purposes. Between the years 1840 and 1850 the population nearly doubled. Preëminently eligible, indeed, was now the situation of Concord as an attractive center, upon a railroad bearing its name, which, at the latter date, had already become a leading trunk road with its important radiating branches, the Northern, the Montreal, the Claremont, and the Portsmouth.¹

The electric telegraph was introduced into Concord in 1848; six years after the opening of the Concord Railroad, and four years after the construction of the telegraphic line between Baltimore and Washington—the first in the world. The first Concord telegraph office was in a ten-footer lean-to specially built for it and adjoining the south side of the Columbian Hotel. Ira F. Chase, of Vermont, was the first operator. He was succeeded in 1852 by Joseph W. Robinson, who was the first resident of the town to learn the art and mystery of telegraphy. Ten years later, this same Concord operator, having become superintendent of the Boston and White Mountains District of the American Telegraph Company, commenced the construction of the lines which, in a few years, connected nearly all the prominent towns in northern New Hampshire, as well as all the mountain hotels,—not even the summit of Mount Washington being excluded from the circuit of communication.

In November of the year 1842, and thus nearly in coincidence with the opening of the Concord Railroad, the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane was opened for the reception of patients, to the blessing and honor of the state and the enhanced prestige of the capital. For ten years had this great enterprise of wise philanthropy prominently occupied the public thought. But how effectually its accomplishment had been promoted by the wise counsels and untiring exertions of Concord men, and the financial liberality of the town, has, with other facts in the history of the institution, been so fully treated in a special chapter, as to necessitate here only this passing reference.

While, as has been seen, the town was in the mood of subscribing for Concord Railroad stock, and by authority of the legislature could, in 1837, hire money for such investment, a new source of revenue

¹ The detailed history of Railroads in connection with Concord is to be found in a special chapter.

promised to supply loans wherefrom to pay assessments on subscriptions, and did in fact pay, in part, one on six hundred shares. Somewhat later an appropriation was made from the same source for the Asylum for the Insane. This new and promising financial resource was the Surplus Revenue. For, the national debt having been totally extinguished, with a surplus still remaining in the treasury, an act was passed, in 1836, by congress, and approved with misgiving by President Jackson, to "deposit" with the states all of that surplus found on hand January 1, 1837, except five million dollars,—the deposit to be held till recalled by the general government. The amount thus to be disposed of was thirty-five million dollars; and, upon the prescribed ratio of representation in house and senate, New Hampshire's share was nearly nine hundred thousand dollars. At the winter session of 1836-'37, the state legislature accepted the trust, and provided for the deposit of the money with such towns as might vote to receive it, and pledge faith for the safe-keeping and return of the same upon demand; the division to be made, "one half on the apportionment, and the other half on the polls, as returned at the" winter "session." The measure, having passed both houses after weeks of deliberation without party division, received the assent of Governor Hill, rather in deference to the judgment of the legislature than in obedience to his own convictions; for he felt that it was a mistake to scatter the money among the towns, rather than—as he had recommended in a message—to allow the state to invest it, and use the proceeds for the relief of state taxation; or to loan a portion of it, on easy interest, for the promotion of enterprises of public value.

On the 30th of January, 1837, seventeen days after the passage of the deposit act, it was voted at a special town-meeting held in Concord, to "receive from the treasurer of the State," the town's allotted "portion of the public money of the United States, deposited with the State." Isaac Hill was appointed agent in behalf of the town, to receive the money as it should become due; to receipt for it, and to pledge the faith of the town for the safe-keeping and repayment thereof when demanded by the state treasurer. Three quarterly instalments of a little more than two hundred twenty-three thousand dollars each were, during the year 1837, received into the state treasury; but the fourth instalment never came; congress having wisely decided, in view of the condition of the national treasury, that "money should not be borrowed by the government for the sake of making a deposit with the States." Of the sum received by the state, Concord's share was nearly fourteen thousand five hundred dollars.¹

¹ Bouton's Concord, 426.

At the time of accepting the deposit, the town directed its railroad investing committee, William A. Kent, Robert Davis, and Joseph Low, to borrow from the agent of the surplus revenue the town's allotment of the same, as it should become due, "for the payment of assessments on railroad shares;" and the agent was authorized to loan the money to the committee, upon certificate that it had been received for investment in Concord Railroad stock. At the following annual meeting in March, the committee reported that they had received from the agent the town's first instalment of the surplus revenue, amounting to four thousand two hundred eighty-seven dollars. It was with nine hundred dollars of this first instalment, that the partial payment of an assessment upon railroad shares, as already mentioned, was made; but it does not appear that any further drafts for such a purpose were afterwards made upon the three instalments. In 1840, however, was made the appropriation—before alluded to—in favor of the Asylum for the Insane, whereby the sum of nine thousand five hundred dollars¹ of the surplus revenue was secured to that institution. The same year "the poll tax of the town" was ordered to be paid from the surplus revenue,—or its "interest"; and a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars was also appropriated therefrom "to pay the debts of the town."² The auditors of 1841 reported nearly six thousand three hundred dollars of surplus revenue "available for other purposes," after deducting the asylum appropriation.¹ After 1841, when legislation authorized towns to make such disposition of the public money deposited with them as by a major vote they might determine, the surplus revenue, as a town fund, was placed in the hands of the committee having in charge the parsonage and school funds. Like these, it was largely loaned to the town on certificates of the selectmen. The available surplus revenue fund was reported in March, 1852, to be seven thousand nine hundred eighty-five dollars and thirty cents, principal and interest. In 1853, Asa Fowler, for "the committee having in charge the various funds belonging to the town of Concord," reported of the surplus revenue fund, as follows: "By a vote of the town passed March 13, 1852, the committee having this fund in charge were instructed to cancel the certificates of the fund. As this fund was peculiarly the property of the town, and at its disposal, the effect of this vote may well be considered to be the extinguishment of the fund, and the discharge of the town from indebtedness to the extent of its amount."³

The agricultural interests of Concord had not for many years

¹ Bouton's Concord, 427.

² *Ibid.*, 428.

³ Proceedings of Town Meeting, 1853, pp. 23-4.

lacked the stimulus to advancement afforded by organized effort. The Merrimack County Agricultural Society, organized about 1820, and holding its annual fairs in various towns, always found welcome reception in Concord. When, after thirty-nine years of existence, it was, in 1859, incorporated, Concord became its permanent home. That year the Duncklee ground at the south end of the city was fitted up for the society's first fair under incorporation, held on the last three days of September. This was a complete success, and encouraged the directors to take measures in December for purchasing a Fair Ground. They visited certain pine-covered grounds on the east side of the Merrimack, about a mile from the junction of Bridge street with Main, and resolved to purchase them for the contemplated purpose if three thousand dollars could be raised by subscription and life membership. Moses Humphrey was appointed at that time to solicit subscriptions. He thus collected eighteen hundred dollars. Nathaniel White, Moses Humphrey, and Joseph P. Stickney having been selected as trustees, bought of James Holton, of Massachusetts, on the 28th of March, 1860, thirty acres of land in the locality spoken of, at sixteen dollars per acre; and, a few days later, of Enos Blake and Isaac Emery, four adjoining acres for one hundred and twenty-five dollars. The land, the clearing of the same, the construction of the track, the fencing, and the erection of suitable buildings cost the society about thirty-two hundred dollars. The first fair was held there September 26, 27, and 28, 1861. Moses Humphrey had already been instructed to cause a deed, or lease, to be made, conveying the premises in perpetual trust to the city of Concord: to be held for the use of the society, and subject at all times to its occupation and control; it being also provided that the New Hampshire State Agricultural Society should have the use of the premises for its annual fairs without charge or expense; that the city of Concord should also have the use of the grounds for fairs and military and other purposes; and that, if at any time the Merrimack County Agricultural Society should be dissolved, or otherwise become inoperative, the city of Concord should retain its rights in the premises. The society, having held eight annual fairs, became inoperative; and the city of Concord, on the 16th of June, 1885, deeded, or leased, to the state of New Hampshire, for ninety-nine years, the aforesaid premises, for "military reviews, musters, and inspection," and for other public purposes. This was done with the consent of the County Society, whose last meeting had been held on the second day of July, 1883.¹

The New Hampshire State Agricultural Society had held its first fair in Concord in October, 1850; finding accommodation in Depot

¹ From Statement of Moses Humphrey.

hall, in the railroad company's machine shop, and on the grounds east of the station.¹ Some of its most successful exhibitions—as that of 1857—took place on the “Duncklee ground.”

Amid the varied events of those days in the life of Concord's increasing population, facts incident to inevitable mortality come within the range of recital. As it had been earlier, and would be later, the living neglected not the sacred duty of providing fit resting-places for the dead. In 1836 the town purchased of General Robert Davis a parcel of land for a burying-ground in the West Parish at a cost of one hundred and ninety-one dollars. The first interment therein was that of Orlando Brown, the well known taverner, who died on the 12th of December of that year.²

Six years later (1842) Josiah Stevens, Jr., Joseph Low, Robert Davis, Luther Roby, and William Restiaux were appointed to purchase so much land as might be necessary for a cemetery in connection with the one near the Old North church, and to fence and ornament the same. Five hundred dollars were appropriated. The next year (1843) the committee reported that they had expended for land one hundred twenty-seven dollars and fifty cents; for lumber, one hundred eight dollars and twenty-three cents; for stone posts, iron bolts, building fence, making road, and other labor and services, three hundred twenty-one dollars and ten cents—making in the whole five hundred fifty-six dollars and eighty-three cents. The committee added: “Your committee would state that they deem the quantity of land which they have purchased and enclosed with the old graveyard equal to the public wants for half a century; that the whole, with the exception of the front, is enclosed with a fence as durable as they could construct of stone, iron, and wood; that the front, until recently, has been occupied with sheds,³ which have prevented your committee from fencing the same; that a part of the sheds have recently been removed, and consequently the graveyard is at this time entirely unprotected in front; and your committee sincerely hope that immediate measures will be taken to complete this work.”

The town accepted the report, continued the committee in service, ordered removal of sheds, and appropriated an additional sum of one hundred fifty dollars to complete the fence. In 1844 the cemetery was laid out in lots for the use of families according to a plan drawn by Captain Benjamin Parker. The title to a lot could be conveyed to an individual by the cemetery committee at a price not exceeding ten dollars; the name of the individual being entered upon the num-

¹ Henry McFarland's “Personal Recollections,” 127.

² Bouton's Concord, 424.

³ See Horse Sheds, in note at close of chapter.

ber of the plan corresponding to his lot, with a certificate given him, and entered upon a special record by the town clerk.¹

Other parts of the town were not neglected. In 1843—as mentioned in a previous chapter—the donation of land from Charles Smart for a burying-ground at the foot of Stickney hill was accepted. In 1847 four hundred dollars were appropriated for a new cemetery in East Concord, and for fencing the same. Land for the purpose was bought from the estate of Jeremiah Pecker, Jr.,² and Pine Grove cemetery had its beginning. At the annual meeting of 1848 the town appropriated three hundred dollars for enlarging and fencing the burying-ground at Millville; and the next year appointed Henry H. Brown, Nathaniel Rolfe, Eldad Tenney, Theodore F. Elliott, and E. F. Brockway a committee to lay out into lots that at Fisherville.³

During this period the rate of mortality occasionally rose above the moderate average in the health statistics of the town—one of the healthiest in New England. In 1844 the death list numbered one hundred thirteen, and included more than fifty children under ten years of age—victims of a virulent “summer complaint.” In the “sickly” summer of 1849 a type of cholera morbus prevailed, resembling, in some cases, the Asiatic cholera. So much alarm was excited that, early in June, the selectmen, upon petition of prominent inhabitants, appointed Drs. Ezra Carter, Thomas Chadbourne, and Charles P. Gage to serve with Joseph Low and Asa Fowler as a board of health. Sanitary regulations were adopted. The board, upon examination of premises, ordered offensive and unwholesome matter of whatever description to be removed from places wherein accumulated; and recommended “strict temperance in regard to food and drink—limiting the diet to the most plain, simple, and easily digested articles; avoiding all crude vegetables and unripe fruit, much fresh animal food, large draughts of cold water, and, above all, ardent spirits in every form.”⁴ That year one hundred and fifty-eight deaths occurred in town. This was a larger number than had ever before occurred in one year; and would doubtless have been still larger but for the wise sanitary precautions taken.

The board of health just mentioned was the second instituted in Concord; the first being that of 1832, during the cholera alarm. The terrible pestilence that had swept over Europe the year before had now crossed the Atlantic into Canada: and Concord, situated on the direct line of travel between Canada and Boston, seemed especially exposed to its deadly visitation. Amid apprehensions of danger a

¹ Bouton's Concord, 428-9-30.

² *Ibid.*, 465.

³ *Ibid.*, 465-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 416-17.

special town-meeting was held on the 9th of July, whereat the three selectmen—Richard Bradley, Joseph P. Stickney, and Laban Page—with six physicians—Thomas Chadbourne, Ezra Carter, Peter Renton, Elijah Colby, Samuel Morrill, Thomas Brown, and John T. Gilman Leach—were constituted a board of health. The board had authority—in the words of the vote—“to make all necessary provision and accommodations for sick strangers, and for the comfort and safety of our own citizens.”¹ Also, five hundred dollars were appropriated to meet expenses. Fortunately, however, all this wise precaution was taken against what was not to happen; for the scourge of cholera did not fall within the boundaries of New Hampshire.

But as to another dreaded disease which had occasionally appeared in town in earlier days, an important precaution was taken—and one that was to become permanent in its application. In the months of August and September, 1835, four cases of smallpox occurred. The patients were isolated in a retired situation on the Bog road, two miles from the main village; and one of them, Abiel E. Thompson, died. The general alarm produced by this sporadic occurrence of the loathsome disease prompted the town to take effective measures for preventing its epidemic spread. At the next annual meeting, in March, 1836, a recent state law enacted for the prevention of smallpox was adopted, and Dr. Ezra Carter was appointed agent for vaccinating all the inhabitants of the town.²

In 1830 the population of the town was three thousand seven hundred two (3,702); in 1840, four thousand nine hundred three (4,903); in 1850, eight thousand five hundred eighty-four (8,584). To the increase of population Catholic-Irish immigration did not begin materially to contribute until after 1840. Before this, however, Richard Ronan, with his family, had dwelt in Concord for some years. He is supposed to have been the first Catholic-Irish resident in town. He died in 1840; and his remains were taken to Lowell for interment by Thomas Spellman, who was the only professed Catholic left living in Concord at that time. The sons of the latter, James and Henry, were the first children born of Catholic parents in Concord—the former in 1835; the latter in 1839.

About the year 1846 a strong tide of emigration began to flow from famine-stricken Ireland to the shores of America. The wave reached Concord. The immigrants found residence in the main village and in Fisherville. It is known that Martin Sherlock was the first Catholic-Irish to locate in the latter place; the date of his arrival being 1846, when the large mill was built. Between that date and

¹ Bouton's Concord, 394.

² *Ibid.*, 424.

³ Facts communicated by William J. Ahern.

1850, John Linehan,¹ Patrick Cody, Patrick Doyle, John Driscoll, and John Gahagan had come to Fisherville; and by 1854 such names as Pendergast, Keenan, Kelly, Dolan, O'Brien, O'Neill, Thornton, McArdle, Brennan, Maher, Kenny, Taylor, Barry, Griffin, Bolger, and Lawrence Gahagan had been added to the list of the Irish colony there.² Of the considerable number of immigrants located in the main village before 1852 were Martin Lawler, Patrick Dooning, Michael Arnold, Thomas McGrath, and John Gienty;³ the last having become a resident in 1848, and worked at first upon a canal at Fisherville.⁴

A son of one of those Concord pioneers thus describes the toils, hardships, and intents of the Irish immigrants of those days:⁵ "Their first employment was on the railroads, in the canals, and in every place where their muscles could be used to the best advantage. Wherever hard labor was required in the ditch, the cut, the mines, laying track, building roads, shoveling, and spike driving, the services of the Irish were in demand. Very often the work was of the hardest description, the hours long, and the pay small; but severe as the labor was, and long as the days were, and small as the wages might be, their wit or humor never left them. . . . The sacrifices made by those faithful pioneers God alone knows. Day and night their thoughts were constantly with the dear ones at home; and the aim of all was to work and save enough to bring them across that ocean which furnished graves for so many thousands."

Through such trials and efforts as just described many a family became reunited on the hither shore of the Atlantic; while other exiles of Erin came to dwell amid new and more propitious surroundings, and where honest labor received better wages than abject want or absolute destitution. In some places racial and religious prejudices wrought more or less to the disadvantage of an element of population that disturbed long-existing homogeneity; but in no American Protestant community was the Catholic-Irish stranger more kindly received and considerately treated than in Concord. The opportunities for worthy and successful living, the birthright of the American, were from the first accorded to the Irishman. Nor were these opportunities lost upon him. They were to prove replete with inspiring and elevating influences, whereby in the coming years his descendant would successfully compete as the skilled mechanic, the enterprising merchant, the able lawyer, or the excellent physician; whereby, too, the son would become worthily endowed with all the

¹ See *An Early Irish Immigrant*, in note at close of chapter.

² Facts communicated by John C. Linehan.

³ See Meagher's *Lecture*, in note at close of chapter.

⁴ Facts communicated by William J. Ahern.

⁵ John C. Linehan in *McClintock's New Hampshire*, 641-2.

rights, privileges, and honors of true American manhood; the daughter, with all those of true American womanhood. And all the while would the law of religious tolerance permit Protestant and Catholic alike to cherish each his faith, but both to practice Christian charity.¹

In 1847 Concord manifested a generous sympathy with the famished people of Ireland by aiding in their relief. At a meeting of citizens held on the 23d of February of that year a committee was appointed consisting of Joseph B. Walker, Nathan Stickney, George Minot, Joseph A. Gilmore, Stephen Brown, Ebenezer S. Towle, Mitchell Gilmore, Jr., and Samuel G. Berry, "to receive and transmit to Ireland such contributions of money, provisions, and clothing as" might "be made for those suffering from famine in that country." The committee issued notice two days later "that they" would "receive and transmit contributions for" that "purpose, made by the citizens of Concord and other towns, to Boston, free of expense, whence they" would "be transmitted, by the committees in Boston, to Ireland. Persons making donations in provisions or clothing" were "requested to forward them to the care of Gilmore & Clapp, in Concord, and donations in money to the care of Ebenezer S. Towle or George Minot, cashiers." The effort resulted in the following contributions of money: One thousand two hundred ninety-three dollars and two cents from Concord; five dollars and twenty-five cents from Pembroke; five dollars and sixty-two cents from Gilmanton; and fourteen dollars from the sixth school district of Canterbury—a total of one thousand three hundred seventeen dollars and eighty-nine cents. The citizens of Concord also gave one hundred bushels of grain, and those of Pembroke one hundred sixty-eight.² The contributions, transmitted to the New England committee in Boston, made up the valued amount of one hundred fifty-one thousand nine dollars and five cents. "Seven vessels,—among them two United States warships, the frigate *Macedonian* and the sloop-of-war *James-town*, granted by congress for that purpose,—bore these gifts to their destination," where "they were received with the warmest gratitude."³

Political subjects prominently occupied the public mind during the period under review. Concord, as the capital, focused as usual the political interest of New Hampshire. It was the convenient center where the party leaders of the state consulted; whither they summoned important conventions, and called together the people in extraordinary assemblies and celebrations. Here, too, the newspaper

¹ The spiritual care and culture of the new element of population are specially treated in the ecclesiastical chapter.

² Bouton's Concord, 480.

³ George S. Hale in The Memorial History of Boston, Vol. IV, p. 667.

press caught the fire and vigor of leadership from the warm concentration of partisan influences.

The year 1830 was the second of Andrew Jackson's first presidential term, with the Democratic party supporting his administration and the National Republican party opposing it. The former was ascendant in the state, but not yet in its capital. That year the legislature of New Hampshire elected Isaac Hill to the senate of the United States. Thus Concord citizenship became represented for the second time in the upper house of congress; and thus, too, was rebuked the personal and partisan feeling of a small majority of the senate that had prevented the confirmation of Mr. Hill's appointment as second comptroller of the treasury.

The twelfth presidential election, in 1832, triumphantly retained General Jackson in the chief magistracy of the nation. Early in the summer of 1833 he visited some of the northern states, including New Hampshire. He closed his tour at Concord, where, with his suite, prominently comprising Martin Van Buren, vice-president, Lewis Cass, secretary of war, and Levi Woodbury, secretary of the navy, he arrived on Friday, the 28th of June, and remained over the Sabbath. His reception was, in all its features, civic, military, and social, most cordial, and all unmarred by partisan hostility or indifference. Nor did the unanimity of welcome—rivaling that accorded to Lafayette—result merely from a decent respect felt for the recipient's high office, but as well from a grateful sense of his courageous devotion to the Union. For within six months he had dealt State Rights Nullification a death blow, and had thus practically enforced his earlier and immortal toast of warning to Calhoun and other disunion malcontents: "Our Federal Union—It must be preserved."¹

In March, 1833,—three months before the president's visit,—there had come a political overturn in Concord, wherein a Democratic majority of eighty-five replaced the National Republican majority of fifty-five given at the presidential election in November, 1832; the capital thus coming into party accord with the state in supporting the administration of Jackson.

In 1836 Isaac Hill resigned his seat in the United States senate to assume the governorship of the state—being the first citizen of Concord to hold this position. He was thrice chosen to the office: receiving at his first election more than three fourths, and at his second more than nine tenths, of all the votes cast for governor. At those two elections the Whigs—as the opponents of the state and national administration had called themselves since 1834—did not rally in combined force. But at the election of 1838 both parties

¹ See particulars of Jackson's visit in a special chapter; also, see *The Precious Coin*, in note at close of this chapter.

mustered in full strength, and with a reduced though decisive Democratic preponderance, as manifested in Governor Hill's three thousand majority—won in that political conflict of almost unexampled severity—and which had been for him a fiery furnace seven times heated. The result indicated what subsequent years verified, that upon the old issues between the two parties—bank and sub-treasury, tariff and internal improvements—the Democratic position of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and Isaac Hill was impregnably the stronger in New Hampshire.

But Concord did not go in that election as went the state. It went over to the Whig side, and there remained until 1840. In March of this fourteenth presidential year the town again became Democratic; and in the following November it cast five hundred and forty-five votes for Van Buren, against five hundred and twenty-three for Harrison. This preponderance of twenty-two at the ballot box was the town's contribution to the state's six thousand Democratic majority, given in face of a sweeping national defeat of the Democracy, and the election of Harrison and Tyler.

The capital had been the lively center of political interest during the exciting canvass. It had been, on the 17th of June, 1840, the scene of a mass Whig convention—a "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" pageant of Western device. It was a larger gathering than any that had hitherto convened in Concord for any purpose. The prevalence of high political excitement was evinced in the assembling of more than ten thousand people from far and near, without the facilities afforded two years later by the opening of railroad communication. The occasion was a successful display of party enthusiasm. It had its trundling log cabin and other symbolic paraphernalia in crowded procession, headed by the Concord "Tippecanoe Club," marching with shouts, music, and banners, through the town, and along School street to the eastern brow of Kent's, or Holt's, hill, where an immense mass meeting was held in the open air, beneath the pleasant June sky. There occurred the platform exercises, with Ichabod Bartlett, of Portsmouth, as president of the day, and Joseph Low, of Concord, one of the vice-presidents. Of the speakers, the chief was James Wilson of Keene, the gifted Whig orator who, in 1838 and 1839, had eloquently pleaded his party's cause throughout the state, but without gaining the governorship for which he was a candidate. As the exercises of the memorable day drew to a close, two sons of New Hampshire, yet young and comparatively unknown, spoke briefly. But no one in that listening crowd once thought what proud fame future high achievement would win for them: for Horace Greeley, the peerless journalist; for Henry Wilson, the able and honest

statesman, worthy of the first office in the Republic, and reaching the second.¹

During the years 1842, '43, and '44 the Democratic party was divided into "Radicals" and "Conservatives" upon questions pertaining to railroads and other corporations. The Radicals held that a railroad, being a private corporation, could not be authorized to take land for its track without the consent of the owner, and that the personal liability of stockholders in any corporation should be commensurate with that of ordinary partnership. The Conservatives denied these positions, and declared that a railroad was public, like a turnpike, and that the Radical view was fatally hostile to the new and important railroad enterprises, and to the investment of capital in other business enterprises essential to the progress and prosperity of the state. These questions had been much discussed for two or three years in the legislature and elsewhere. But, on the 8th of January, 1842, at Concord, the attempt was made in a local Democratic convention to make assent to the Radical view a test of party faith. The attempt was opposed by Governor Hill, who found a considerable following. He had, in 1840, commenced the publication of a newspaper styled *Hill's New Hampshire Patriot*, which, in charge of himself and two sons, William Pickering and John McClary, now espoused the Conservative side of the pending controversy. On the Radical side stood the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, which, after having been for eleven years in charge of Cyrus Barton, was now in that of Henry H. Carroll and Nathaniel B. Baker.

At a tumultuous Democratic meeting held at the town hall on the 19th of February, the threatened split became an accomplished fact—the Radicals retiring from the hall, and the Conservatives remaining to complete their organization. Resolutions offered by Governor Hill were adopted; by one of which it was agreed to support John H. White for governor, instead of Henry Hubbard, nominated seven months before. In the next issue of *Hill's Patriot*, White's name appeared for Hubbard's at the head of the Democratic ticket—and a bitter fight was on.

The influence of the veteran leader was felt more or less in the state outside the capital. At the ensuing March election in Concord the Conservative vote for governor was three hundred and twenty-three to three hundred and one Radical; and, with four parties in the field, balloting for members of the general court resulted in no choice. Similar results befell in other places; and more towns that year were without representation than in any for-

¹ See minute account of the convention in a special chapter.

mer year since the adoption of the constitution. In the state the Conservative vote for governor was about six thousand; the Radical, nearly twenty-seven thousand. The struggle went on for two years more. In 1843 the first two days of the Concord town-meeting were spent in balloting for moderator; with the final result that Joseph Low, Whig, was elected over Franklin Pierce, Radical-Democrat. The Conservatives cast about two hundred sixty votes in Concord; the Radicals, upwards of three hundred fifty. In 1844 there were four tickets, as in the previous two years; and three ineffectual ballotings for moderator constituted the first day's work. On the first of these William Walker, Jr., Conservative, received one hundred forty-six votes; Charles H. Peaslee, Radical, three hundred fifty-eight; Joseph Low, Whig, two hundred ninety-six; Cyrus Robinson, Anti-Slavery, seventy-four. No opportunity having been given to vote for state and county officers, that vote was lost. The second day was taken up with three or more fruitless attempts to choose a moderator, each trial consuming more than two hours and a half. When, on the morning of the third day, Ezra Carter, a Democrat opposed to "radical tests," and receiving Whig support, was elected, it was too late to ballot for members of the general court; and so Concord, for the third successive year, had none. In consequence, Franklin Pierce, Richard Bradley, and William Low were appointed "to apply for leave to be heard in behalf of the town before the Legislature," at the November session on the subject of a new proportion of the public taxes.¹

But new questions of national importance—including that of Slavery—arose, overshadowing those upon which the New Hampshire Democracy had been divided. Ere long now the feud was sufficiently healed to allow united action at the polls: and in 1847 the essential party union of the two *Patriots* resulted in their consolidation into one newspaper bearing the name of the older, and conducted by William Butterfield and John M. Hill. Of the respective views held so stiffly for years by Radicals and Conservatives, those of the latter substantially became early established in statute law.

Near the beginning of the fourth decade Northern anti-slavery agitation had begun in earnest. On the first day of January, 1831, William Lloyd Garrison issued the first number of his *Liberator*, a sheet fourteen inches by nine in size. Following the establishment of the American Anti-Slavery society, in 1833, such an organization was formed for New Hampshire with auxiliaries in counties and in towns, including Concord. By 1835 anti-slavery agitation

¹ Bouton's Concord, 331-2.

had become so widely prevalent that Henry Hubbard of New Hampshire—himself strongly anti-abolition—declared in the United States senate that slavery was becoming “the all-absorbing subject.” Even in so conservative a community as that of Concord, many had been stirred to ponder the new doctrines of reform in their hearts, and a few openly to confess their faith as abolitionists—both men and women; for the Concord Female Anti-Slavery society existed. Early in that year *The Abolitionist* was added by D. D. Fisk and E. G. Eastman to the list of newspapers published in town, and four numbers were issued under that name. The publication of the paper was then taken up by Albe Cady, George Storrs, George Kent, and Amos Wood, with the name changed to *Herald of Freedom*, and with Joseph H. Kimball as editor.¹ That year, too, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, of highly endowed and cultured intellect and of philanthropic, heroic heart, “made acquaintance with Garrison, and”—as Parker Pillsbury,² also a Concord abolitionist, has written—“soon placed himself at his side as the hated, hunted, persecuted champion of the American slave, as by this time Garrison was known to be. And from this time, too, Rogers was ever found the firm, unshaken, uncompromising friend and advocate of not only the anti-slavery enterprise, but of the causes of temperance, peace, rights of woman, abolition of the gallows, and other social and moral reforms.” He relinquished the successful practice of the law, and in 1838, at the age of forty-four, removed from his native Plymouth to Concord. Here was his home for the remaining eight years of life, intensely devoted to his mission of reform, including brilliant service in the editorial chair of the *Herald of Freedom*—a service in which he easily approved himself the accomplished master of controversial journalism.

Intense opposition to anti-slavery effort and free speech was at length engendered, which manifested itself in various places with more or less of angry popular remonstrance, and sometimes with mob violence. Even in the quiet capital of New Hampshire occurred a scene of unusual excitement. In August a powerful anti-slavery address had been delivered in the Baptist church by George Thompson, lately a member of the English parliament, and a strong champion of emancipation in the British West Indies, whom Lord Brougham had pronounced to be the most eloquent man he ever heard. The opponents of abolition were aroused, and on the evening of the 3d of September held a large meeting at the court house, at which speeches were made and resolutions passed, the latter expressing “indignation and disgust at the introduction of foreign emissaries . . . traversing the country and assailing our institutions.” “All riotous as-

¹ See *Abolition Zeal*, in note at close of chapter.

² In “*Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles*,” 30-1.

semblies " and "violent proceedings" were, however, deprecated.¹ But Thompson, though really a friend of America and of American institutions, slavery excepted, had already been the object of so much baseless and bitter obloquy, not infrequently rounded by significant allusion to the coat of tar and feathers, that the thrust dealt him by the resolutions had a mischievous tendency. The next morning the abolitionists notified by handbill, a meeting to be held at the court house in the evening, at which George Thompson and John G. Whittier would be present, and "where the principles, views, and operations of the abolitionists would be explained and any questions answered."¹ Thereupon such excitement arose, threatening a popular tumult, that General Robert Davis, chairman of the board of selectmen, advised George Kent, a friend of Mr. Thompson, against holding the meeting, and ordered Constable Abraham Bean to lock the town hall. The sheriff of the county also saw to it that the court room, in the same building, was likewise secured.² Not apprised of these precautionary measures a crowd came, at evening, to the appointed place of meeting—to find the doors shut. Soon three approached—two of whom were John G. Whittier, the Quaker poet, and Joseph H. Kimball, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, but the third was not George Thompson, as was supposed. They were received by such of the crowd as were on mischief bent, with insulting shouts, emphasized by handfuls of dirt and gravel.² The three, making haste to escape further violence, were hotly pursued up Washington street, down State, and to the house of William A. Kent, on Pleasant, when the pursuers found out that they had been upon the wrong scent—that, after all, Thompson was not one of the pursued. Off went the crowd westward, making for the home of George Kent, where the lecturer had been entertained, but before the unwelcome visitants could arrive the host had withdrawn with his hunted guest, leaving the house in charge of the invalid, but resolute, wife and hostess. General Davis had come upon the scene in time to meet the excited searchers with the information that he whom they sought could not be found. He assured them that Mr. Thompson would not attempt to lecture in town on anti-slavery, and, warning them that their assembling under such circumstances might be deemed riotous, he requested them to desist at once. They complied, and withdrew to parade an effigy of the "foreign emissary" through the streets, and afterwards to burn it in the state house yard, with display of fireworks and discharge of cannon.³ Little thought they who were engaged in the disorderly scenes of that night,

¹ Bouton's Concord, 434.

² *Ibid.*, 435.

³ See further details of the affair in a special chapter.

or those who sympathized with them, that George Thompson would one day revisit the country out of which he had been ruthlessly persecuted, to be received everywhere with acclaim; and that the Concord of 1864 would avenge itself honorably—as it did—upon the Concord of 1835 by earnestly soliciting the presence of the gifted Englishman, and hearing gladly his voice of triumphant congratulation over Slavery dead, the Union saved, and America indeed the land of liberty.¹

About 1840 the friends of anti-slavery became divided upon the course of future procedure—some preferring to continue the work of reform by exclusively moral agitation; others, to promote the cause by both moral and political means. The latter soon began to organize as a third political party. So sprung up the Liberty, or, by later designation, the Freesoil, party,—the nucleus of that greater one named the Republican, and destined to no third place in American politics.

One January day in 1841 a small anti-slavery convention was held in the ante-room of the court house in Concord. Scanty delegations were in attendance from Milford and some other towns. Concord was represented by Sylvester Dana and one or two others. At this meeting it was determined to support Daniel Hoit, of Sandwich, as candidate for governor, at the ensuing March election. Later, the first anti-slavery caucus in Concord met at the Merrimack House, and a ticket for town officers was nominated. The caucus was so small that there was truth as well as humor in the suggestion made on the occasion that each one present would be obliged to take a nomination, if there was to be a ticket. At the election, the governor vote in town showed twenty-eight scattering. This number included the first distinctively anti-slavery, or abolition, vote ever cast in Concord at a state election; and it contributed to the twelve hundred seventy-three votes cast in the state for Daniel Hoit. This third party gradually grew in numbers, casting, on the governor vote in 1842, in Concord, thirty-four votes; in 1843, thirty-seven; in 1845, one hundred twenty-four. In 1844 the vote for state and county officers was lost—two days having been spent in ineffectual attempts to choose a moderator; but, in November, at the fifteenth presidential election, the vote stood: for Polk, Democrat, 441; Clay, Whig, 296; Birney, Liberty, 114.

The March meeting of 1844 is especially noted for the success of the anti-slavery men in getting the subject uppermost in their thoughts before a Concord town-meeting for discussion, despite the opposition of both Whig and Democratic leaders. An article had

¹ See note, George Thompson in Concord in 1864, at close of chapter.

been inserted in the warrant, to the following purport: To see if the town will take measures disapproving of the course pursued by John R. Reding, Edmund Burke, and Moses Norris, in denying to the people the free enjoyment of the inalienable right of petition. The persons named were three New Hampshire members of congress who had supported the "gag," so-called, whereby all petitions, remonstrances, or memorials touching the topic of slavery were laid upon the table of the nation's house of representatives, without discussion, reference, or even reading. To this measure their colleague, John P. Hale, had refused his support.

When, in its order, the article was reached and read, comparatively few of the voters present were not in favor of ignoring the matter altogether; anti-slavery agitation being deemed by the average Whig or Democrat as out of place anywhere, town-meeting not excepted. To test the sense of the voters, John Whipple moved the dismissal of the article. But action thereon was not to be taken without discussion, which Cyrus Robinson, of East Concord, promptly opened on the anti-slavery side, and in which several warmly participated pro and con, until the motion was withdrawn by the mover. Franklin Pierce, recently a senator of the United States, renewed the motion, which, after discussion, was rejected by a hand vote of more than two thirds. It being manifest that a large majority of the more than seven hundred persons crowding the town hall would not have the article ignored, Sylvester Dana, a young lawyer of earnest anti-slavery convictions, offered three resolutions: 1st, in favor of the right of petition; 2d, expressing decided disapprobation of the conduct of Messrs. Reding, Burke, and Norris, as to the gag rule of the national house of representatives; 3d, enjoining upon them to co-operate with their colleague, John P. Hale, in supporting the right of petition. Thereupon arose the great discussion of the day, in which the resolutions were supported by the mover, and by Joseph Low and Nathaniel P. Rogers, and opposed by Franklin Pierce. Rogers, the moral-suasion abolitionist, the non-resistant and non-voting "come-outer," as nicknamed, having been sent for to champion the cause sacred to him, had come into town-meeting. He replied to Pierce's characteristically able and strenuous speech, with a logic so clear and merciless, with home thrusts so skilfully dealt, and with wit and sarcasm so keen, as to win the hearty sympathy and enthusiastic appreciation of his crowded listeners. Cool and smiling, he met the interruptions of his excited antagonist with effective retorts that repeatedly brought down the house. Once he and his sympathizers were accused of bringing a firebrand into the meeting, and thereby producing tumult and disorder, the accuser somewhat impatiently adding in gratuitous

excuse, "I feel no responsibility for this state of disorder; but I was led into it." Promptly came the calm, crisp reply of Rogers, "I am sorry that friend Pierce should consent to be led by anybody; he is capable of going alone," a reply fully appreciated by the wide-awake audience, and whereat the old town hall shook and resounded, as never before or afterwards, with demonstrations of applause. The main debate over, the first two resolutions were adopted by heavy majorities; but the third, triggered by proposed amendments and other dilatory motions with accompanying talk, was lost in the final adjournment of the tedious four days' town-meeting.

This incident of slavery agitation occurred in the last year of President Tyler's administration, a pet measure of which was the immediate annexation of Texas. This scheme, involving the extension of slavery, had, until recently, been opposed by both of the great parties in New Hampshire and throughout the North. But at length the Democratic party of the North so far committed itself to the measure as to help elect Polk to the presidency, doing so, however, with the prevalent idea that as many free states as slave states might be carved out of Texas—an idea by no means held by the Democracy of the South. With this idea, John P. Hale, who had resisted slavery dictation as to the right of petition, advocated Polk's election. But the project of annexation not having been allowed to await the inauguration of the president-elect, and having been presented to congress, in December, 1844, to be hurried through by joint resolution, Mr. Hale ineffectually tried to procure an amendatory declaration whereby Texas should be divided into two parts, in one of which slavery should be forever prohibited.¹ When, moreover, he witnessed the defeat of every movement looking to a division of that domain between freedom and slavery, he determined, now that the animus of the whole scheme was manifest, to oppose, to the uttermost, the annexation by congress of a foreign nation for the avowed purpose of extending and perpetuating slavery.¹ But the New Hampshire legislature, later in that December, instructed, by resolutions, the senators and representatives in congress to vote for the annexation of Texas. Within ten days Mr. Hale from his seat in congress, boldly met the legislative instruction with a letter to his constituents, in which he flatly refused compliance, exposing the true nature of the Texas scheme, and denouncing the reasons urged therefor as "eminently calculated to provoke the scorn of earth and the judgment of heaven." He had already been nominated for re-election to congress in March ensuing, but the Democratic leaders at home, being now in favor of Texas annexation on any terms, reassembled in haste the

¹ Address of Daniel Hall at the unveiling of the Hale Statue, Aug. 3, 1892.

state convention, which substituted another candidate upon the general ticket. An independent Democratic cleavage ensued. At the election in March, 1845, while the three other candidates on the Democratic congressional ticket were chosen, Mr. Hale's substitute was not. At three other trials made in the course of the year,—the last in March, 1846,—no choice of the fourth member was effected, leaving the New Hampshire delegation in the thirtieth congress permanently incomplete. In the state, Mr. Hale's vote constantly increased from seven thousand seven hundred eighty-eight to eleven thousand four hundred seventy-five; in Concord it averaged about two hundred fifty.

Though in March, 1846, anti-slavery strength was insufficient to elect its new champion to a seat in the lower house of congress, yet it prevented the choice of a Democratic governor, and of a Democratic quorum of the council and senate, while a house of representatives was elected, which could and did take, by coalition, the state government from Democratic hands. Of the official incumbents, under the new order of things, were George G. Fogg, secretary of state, James Peverly, state treasurer, both Independent Democrats, and Asa McFarland, Whig, state printer. Moreover, John P. Hale, the Independent Democratic member of the house from Dover, and promptly made its speaker, was six days later elected by the legislature to the senate of the United States, for six years from the 4th of March, 1847. Forthwith a cannon peal announced from Sand hill the fact that New Hampshire had been the first to elect a distinctively anti-slavery member of the national senate—an event most interesting and significant in that historic series of events which was to culminate in a Union cleansed of slavery.

Pending the result, Hale's canvasses had covered the state from the Cochecho to the Connecticut, and from Coös to Strawberry Bank. His most memorable effort in the long sharp conflict was made at Concord on the 5th of June, 1845; when and where, upon invitation of a few anti-slavery men, he addressed a great assemblage that filled to overflowing the Old North meeting-house. Members of the legislature just convened, and other persons from all parts of the state visiting the Capital for various purposes at that season, helped swell the throng. His audience comprised men of all parties, including not a few embittered against him for his independent action. Franklin Pierce was there—his recent friend, personal and political, but who had been active in thrusting him from the ticket, and was now bent upon his political annihilation. Though it was Hale's meeting, yet there was to be debate between the two rivals—foemen, each worthy of the other's steel. Without ceremony Hale

took the platform, erected for a recent Whig convention, and held it and his audience as well for two hours, while vindicating upon high moral grounds, logically and triumphantly, the course of action for which he was called in question. Interrupted by interrogatories not kindly propounded, he responded with imperturbable good humor and a ready effectiveness that won the gratified plaudits of his hearers. Doubtless, the eccentric John Virgin expressed—albeit in quaint phrase—the enthusiastic sympathy of many besides himself when, at the speaker's happy reply to one of those questions, he rose in a glee of excitement, and, leaning over from the gallery, exclaimed at the top of his shrill voice—"Give it to 'em, Jack; drive the poor vipers into their dens, and make 'em pull the hole in after them."¹

Pierce followed, summoned to the platform by loud calls from the assemblage, while Hale, with "calm and beaming face"—as described by an eye-witness—took his seat in a near pew, directly in front, to listen to the reply of his brilliant antagonist. And to that reply, eloquent, adroit, personally severe and aggressive, he did listen throughout its hour of delivery, attentively, coolly, without a wince, and without a lisp of interruption. At the conclusion of Pierce's effort, eminently satisfactory to his friends—as Hale's had been to his—loud cries arose for Hale to rejoin. Standing upon the pew seat, and facing his eagerly listening audience, he briefly complied in words more impressively eloquent than any others heard that day—words that were the very cap-sheaf of effectual vindication for having refused to "bow down and worship Slavery." He had won the palm of enthusiastic admiration.²

Twenty-seven years later, Mr. Hale himself, while recalling in conversation some of the circumstances of the memorable occasion, and having mentioned among other facts that of being accompanied to the place of meeting by three friends, George G. Fogg, James Peverly, and Jefferson Noyes, said: "We walked along in silence; the gentlemen with me said nothing, and I said little to them. I was gloomy and despondent, but kept my thoughts to myself. As we turned around the corner of the old Fiske store, and I looked up and saw the crowd at the doors of the old church surging to get in, the people above and below hanging out of the windows, first a great weight of responsibility oppressed me, and in a moment more an inspiration came upon me as mysterious as the emotions of the new birth. I walked into the densely crowded house as calm and collected and self-assured as it was possible for a man to be. I felt that the only thing I then wanted—an opportunity—had come; and I soon gath-

¹ Recollections of Woodbridge Odlin in *Concord Monitor*, June 27, 1854.

² See further account of the meeting in a special chapter.

ered that great crowd into my arms and swayed it about as the gentle winds do the fields of ripening grain. That inspiration never for a moment left me. It followed me over the state during the ensuing campaign, into the senate of the United States, remained with me there, and subsided only when the proclamation of President Lincoln declared that in this land the sun should rise upon no bondman and set upon no slave."¹

The Annexation of Texas, early in 1845, was followed by the opening hostilities of the War with Mexico, early in 1846. On the 13th of May of the latter year congress declared and President Polk proclaimed that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States." Six days afterwards a battalion of five companies of infantry—to consist of three hundred eighty-nine men—was called for from New Hampshire. The call met with prompt and favorable response. In Concord the light infantry company largely tendered service as volunteers. Fire Engine Company No. 2 voted, "with only one nay," to offer the governor their services "for the war with Mexico, whenever needed." Three printers in the office of the *New Hampshire Patriot*—John C. Stowell, Ezra T. Pike, and Henry F. Carswell—stood ready to go to the distant scene of war. And thither they finally went; and, having done brave and honorable service, perished; the first two from wounds; the third from disease, after coming unscathed out of the fierce battles in the valley of Mexico. Soon, too, some twenty citizens of Concord volunteered by signing an agreement drawn up by the adjutant-general. Of this number was Franklin Pierce, who had recently declined the attorney-generalship of the United States, and who seemed inclined to persist in his expressed determination to allow nothing but the military service of his country to withdraw him from the pursuits of private life. With inherited tastes and zeal, this favorite party leader and brilliant lawyer now turned his earnest attention to military tactics and drill. As he had believed in Texas annexation, so he believed in the Mexican War, its natural sequel,—and would serve therein.

The first six months of the war had been occupied in General Taylor's successful operations in the vicinity of the Rio Grande, signaled by the victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and the capture of Monterey. In this last achievement, accomplished on the 26th of September, 1846, Second Lieutenant Joseph H. Potter, of the regular United States Infantry—a West Point graduate of three years before, and a classmate of Ulysses S. Grant—participated, and was severely wounded. His gallant and meritorious conduct at

¹ See Proceedings at the unveiling of the Hale Statue, p. 170.

Monterey earned for the young officer—born in Concord twenty-five years before, the eldest son of Thomas D. Potter—promotion to a first lieutenantancy; the first of a series of promotions by which he was to reach the grade of brigadier-general in the regular army of the United States.

When it was finally decided to adopt General Scott's plan of conquest, by marching upon the City of Mexico from Vera Cruz rather than from the scene of General Taylor's operations, congress provided for raising ten new regiments, enlisted for the war, and to be attached to the regulars. Of one of these, the Ninth, or New England regiment, Franklin Pierce was appointed colonel on the 16th of February, 1847, and on the 3d of the following March was advanced to be a brigadier-general in the United States army. Concord supplied its proportion of volunteers to the rolls of the Ninth regiment. Its men were also to be found in Colonel Caleb Cushing's Massachusetts regiment; one of these being Lieutenant Charles F. Low, afterwards of the Ninth.¹ In May, upon setting out for Mexico, the popular general was presented with a handsome sword by ladies of Concord, and by gentlemen, with a valuable horse.

General Pierce, at the head of his brigade of twenty-five hundred men, comprising the Ninth regiment and detachments from others, reached on the 7th of August the main body of Scott's army resting at Puebla. In the further advance upon the enemy's capital, with the consequent battles of Contreras and Churubusco, fought on the 19th and 20th of August, General Pierce and his brigade participated. While, on the afternoon of the 19th, they were advancing over "the rough volcanic grounds" of Contreras, "so full of fissures and chasms that the enemy considered them impassable,"² the general's horse, stepping into a cleft, fell with a broken leg, and heavily threw his rider, who received painful and severe injury. Urged by the surgeon to withdraw, the sufferer refused to do so, and mounting the horse of an officer mortally wounded, remained in the saddle till late into the night. At daylight he was again in the saddle; and though suffering intensely and advised by General Scott to leave the field, he persisted in accompanying his command in the operations against Churubusco. On the advance he was obliged to dismount in crossing a ditch or ravine. "Overcome by the pain of his injured knee, he sank to the ground, unable to proceed, but refused to be taken from the field, and remained under fire until the enemy were routed."³ General Grant, who served through the Mexican War as a second lieutenant of regulars, has left this testimony in his "Per-

¹ See lists of Concord men in Mexican War, in note at close of chapter.

² Correspondence in Adjutant-General's Report, 1868, p. 350.

³ Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. V, p. 8.

sonal Memoirs":¹ "General Franklin Pierce had joined the army in Mexico, at Puebla, a short time before the advance upon the capital commenced. He had consequently not been in any of the engagements of the war up to the battle of Contreras. By an unfortunate fall of his horse on the afternoon of the 19th he was painfully injured. The next day, when his brigade, with the other troops engaged on the same field, was ordered against the flank and rear of the enemy, . . . General Pierce attempted to accompany them. He was not sufficiently recovered to do so, and fainted. This circumstance gave rise to exceedingly unfair and unjust criticisms of him when he became a candidate for the presidency. Whatever General Pierce's qualifications for the presidency, he was a gentleman and a man of courage. I was not a supporter of him politically, but I knew him more intimately than I did any other of the volunteer generals."

General Pierce, having served as a peace commissioner in the ineffectual armistice that existed for about three weeks, or until the 7th of September, was, on resumption of hostilities, again at the head of his special command and other troops in the fierce battles of Molino del Rey and Chapultepec, where the enemy made the last desperate stand, and whence, on the 14th of September, 1847, the victorious American army entered in triumph the capital of Mexico, and the Mexican War was practically over.

General Pierce was welcomed home to Concord on the 27th of January, 1848, where he was greeted at the railroad station by an assemblage of three or four thousand. He addressed the people at Depot hall, and, in the evening, at a levee held in the state house, received the congratulations of his friends.²

The New Hampshire legislature, in recognition of his war services, voted him a sword; and on the afternoon of June 27, 1849, formal presentation of the elegant memento was made by Governor Dinsmoor, in the presence of the members of the legislature and many citizens assembled in front of the capitol. The ceremony, with its happy words of gift and acceptance, had one silent, unobtrusive, but attentive spectator; it was Nathaniel Hawthorne, who had come from his work upon "The Scarlet Letter"—which was to give him world-wide recognition as standing among the foremost of American authors—to grace with his sympathetic presence the occasion of honor to Franklin Pierce, his friend.

As a result of Texas annexation, Democratic ascendancy in New Hampshire was lost in 1846—as already seen; but with the Mexican War, the result of that annexation, in issue, that ascendancy was regained in 1847. The political field was closely contested, and Con-

¹ Vol. I, pp. 146-7.

² Bouton's Concord, 481.

cord was an important center of electioneering influences. Especially was this true of its partisan press. The columns of six regular newspapers—the two *New Hampshire Patriots*, the *Statesman*, the *Courier*, the *Granite Freeman*, the *Independent Democrat*,—and of three campaigners,—*The True Whig*, *The Rough and Ready*, and *The Tough and Steady*—poured the hot shot of controversial literature over the state. The war had the full Democratic support against the full Whig and Freesoil opposition. It was denounced as a war for the extension of slavery; but the charge was parried by Democratic concession to growing anti-slavery sentiment so far as to uphold the Wilmot Proviso, with its express declaration that no territory acquired from Mexico should be slave territory. This assurance, by allaying scruples as to slavery, helped to restore to the Democratic fold some who had gone into the independent movement of the year before, and to restrain others from breaking party ties. Moreover, accession came to Democratic strength through the partisan opposition—often bitter—manifested against the actually existing war with a foreign power, and tending to give aid and comfort to the enemy—an opposition that ran counter to the popular instinct of patriotism, and rendered effective the appeals of the Democratic press and orators against the “Mexican allies,” as they chose to designate their party opponents. The aroused sentiment of country before party caused some renunciation of party ties that helped to ensure Democratic success in this contest. Thus, in one of the largest meetings of the campaign, held in the town hall of Concord on the evening of the 8th of February, 1847, presided over by Jonathan Eastman, a veteran of 1812, General Joseph Low, for nineteen years a leader in the National Republican and Whig party, voiced his renunciation in such decisive words as these: “I think it my duty to stand by the government in its present crisis, and now in this hour, when foes assail from without, and enemies attack at home, I shall be found with the party that supports the government. I take my stand on the side of my country; patriotism orders it, duty directs it.”¹

Democratic ascendancy in the government of the state having been restored as the result of the struggle was to be maintained for eight years, though troubled more or less by the slavery question, which, in some form, would never down until the institution itself should perish. Concord, which in 1846 had given on the governor vote a combined Whig and Freesoil majority of ten, with four scattering, and had elected two—one Democratic and one opposition—of the five or six members of the legislature to which it was entitled, did

¹ See A Subscription, in note at close of chapter.

not, now in the general reactionary movement of 1847, show a disposition to contribute to Democratic reascendency, giving as it did, ninety-five opposition majority on the state ticket, and electing six anti-Democratic fusion members of the general court. Of these was Asa Fowler, who also served as moderator of the town-meeting by appointment of the two Whig members of the board of selectmen—being the first and the last thus to serve under a short-lived law, passed at one session and repealed at the next. The bitter disappointment felt by the defeated party over the result of the town election, led to unexecuted threats of prosecuting the selectmen for unfair and illegal management of the check-list, and to sundry unsustained charges against the winning party, as to the “free use of money in buying up floodwood,” “hiring poor Democrats to stay away from the polls,” furnishing “Whig dinners at Hook’s,”¹ et cetera. But some such unsatisfactory after-election solace had not been unusual or confined to one party before, as it certainly has not been since. The town, however, in this election, supplied a winning Democratic candidate in the first congressional contest under the district system,—General Charles H. Peaslee being elected representative to congress from the second of the four districts, and the first resident of Concord ever chosen to that position. In 1848 the town increased its anti-Democratic majority on the state vote to one hundred and twelve, and by coalescence the Whigs and Freesoilers secured six members of the legislature. In 1840, although, on the state vote Concord showed an opposition majority of forty, yet, from failure of effective coalition, five Democratic members of the general court were chosen. By 1850 the town had come to stand politically with the state, and contributed its sixty-six majority to the state’s more than five thousand for Samuel Dinsmoor, Democratic candidate for governor. It also elected six Democratic members of the general court, one of whom was Nathaniel B. Baker, who became speaker of the house of representatives at the ensuing session of the legislature—being the second citizen of Concord to hold that office; the first having been Thomas W. Thompson, thirty-seven years before. The regular Democratic ticket for selectmen was also elected, notwithstanding a somewhat remarkable display of go-as-you-please spirit and of futile attempts of the opposition elements to coalesce with their variety of tickets; such as the Whig, the Freesoil, the People’s, the Temperance, the California, and the Workingmen’s. The number of selectmen elected—five instead of three—is the solitary repetition in the history of Concord, of an ancient precedent occurring in 1733, at the transition of the Plantation of Penacook into the Township of Rumford.

¹ *N. H. Patriot.*

In 1851, the third year of the Taylor-Fillmore administration,—placed in power by the Whig party at the sixteenth presidential election,—some political revulsion in state and town was wrought. For the question of slavery had not been effectually settled, as it was fondly hoped it would be, by the Compromise of 1850, acquiesced in as it was by both Whigs and Democrats. The stringent Fugitive Slave Law, which was one of the Compromise measures, was very repugnant to Northern sentiment. The Reverend John Atwood, who had early in 1851 received and accepted the unanimous Democratic nomination for governor upon a platform unqualifiedly endorsing the Compromise, ventured, a little later, to express somewhat confidentially his dislike of the fugitive slave law. The fact coming to the ears of the Democratic leaders, the candidate was called to account, and, after recantation and a subsequent disavowal thereof, was dropped by the convention, reassembled, which had recently nominated him, and Samuel Dinsmoor, serving his second term as governor, was substituted. At the ensuing election, the candidate, thus rejected by his party, was supported by the Freesoilers and some Democrats, and received twelve thousand votes. Governor Dinsmoor, being in a minority of more than three thousand on the popular vote, was chosen for his third term by the legislature. Concord participated in the political change, giving one hundred anti-Democratic majority on the governor vote. From failure of the opposition parties to coalesce, only one of the town's quota of seven representatives to the general court was elected. This was Nathaniel B. Baker, a Democratic candidate, who, through personal popularity, carried more than his party's strength, and who, thus elected, was chosen for the second time to the speakership in the house of representatives. Of the three selectmen, two were Whigs—one of whom, Nathan Stickney, son of William, the taverner, and grandson of Colonel Thomas, of the Revolution, was chosen now for the eighth and last time within eleven years.

At the March election of the following year, the Democratic vote for governor in the state rose from a minority of three thousand to a majority of twelve hundred, and Noah Martin was elected. In Concord, the Democratic minority on that vote was reduced to sixty-two. Six Whig and Freesoil members of the legislature were chosen, while the three selectmen were Democrats. One of the representatives was Nathaniel White, prominent in the business activities of his town, and so sincere and resolute an abolitionist that his home often afforded refuge to the hunted slave fleeing over the "underground railroad" to find freedom in Canada.

The year 1852 was that of the seventeenth presidential election.

In this, from the candidacy of a favorite citizen of New Hampshire and its capital for the chief office of the nation, extraordinary interest, political and personal, was felt in both state and town, with a consequent increase of Democratic strength. Early in the afternoon of Saturday, June 5, a telegram announced in Concord that the Baltimore convention had, on the forty-ninth ballot, nominated for the presidency of the United States General Franklin Pierce, by two hundred eighty-two of the two hundred ninety-three votes cast. The town was aroused to unwonted excitement. The bulletin board and telegraph office were eagerly sought, until a second despatch had confirmed the first. Then were run up, in glad haste, the stars and stripes, gayly to float on the fresh summer breeze. And now from Sand Hill began to be heard the cannon salute of two hundred eighty-two guns, to be continued into the late evening. Church bells rang out their merry accompaniment of inspiring peals. The townsmen of the personally popular nominee—many not of his political faith—thronged the streets, exchanging congratulations, or, at least, respectful and friendly comments. A Democratic meeting, hastily called together in Natural History hall, with the special purpose of arranging for an early mass convention, became forthwith almost such itself, and was obliged to adjourn to the state house grounds, where the enthusiastic multitude listened to words of congratulatory eloquence. Thus promptly did the home of Franklin Pierce help set the winning pace in the coming presidential contest.

During the ensuing five months, the Democratic party of the country reached its climax of relative numerical strength. It was a unit in the support of its presidential candidate. On the contrary, the Whig party did not find in General Scott the expected availability as a candidate; there being much lukewarmness and some outright defection. Indeed, the party was in decadence, and, after the present struggle, was never to engage in another, as a distinct national organization. The Freesoil party, with John P. Hale for its candidate, hopefully stood by its principles, though without expectation of gaining any place in the electoral college. The battle, fought under such conditions, and with the consequent advantage of electioneering zeal largely upon the Democratic side, naturally resulted in a great Democratic victory. Its presidential candidate received two hundred fifty-four of the two hundred ninety-six electoral votes of the thirty-one states, backed by one hundred seventy-five thousand popular majority. In New Hampshire, Pierce's majority over Scott and Hale was nearly seven thousand votes; in Concord, two hundred twenty-nine—a gain of two hundred ninety-one over the Democratic vote in March.

During the contest two illustrious leaders of the Whig party were removed by death: one, near the opening of the campaign, the other, near its close: Henry Clay, on the 29th of June, Daniel Webster, on the 24th of October. Special honors were paid in Concord to the memory of each, in the death-toll of the bells, in the solemn assembling of citizens without party distinction, and in speech and resolution duly exalting the character of the great statesmen. On each occasion, Franklin Pierce spoke with much feeling and power; and it was in the rounding of his tribute to the memory of Webster, that he uttered these words of solemn thrill: "How do mere earthly honors and distinctions fade amid a gloom like this! How political asperities are chastened—what a lesson to the living! What an admonition to personal malevolence, now awed and subdued, as the great heart of the nation throbs heavily at the portals of his grave!"

But the sealed future permitted not that he who thus spoke should foresee how heavily would throb his own heart in the anguish of bereavement, when, president-elect of the United States, he should shortly stand childless at the open grave of his beloved son, "Little Benny," suddenly, cruelly snatched from life by accidental death.¹

The March town-meetings of 1851 and 1852—the general political results of which have been noted—passed upon amendments proposed by a convention held at the capitol, in Concord, to revise the state constitution. In this convention the town was represented by seven Democratic delegates: Franklin Pierce, Nathaniel G. Upham, Cyrus Barton, George Minot, Nathaniel Rolfe, Jonathan Eastman, and Moses Shute. General Pierce was made president of the convention. At the first session, commencing on the 3d of November, 1850, and continued, with recesses, until the 3d of the succeeding January, the constitution, for the revision of which the people of the state had allowed no attempt for nearly sixty years, was too radically handled in the adoption of fifteen amendments. All of these were rejected when submitted to the popular vote of the state at the next March election. The votes in Concord upon the fifteen propositions averaged thirteen negatives to one affirmative. The extremes were fifty-seven to one and four to one; the former, upon making state elections and legislative sessions biennial; the latter, upon the abolition of the property and religious tests. In view of this manifestation of the popular will, the convention, having reassembled in April, 1851, agreed upon three amendments: 1. To abolish the property qualification for office; 2. To abolish the religious test; 3. To empower the legislature to originate future constitutional amendments. All of these were rejected in Concord, in March, 1852: the first, by yeas, 304, nays, 341; the second, by yeas, 286, nays, 360; the third,

¹ See Death of "Little Benny," in note at close of chapter.

by yeas, 294, nays, 348. On the vote of the state, the first was the only one of the three that received the two-thirds majority requisite to adoption. Only so far did the people of New Hampshire permit, in 1852, the constitution of 1792 to be amended.

By the year 1849 the idea had become somewhat prevalent that a change of municipal government was desirable, since the interests of the growing town, becoming more and more varied and complex, could not be properly subserved by the legislation of the time-honored, but now unwieldy, town-meeting. In June of that year, the petition of Joseph Low and four hundred twenty other citizens was presented to the legislature, praying for a city charter—a draft of which was also introduced. A precedent existed in New Hampshire in the case of Manchester, which had already been under city government four years. In course of the session “An act to establish the City of Concord” became a law, to be effective when the charter should be adopted by a majority of voters present in town-meeting, and voting thereon by ballot. Portsmouth, the ancient colonial capital, received a city charter at the same session as did Concord, the modern capital of the state. The former at once adopted the new form of government: but the latter was nearly four years in doing so. From various causes—not the least of which was the apprehension of increased expense—much and persistent opposition was manifested, both in the main village and in the outlying portions of the town. In September, 1849, the charter was refused adoption by 183 yeas to 637 nays; and in May, 1851, by 139 to 589. These were results of special meetings, and upon votes far from full. The third trial was made at the regular March meeting of 1852—a meeting, which, like that of 1851, occupied six days. The balloting was preceded by an able discussion, in which Joseph Low, Asa Fowler, Nathaniel B. Baker, Thomas P. Treadwell, Jeremiah S. Noyes, Jacob A. Potter, Josiah Minot, and Samuel M. Wheeler favored the adoption of the charter; and Richard Bradley, Samuel Coffin, Franklin Pierce, Dudley S. Palmer, Abel Baker, and some others opposed it. The result of the ballot was four hundred fifty-eight votes for adoption to six hundred fourteen against. The negative preponderance, though obstinate, was decreasing; and in view of the serious and detrimental inconvenience of tediously protracted town-meetings, past and prospective, a committee was raised to draft a bill making provision for dividing the town into districts for the purposes of election, and to take measures to procure its passage at the next session of the legislature. But nothing was to come of this new movement, the purpose of which was amply and better met by the city charter in providing for the division of the town into seven wards.

On Tuesday, the 8th of March, 1853, occurred the New Hampshire state election, in which was still felt the Democratic impulse of the recent presidential result, and Governor Martin was re-elected by more than five thousand majority. The town-meeting in Concord commenced its three days' session in the old historic town hall. Upon its check-list were the names of twenty-two hundred thirty-four voters, sixteen hundred of whom were actually to vote. Without contest, Nathaniel B. Baker was chosen moderator. Two ballotings occupied the first day; one for state and county officers and a member of congress, the other for members of the general court. Each of the three parties—Democratic, Whig, and Freesoil—stood by its own ticket; the first showing, in test cases, a majority of nearly one hundred eighty. Its eight candidates for members of the general court were chosen. They were: Jeremiah S. Noyes, John H. George, John Sawyer, William H. Page, James Frye, James Moore, Henry P. Rolfe, and Benjamin F. Dow. On the second day, John P. Johnson as town clerk, and John C. Pillsbury, Atkinson Webster, and David Abbot, 2d, as selectmen, were elected, with, virtually, no contest. Other town officers were chosen as usual by confirming nominations made by a committee. These were twenty-eight highway surveyors, twenty-two constables, eight surveyors of stone, three auditors of town accounts, three fence-viewers, three cullers of staves, fifty-five surveyors of lumber, forty-four corders of wood, fifteen weighers of hay, seven sealers of leather, three sealers of weights, two pound keepers, one clerk of the market, and one hayward. It may be noticed that the field-drivers, hog-reeves, and tithing-men of earlier days had disappeared from the elective official list; and that, since 1834, collectors of taxes had been appointed by the selectmen. Certain appropriations were made, such as five thousand dollars for the support of schools the current year;¹ four thousand dollars for building and repairing highways and bridges, to be laid out in labor at ten cents per hour;² and ten thousand dollars to pay existing debts, and defray necessary charges and expenses the ensuing year—the same, with the sums received for tax on railroads and railroad stock, to be appropriated “as the interests of the town” might “require.”²

The thirty-one articles of the warrant afforded many subjects for action and deliberation. But no other of them involved such possibilities of future advancement for Concord as did the twenty-third, expressed in the simple but suggestive words,—“To see if the town will vote to accept the City Charter granted by the Legislature of New Hampshire, June Session, 1849.” Action upon this article was deferred, by special assignment, till nine o'clock of the morning of

¹ Proceedings of Town Meeting, 1853, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Thursday, March 10, the third day of the meeting. The ballot thereon commencing at the appointed time, showed, at its close, that eight hundred twenty-eight (828) votes had been cast in the affirmative to five hundred fifty (550) in the negative; and that thus by a satisfactory majority of a reasonably full vote the city charter had been accepted. This action being followed by an order "that the selectmen of the town proceed forthwith to organize a City Government," the last Concord town-meeting was dissolved. And so the behest of Progress that the town become a city, was at last obeyed.

NOTES.

The Sunday-school. By the year 1825 the efficacy of the Sunday-school as a factor of religious progress had begun to be realized in Concord. Thereupon the claims of this important instrumentality for inculcating the knowledge of revealed scripture truth, and thus promoting the growth of the churches, were to receive ever-increasing recognition—as the treatment of the subject in the special ecclesiastical chapter will show.

Thespians. In 1844 the society had its printed by-laws with lists of officers and members. Its officers were: John Renton, M. D., president and stage manager; Charles W. Walker, vice-president; John C. Stowell, secretary and treasurer; George Renton, librarian; Harriman Couch, doorkeeper; Harriman Couch, John C. Stowell, Charles W. Walker, George Renton, Josiah H. Nelson, executive committee; William A. Hodgdon, leader of the choir. With these the membership included Frank S. and Charles H. West, Abiel Carter, S. L. F. Simpson, Samuel G. Nelson, Alfred L. Tubbs, Charles A. Robinson, George Kimball, Josiah Stevens, 3d, Lewis R. and A. R. Davis, A. H. Bailey, George S. Towle, Ezra T. Pike, Harrison G. Eastman, George H. Moore, George W. Pillsbury, George C. Pratt, Isaac A. Hill, and John Merrill; the ladies of the organization being the Misses Sarah C. Ayer, E. Bixby, Christie W. Renton, C. R. Baxter, A. Ingalls, A. Allison, Sarah A. and E. West, N. Hodgdon, and E. Merrill. All of these, save four, were, in the course of fifty-six years, to be numbered with the dead; the survivors in 1900 being William A. Hodgdon, Isaac A. Hill, Harriman Couch, and Sarah A. West (by marriage, Mrs. White). *Isaac A. Hill's communication in Daily Patriot, July 31, 1900.*

Fire Department Reorganized. From 1807 to 1844 inclusive—thirty-eight years—the fire department consisted of firewards. These from the first five—Benjamin Kimball, Jr., Nathaniel Abbot, Sargent Rogers, Timothy Chandler, and Paul Rolfe—increased in number to thirty-three, in 1844, when the board was composed of Isaac

Eastman, William Restieaux, Moses Shute, Philip B. Grant, David Allison, Horatio G. Belknap, Jacob Carter, Frederick W. Urann, Enos Blake, Luther Roby, Ephraim Hutchins, Samuel Coffin, Joseph P. Stickney, George W. Brown, John Abbott, Charles Hutchins, Harry Houston, Nathaniel B. Baker, Theodore T. Abbott, William M. Carter, Benjamin Parker, Daniel A. Hill, James Woolson, Jonathan Sanborn, George H. H. Silsby, Cyrus Robinson, Oren Foster, John McDaniel, John M. Hill, Daniel Davis, Jr., Robert Eastman, Seth Eastman, and John Sawyer.

The firewards were selected from among the most energetic of the citizens of the town, and an old resident is authority for the statement that "the way they flourished their red staves at a fire, punching holes through partitions, while Tom Sargent, the old North bell-ringer, mounted the ridge pole and cut holes through the roof to let the water in from the tubs, was a caution to modern chief engineers and their assistants." *Communicated by Fred Leighton.*

The first board of engineers under the organization of 1845, as nominated by members of the fire companies and appointed by the selectmen, consisted of the following persons: Chief, Luther Roby; assistants, Arthur Fletcher, George H. H. Silsby, Caleb Parker, Daniel A. Hill, John Haines, John Abbott, Lowell Eastman, Harvey Rice, Benjamin Grover, James Moore, Shadrach Seavey, William Pecker, Henry H. Brown, Moses Shute, Benjamin F. Dunklee, Lewis Downing, Benjamin F. Dow, Stephen Brown.

Sufferers by Fires. The principal sufferers, being owners or occupants of the buildings burnt in the great fire of August 25, 1851, were: owners—Benjamin Grover: Abraham Prescott, Prescott & Brothers, manufacturers of musical instruments; Jane Dustin; Allison & Gault, druggists; Porter, Rolfe & Brown, hardware dealers; William Walker, Jr.; Edward H. Rollins, druggist; Mrs. Mary A. Stickney; occupants—John Gibson, of the Eagle Coffee House; Jacob Carter & Son, jewelers; C. W. Gardner: J. & C. Monroe, confectioners; Charles W. Harvey, merchant (dry goods); Nathaniel Evans, Jr., clothier; Page & Fay, dealers in crockery, etc.; Johnson & Dewey, merchants (dry goods); Moore & Cilley, hardware dealers; Charles E. Savory & Co., dealers in paints, etc.; Brown & Young, furniture dealers; G. Parker Lyon, publisher; Sylvester Dana, lawyer; Ephraim Eaton, do.; Benning W. Sanborn, bookseller; McFarland & Jenks, printers; James Prescott & Co., stable-keepers; George D. Abbott, painter; Fogg & Wiggin, printers; Dr. Timothy Haynes; David Winkley, merchant tailor; Henry A. & A. Herbert Bellows, lawyers; Peaslee & George, do.; Calvin Ainsworth, lawyer; James Peverly, merchant (dry goods, etc.); Tripp

& Osgood, printers; Gilbert Bullock, merchant (dry goods, etc.); Benjamin Gage, shoe dealer; Silas G. Sylvester, merchant (dry goods, etc.); Miss A. Hamlin; Reed & Stanley, jewelers; Norton & Crawford, booksellers.—EARLY in the morning of January 23, 1852, a fire broke out in a small wooden building on Free Bridge road, within a few feet of a range of wooden buildings on Main street, owned by Mrs. Mary Ann Stickney, to which it was communicated, destroying all. The occupants of the buildings consumed in this fire—the sequel to the greater one of five months before—were Daniel A. Hill, furniture dealer; David Symonds, harness-maker; Day & Emerson, marble workers; William Gilman, shoemaker; Eben Hall, tinware manufacturer; Joel C. Danforth, whip manufacturer; Moore & Jenkins, market keepers.

STREETS OF CONCORD IN 1834.

The names and limits of the streets of Concord, reported in June, 1834, by the committee mentioned in the text, and adopted by the town, were:

1. The street known by the name of Main Street shall retain its name, and shall extend from the head of the Londonderry Turnpike road northerly to Horse Shoe Pond, by the dwelling-house of the late Judge Walker.

2. The street west of Main Street, known by the name of *State Street*, shall retain its name, and shall extend from Pleasant Street northerly by the Burying Ground to Wood's brook, on the Boscawen road.

3. The street west of State Street, known by the name of High Street, shall hereafter be called *Green Street*, and shall extend from Pleasant Street northerly to Centre Street.

4. The street west of Green Street, recently laid out through land of George Kent, shall be called *Spring Street*, and shall extend from Pleasant Street northerly to Centre Street.

5. The plat of ground appropriated by George Kent, Esq., for a public square, containing about five acres, lying between Merrimack and Rumford Streets, shall be called *Rumford Square*.

6. The street west of Spring Street, and making the east line of Rumford Square, shall be called *Rumford Street*, and shall extend from Pleasant Street northerly to Centre Street.

7. The street west of Rumford Street, and making the west line of Rumford Square, shall be called *Merrimack Street*, and shall extend from Pleasant Street northerly to Centre Street.

8. The street running northerly from Centre Street through land partly of Mr. Odlin, shall be called *Union Street*, and shall extend from Centre Street northerly to Washington Street.

9. The street running southerly from Pleasant Street, by the dwelling-house of Samuel Fletcher, Esq., shall be called *South Street*, and shall extend from Pleasant Street southerly to Mr. Benjamin Wheeler's dwelling-house.

10. The street running south-easterly from Main Street, at the head of Londonderry Turnpike Road, to Concord Bridge, shall be called *Water Street*.

11. The street running southerly from Water Street, by the late Dea. Wilkins's dwelling-house, through the Eleven Lots, shall be called *Hall Street*, and shall extend from Water Street to the town line by Col. Carter's dwelling-house.

12. The street running westerly from Main street, at the head of Londonderry

Turnpike Road, shall be called *West Street*, and shall extend from Main Street westerly to South Street.

13. The street running westerly from Main Street through land of the late Mr. Richard Hazeltine, shall be called *Cross Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to South Street.

14. The street running westerly from Main Street, near Mr. Chas. Hoag's dwelling-house, through land of the late Mr. Thompson, shall be called *Thompson Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to South Street.

15. The street north of Thompson Street, through the same lot, shall be called *Fayette Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to South Street.

16. The street running westerly from Main Street by Mr. Asaph Evans's store, shall be called *Pleasant Street*, and shall extend from Main Street westerly to the junction of the roads by Mr. Stephen Lang's dwelling-house.

17. The street running westerly from Main Street, through the lot lately owned by Mr. Benjamin Gale, shall be called *Warren Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to State Street.

18. The street known by the name of *School Street* shall retain its name, and shall extend from Main Street westerly by the north side of Rumford Square to Merrimack Street.

19. The street running westerly from Main Street by the north side of the State House lot, shall be called *Park Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to State Street.

20. The street known by the name of *Centre Street* shall retain its name, and shall extend from Main Street westerly over Sand Hill until it intersects Washington Street.

21. The street running westerly from Main Street by Dr. Chadbourne's dwelling-house, shall be called *Montgomery Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to State Street.

22. The street running westerly from Main Street by the north side of the Court House, through land of Mr. John Stickney, shall be called *Court Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to State Street.

23. The street running westerly from Main Street, by Dr. Carter's dwelling-house, shall be called *Washington Street*, and shall extend from Main Street, crossing State Street and over the hill, until it intersects Centre Street.

24. The street running westerly from Main Street, south of Mr. Nathaniel Abbot's dwelling-house, shall be called *Pearl Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to State Street.

25. The street running westerly from Main Street, by the dwelling-house of Charles Walker, Esq., shall be called *Franklin Street*, and shall extend from Main Street to the angle of the old road on the hill where the Hospital once was.

26. The street running westerly from Main Street, on the south side of the North Meeting-House lot to State Street, shall be known and called by the name of *Church Street*.

27. The street running westerly from Main Street at Horse Shoe Pond, shall be called *Penacook Street*, and shall extend from Main Street westerly by the dwelling-house of Richard Bradley, Esq., to the foot of the hill on the Little Pond road.

An Early Irish Immigrant. John Linehan was born in Macroom, County Cork, December 25, 1816. His father, grandfather, and undoubtedly generations before them, were millers and grain dealers in that town. He was an educated man. Business reverses obliged him to come to this country in 1847. He located in Fisherville shortly after his arrival, and made his home there until his death, July 7, 1897. His wife, Margaret Foley, with their eldest son, John C., and some others of a family finally numbering eight children, came over from Ireland in 1849.

Meagher's Lecture. The five named in the text acted as a committee of the Irishmen of Concord in securing a lecture from Thomas F. Meagher, the eloquent Irish exile, recently escaped from political banishment in Australia. The effort was listened to with admiration, at Depot hall, on Saturday evening, February 5, 1853, by one of the largest audiences ever assembled in Concord on a similar occasion. The president-elect, Franklin Pierce, was a delighted listener, and entertained the speaker as his guest on the following day. *Facts communicated by William J. Ahern.*

Horse Sheds. In 1831 a line of horse sheds in front of the burying-ground, on the town land, had been built under direction of the selectmen for members of the First Congregational society, by permission of the town, at a cost of twelve dollars each. In 1842, when the new meeting-house was built, a part of them were removed to the rear of the new house, and a part were sold to Richard Bradley.



Old Horse Sheds.

The Precious Coin. On the occasion of President Jackson's visit to Concord, two lads named for him—one, between five and six years old, the other, twelve—were presented to him at the Eagle Coffee House, where he stayed. The younger of the two boys was Isaac Andrew, the youngest son of Senator Isaac Hill, the president's confidential personal and political friend. The president, kindly saluting the boys, and lifting the younger upon his left arm, presented each with a new silver half dollar, having the Eagle on one side and Liberty on the other, and said: "I make you the same gift as I do to all my children—the eagle of your country. Here, my sons, is the eagle of your country, which during my life I have endeavored to honor and defend. Keep it in remembrance of me, and if ever it shall be assailed by a foreign or domestic foe, rally under its pinions and defend it to the last."

"I can see the old hero now," said Mr. Hill nearly sixty-eight years later, "as he stood holding me, while the tuft of hair, as I looked into his face, stood up on his high forehead as stiff as if it had been waxed. Those were imperialistic days and 'By-the-Eternal' had his arms around me then. I have carried that half dollar near my heart until, they say, it is worth only twenty-five cents, Mexican."

Abolition Zeal. Stephen S. Foster, an anti-slavery lecturer of Canterbury, in 1841-'42 attempted to speak without permission and without previous notice in three Concord churches. He entered the North church on Sunday, September 12, 1841, saying he had a message from God to deliver. Refusing to desist from speaking as requested by deacons of the church and others, he was escorted, without violence, by three young men, Lyman A. Walker, James M. Tarlton, and Charles W. Walker, down the broad aisle, to the front door, whence he departed. This is substantially the account of the affair as given by the Rev. Dr. Bouton, who was absent that day on an exchange. On another occasion Foster appeared, upon a like mission, at the Unitarian church, and was allowed to speak by the consent of the Rev. Mr. Tilden. On Sunday, June 12, 1842, he made his appearance at the South church. Mr. Henry McFarland in "Sixty Years in Concord and Elsewhere" says: "He (Foster) came to the morning service and took a seat near the pulpit, at the preacher's right. After the preliminary exercises, the pastor, Rev. Daniel James Noyes, arose to begin his sermon, but Mr. Foster stood up and began an address in regard to negro slavery. He was requested not to interrupt the usual services, but continued to speak. The organist, Dr. William D. Buck, overwhelmed his words with the notes of the organ, and he seemed to be disconcerted, but kept his feet with a half audible remark about drowning his voice. He was conducted to the door, in a rather dignified way, by two persons, one of whom was Col. Josiah Stevens, at that time Secretary of State for New Hampshire. In the afternoon Mr. Foster came again, and began his address as soon as the congregation was seated, but was put out with less dignity and more promptitude than before. I remember the buzz made by his feet, as he held them 'non-resistingly' together, and was slid along the central aisle toward the door in the grip of a stout teamster and the church sexton. No unnecessary force was used and no personal harm inflicted that I could see." Other churches in New Hampshire were visited by Foster in like manner and with like experience. By all but a few people he was regarded then as an enemy of the republic. Parker Pillsbury says: "Most of the leading abolitionists, Garrison, Phillips, and others, doubted the wisdom of Mr. Foster's course in thus entering Sunday congregations, but none who knew him intimately ever doubted his entire honesty."

George Thompson in Concord in 1864. In October, 1864, an invitation was extended to George Thompson, then on his second visit to this country, to address the citizens of Concord. The signers of the invitation,—Governor Joseph A. Gilmore, Mayor Benjamin F.

Gale, Edward H. Rollins, Nathaniel White, Asa McFarland, Amos Hadley, Asa Fowler, Sylvester Dana, John Kimball, Moses T. Willard, Lewis Downing, George Hutclins, Robert N. Corning, Woodbridge Odlin, and Arthur Fletcher,—said: “The incidents connected with your last public visit to Concord were such as to render it highly fitting that you should congratulate the citizens of Concord upon the assured triumph of Freedom over Slavery throughout the American continent.” The invitation was accepted; and, on Wednesday evening, November 2, just pending the re-election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, Mr. Thompson addressed an immense audience in Eagle hall. For nearly three hours he held his listeners entranced by the old-time power of his eloquence, glowing with all his old-time love for America—a love intensified, now that the Republic had really become “the land of the free.”

Colonel Richard M. Johnson in Concord. On Friday, the 25th of October, 1843, Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, vice-president of the United States in the administration of Martin Van Buren, and distinguished for military service in the War of 1812, visited Concord, in course of a New England tour. He did so at the invitation of citizens without distinction of party. He was royally received and entertained. A detailed account of the interesting occasion is given in a special chapter.

Concord Men in the Mexican War. Concord men who did service in the Mexican War were Franklin Pierce, brigadier-general; Charles F. Low, Jesse A. Gove, lieutenants in Ninth regiment; Joseph H. Potter, lieutenant in regular army. Upon the roll of Company “H,” of the Ninth United States Infantry, recruited by Captain Daniel Batchelder, and commanded by Lieutenant George Bowers, as given in the Military History of New Hampshire (Adjutant-General’s Report, 1868, *pp.* 335-6), stand the following Concord names: John C. Stowell, second sergeant; Ezra T. Pike, third sergeant; Thomas F. Davis, first corporal; Robert A. Brown, William Burns, William F. Bailey, Jeremiah E. Curry, Michael Cochran, Samuel Davis, David Dunlap, Joseph Duso; Benjamin E. Porter, or Potter; Nahum G. Swett, Henry Stevens, Elijah Wallace.—OTHER Concord men who served in the war were: Levi K. Ball, Henry F. Carswell, Jonathan Chapman, James Davis, John G. Elliot, Sewell W. Fellows, Michael Freley, Joseph Huse, Calvin B. Leighton, James H. Lawrence, William M. Murphy, Phillips N. Perry, James Price, Alfred K. Speed, Joseph Whicher.

A Subscription. Another result of the meeting was a subscription of three hundred dollars, by seventy-three citizens, mostly of Concord, in aid of the New Hampshire men attached to the regiment of

volunteers in Massachusetts, in command of Colonel Caleb Cushing, and for which that commonwealth, in its hostility to the war, had made inadequate provision.

Death of "Little Benny." "Benjamin, the only son of General Franklin Pierce, was instantly killed on Thursday, January 6, 1853, by a terrible accident on the Boston & Maine Railroad, about one mile from Andover, Mass. In company with his parents he had just left the house of his uncle, John Aiken, Esq., of Andover, for Concord. The cars were suddenly thrown from the track, and precipitated down a rocky embankment of twenty feet or more. At the time of the occurrence the beautiful boy was standing near his parents, and when the cars went over, it was supposed he was thrown forward in such a manner as to fracture his skull and produce instant death. It is remarkable that he was the only one killed, although some were severely and many slightly injured. His remains were conveyed back to the house of Mr. Aiken, where funeral services were performed on the Monday following, the Reverend Henry E. Parker, of Concord, officiating. About sixty persons from Concord attended as sympathizing friends. Twelve lads, associates and school-mates of "Little Benny," attended as pall-bearers. After the services at Andover, the remains were brought to Concord, and, followed by an immense procession from the depot to the ancient burying-ground, at the north end of the village, were deposited in the family enclosure, beside those of his brother Robert, who died November 14, 1843, aged 4 years and 2 months." Benjamin's age was eleven years and nine months. *Bouton's Concord, 495-96.*

Obituary. Died, February 8, 1830, George Hough, Concord's first printer, aged seventy-three; Captain Richard Ayer, December 17, 1831, in his seventy-fifth year; February 25, 1834, at the age of one hundred years six months, Mrs. Elizabeth, widow of Joseph Haseltine, and fourth child of Nathaniel Abbot, one of the original proprietors of the town—a woman "remarkable for kindness of temper, vivacity of spirit, energy and tenacious memory" [*Bouton's Concord, 418*]; Charles Walker, July 29, 1834, aged sixty-eight, a son of Judge Walker; October 19, 1834, at the age of eighty-seven, Captain Jonathan Eastman, a Revolutionary veteran, son of Philip, and grandson of Captain Ebenezer Eastman; January 14, 1835, in his ninety-first year, Nathan Ballard, senior, a Revolutionary soldier; David George, expostmaster, April 21, 1838, aged seventy; John Farmer, historian, August 13, 1838, aged forty-nine; October 18, 1838, at the age of eighty, Captain John Eastman, son of Joseph, and grandson of Captain Ebenezer Eastman; Mrs. Elizabeth, widow of the Rev. Dr. McFarland, November 9, 1838, aged fifty-eight, a woman whose life

was a shining example of high Christian endeavor and accomplishment: April 1, 1840, at the age of eighty-four, Philbrick Bradley, a soldier at Bennington and Saratoga; April 7, 1840, at the age of seventy-five, Colonel William A. Kent, prominent in business and in town affairs, a member of the state senate for three years, and state treasurer for two; May 9, 1841, at the age of forty-nine, Miss Mary Clark, "a lady of uncommon gifts and acquirements . . . and especially interested in the anti-slavery cause" [*Bouton's Concord*, 446]; Philip Carrigain, March 15, 1842, aged seventy; August 12, 1843, at the age of seventy-one, Jeremiah Pecker,—adopted heir of Robert Eastman, childless son of Philip,—and a man who held important positions of trust and responsibility, especially on the committees for building the state house and the state prison addition, and for remodeling the town house for judicial purposes; August 20, 1844, Samuel Jackman, a Revolutionary soldier, aged ninety-six; August 4, 1846, Henry H. Carroll, editor of the *N. H. Patriot*, aged thirty-three; October 5, 1846, at the age of seventy-five, Stephen Ambrose, of East Concord, a leading merchant and citizen; February 13, 1847, at the age of eighty-seven, Thomas Haines, known as "Soldier Haines," from his Revolutionary experience, especially in the battle of Bemus Heights, in 1777, where a bullet passed through his cheeks, from side to side, nearly cutting off his tongue, and knocking out most of his teeth, leaving him to lie among the dead for more than forty-eight hours, and when restored, to bear the marks of mutilation till his death; May 9, 1847, William Low, ex-postmaster, aged seventy-seven; November 7, 1847, in his eighty-ninth year, Colonel John Carter, of the Revolutionary service, and a colonel in the War of 1812; May 19, 1848, in his ninetieth year, Captain Samuel Davis, a Revolutionary soldier; January 27, 1849, at the age of seventy-six, ex-Governor David L. Morrill, a resident of Concord for eighteen years; March 22, 1851, at the age of sixty-three, ex-Governor Isaac Hill, so much of whose public life has been sketched in previous pages, and of whom it has been written that—"In all the private and social relations of life, he was kind and amiable, and as a son, a husband, a brother, and a father, has left a reputation honorable to himself, and a memory to be cherished in the grateful recollections of the numerous relatives to whom he was the best of friends and protectors"; September 8, 1852, John P. Gass, the noted taverner, aged fifty-eight.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CITY OF CONCORD.—NEW GOVERNMENT IN OPERATION.—
CITY AND COUNTY BUILDING.—PUBLIC LIBRARY.—THE PRO-
HIBITORY LAW.—PROGRESS IN VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS.—
ANTE-WAR POLITICS.

1853—1865.

In accordance with the vote of the town at its last meeting, measures were forthwith taken to organize the city government. The selectmen caused check-lists to be prepared for the seven wards,¹ and warrants to be posted for the elections prescribed in the charter, to be held therein on Saturday, the twenty-sixth day of March, 1853. While each ward was to contribute its vote for the choice of a mayor, it was, by itself, to choose a moderator, clerk, three selectmen, one alderman, two members of the common council, an assessor, and a member of the superintending school committee.

At the polls, on the appointed day, political party lines were drawn with considerable strictness. For the mayoralty Joseph Low was the Democratic candidate, Richard Bradley the Whig, and Asa Fowler the Freesoil. Of the one thousand five hundred nineteen votes cast, the first received seven hundred forty-nine; the second, six hundred forty-four; the third, one hundred twenty-six. At this trial, a majority was requisite to a choice, and of this Low failed by twenty-one votes. Of the seven aldermen and fourteen common councilmen elected, all but two of the former and four of the latter were of the Democratic party, the exceptions belonging to wards 1 and 3 of Fisherville and West Concord.

The members of the first city council of Concord, named in the order of their wards, were.—Aldermen: John Batchelder, John L. Tallant, Joseph Eastman, Robert Davis, Edson Hill, Matthew Harvey, Josiah Stevens. Common council: Jeremiah S. Durgin and Eben F. Elliot: Samuel B. Larkin and Heman Sanborn: George W. Brown and Moses Humphrey: Ezra Carter and George Minot: William H. H. Bailey and Cyrus Barton: Ebenezer G. Moore and Thomas Bailey: Moses Shute and Giles W. Ordway.

The organization of wards, under the charter, was completed, but that of the city government proper had to await another mayoralty election, the result of which a plurality would decide. On Tuesday,

¹ See Wards Defined, in note at close of chapter.

April 5th, came the second trial, with Joseph Low and Richard Bradley as the candidates; the former of whom received eight hundred twenty-seven of the fourteen hundred sixty-six votes cast—four scattering included—and the latter six hundred thirty-nine. So, by a majority of one hundred eighty-eight, General Joseph Low, who had been foremost in obtaining the charter from the legislature and in pressing its acceptance by the town, became the first mayor of Concord. On the afternoon of the next day, Wednesday, April 6th, occurred, in Representatives' hall, and, in presence of a large assemblage of people, the induction of the city officers-elect. The mayor-elect took seat in the speaker's chair, having, on the right and left, the aldermen, common councilmen, assessors, and school committee; and before him, at the clerk's desk, the last town board of selectmen. The mayor-elect signified to the chairman of the selectmen, John C. Pilsbury, that he was present to take the oath of office before entering upon its duties; whereupon, in compliance with the request of the chairman, the oath was administered by Judge Josiah Minot, a circuit justice of the court of common pleas. His Honor, Mayor Low, then administered the oath to the other officers-elect; and after a Scripture reading by the Reverend Charles W. Flanders, pastor of the Baptist church, and prayer by the Reverend Dr. Bouton, senior ordained clergyman of the city, he delivered his inaugural address to the members of the city government. In the course of this he said: "The change of government upon which we are about to enter involves duties and responsibilities that can be successfully met and performed only by the united and patient efforts of those to whom the administration of the affairs of the city has been confided. I may consider myself singularly fortunate that I am associated with so many gentlemen of tried worth and long experience in the municipal affairs of the town; and I doubt not that it will be the anxious care of every member of the government of the corporation to have the change bear as lightly upon every section and every individual as may be consistent with the highest good and truest interests of the city, and realized only by its convenient, economical, and efficient action. . . . I am not aware that any considerable change or unusual outlay will be required to accomplish all the objects for which the city charter was obtained; nor do I apprehend, gentlemen, under your administration, any augmentation of burthens or material increase of taxation consequent upon its adoption."

The exercises of induction having closed, the common council withdrew to another room, and the two branches of the city council began to act, each by itself. In the board of mayor and aldermen, remaining in Representatives' hall, two members were appointed upon

each of two joint committees—a standing one to report rules, and a special one to secure rooms for the use of the city government. In the common council, Thomas Bailey, the oldest member, presided until Cyrus Barton was, by ballot, elected president and took the chair. Councilman William H. H. Bailey was chosen clerk pro tempore, and the council having concurred in the appointment of the committees on rules and rooms by adding three members to each, met, for the first time, the other board in convention or city council, with the mayor presiding, and wherein Alderman Josiah Stevens was elected city clerk pro tempore. Both branches then adjourned for three days, or until April 9th, then to meet at the court house.

At this adjourned meeting, the board of mayor and aldermen met in the grand jury room: the common council in the court room. In the common council Amos Hadley was, by ballot, unanimously elected clerk, as he was annually to be for the next fifteen years. The first appointment to office made by the mayor and aldermen was that of Moses Gill as overseer of the poor farm. In convention, John F. Brown was elected city clerk, and William H. Bartlett city solicitor. The two boards concurred in the adoption of joint rules and the appointment of joint standing committees of the city council; while each board adopted its own standing rules and appointed its own standing committees. An adjournment of four days was then taken, or until Wednesday, April 13th.

At this third meeting, Jonathan E. Lang was chosen city treasurer; John C. Pilsbury, city marshal, collector of taxes, and constable, and James F. Sargent, city physician. A joint committee was appointed to prepare and report ordinances, of which Alderman Robert Davis was chairman; and two ordinances were at once introduced, being the first ever presented in the city council of Concord. The first of the two was for “establishing a system of accountability in the expenses of the city”; the second, “to establish a City Seal.” These, after reference to appropriate committees in both branches, were, upon due consideration, concurrently passed.

Thus, the city council, in its first three meetings held within the space of those seven April days, set the machine of municipal legislation in orderly and effective motion. Thenceforward, during the first year of experiment, the change from town to city government was so wisely handled as to bear fairly, never heavily, upon the people, and so as to be realized only by its convenient, economical, and efficient action.¹ The new conditions were met by twenty-eight ordinances, more or less elaborate, and by other judicious measures. The rate of taxation was not increased over that of the last year of

¹ Mayor Low's first Inaugural.

the town, nor was there reason to expect increase therein for the coming year. From a laborious examination of the fiscal concerns of the town at the close of its organization, a thorough understanding of the real state of affairs at the commencement of the new organization¹ was reached; and the establishment of a strict system of accountability helped to render possible present and future knowledge of the exact financial condition of the city. A regular police department was established, with its first city marshal, John C. Pillsbury, and his two assistants at the head; with its corps of policemen and two night-watch; and its police court, at which its first justice, Calvin Ainsworth, presided. The fire department, also, received early attention, and, somewhat remodeled, "was never in better condition," as Nathaniel B. Baker, its chief engineer, declared in his annual report. The schools, too, reported commendable progress. And without specializing further, it may safely be said that the substantial interests of Concord were never more satisfactory and full of hope,¹ than at the end of the first year of the city.

Though the administration of city affairs was hardly, if at all, in issue at the election of 1854, yet, as in the year before, three straight party tickets were generally supported for municipal officers, at the regular March meeting, with the result of no choice of mayor, and some change in the party complexion of the boards of aldermen and common council. Of the 1,631 votes cast for mayor—including 32 scattering—Joseph Low, Democrat, had 761; Ephraim Hutchins, Whig, 659; James Peverly, Freesoiler, 179. Plurality not electing on the first trial, there was no choice. But in the municipal contest, four Democratic and three opposition aldermen were chosen, and eight opposition and six Democratic common councilmen. At the second mayoralty election, held on the 5th of April, with but two candidates, Low was elected by a majority of forty-eight votes over Hutchins. Before this re-election, however, the aldermen and common councilmen-elect had, on Tuesday, the 21st of March, been duly inducted,—with official oath administered by Mayor Low,—and had entered upon their duties. So that on Saturday, the 8th of April, the boards met, as an organized city council, in Rumford hall, when and where took place the induction of the re-elected mayor.

At the retirement of Mayor Low after his two years' service, the Democratic party, in 1855, was so weakened by the "American" or "Know-Nothing" movement, that a Democratic candidate for municipal office in Concord stood no chance of being elected. Thus, at the March election of that year, Ezra Carter, the Democratic nominee for mayor, was defeated by Rufus Clement, his "American"

¹ Mayor Low's second Inaugural.

antagonist, by a majority of five hundred sixty-one on a total vote of one thousand eight hundred sixty-nine; and the boards of aldermen and common council were entirely "American." But the second mayor thus elected did not live to complete his term of official service. Dying on the 12th of January, 1856, he left vacant the position which he had acceptably filled for ten months, and was succeeded by John Abbott, chosen four days later by the city council. The remaining municipal elections, occurring within the period covered by this chapter, need not be treated in detail. Suffice it to say in this connection that their results were continuous successes won over Democratic opposition, with consequent unbroken American or Republican ascendancy in the city government, at the head of which stood in the mayoralty: John Abbott in 1856, 1857, and 1858; Moses T. Willard in 1859 and 1860; Moses Humphrey in 1861 and 1862; Benjamin F. Gale in 1863 and 1864; Moses Humphrey in 1865.

The School Fund was one of the topics of Mayor Low's second inaugural. The lands, from the sale of which this fund arose, comprised the "house and home" lots assigned, in 1726, to the "School," in the original division of the Plantation into one hundred three lots, and subsequent additions thereto made from territory at first undivided—just as in the case of the Parsonage Fund lands, as more fully set forth in a former chapter. By order of the town, the school lands were sold in 1826. The price received was one thousand six hundred ninety-one dollars. This sum, as the principal of a school fund, had accumulated, despite some loss on investment in stock of the Concord bank, so as to amount, at the close of the fiscal year, 1853, to eight thousand six hundred seventy-eight dollars. The principal of this fund, for each successive year, had been that of the preceding with the year's interest added, and had finally become wholly a loan to the town, on the certificate of the selectmen. Mayor Low, having described the fund as "arising from lands sold by the town, and pledged for educational purposes, but which was paid into the town treasury, and used to liquidate its corporate indebtedness," added the forcible suggestion: "As it is questionable whether the city can legally impose a tax for purposes of education other than as prescribed by the statute for the support of common schools, I submit for your consideration the expediency of canceling this item upon the books of the treasury, making an apparent increase of indebtedness, and having in itself no substantial character, or binding force upon the taxpayers of the city." The suggestion was adopted, and the school fund ceased, from 1854, to cumber the city's financial records.

The first Funded or Bonded Debt in Concord was created on the

second day of December, 1854, by an ordinance authorizing a loan of forty-six thousand dollars. This measure had been reported by a special committee consisting of Samuel Coffin and Joseph P. Stickney. Of the total loan thirty-one thousand dollars were appropriated for the payment of debts heretofore contracted by the town and city; and fifteen thousand dollars for defraying the expense of the erection, finishing, and furnishing of the city's portion of the building in process of construction jointly by said city and the county of Merrimack, and for the draining and grading of the land about the same. Provision was made for issuing certificates of stock of uniform date, with coupons or interest warrants annexed. Certificates for one thousand dollars each, and numbered from one to twenty-three, were to cover one half of the total sum; while the other half was to be covered by certificates for five hundred dollars each, and numbered from one to forty-six. These were made payable—one thousand dollars annually for ten years, and three thousand dollars annually for the succeeding twelve years—with six per cent. interest upon presentation of coupons to the city treasurer. Thus the city had twenty-three years in which to pay the whole debt in easy instalments. This measure introduced into the management of the city finances a practice to which future advantageous resort was often to be had. It was passed by both branches of the city council on a full vote—by the common council, unanimously; by the other board, with but one negative.

Indeed, early recourse was had to the convenient policy thus initiated, when in August, 1855, the funded debt was increased by twelve thousand dollars, distributed as follows: ten thousand for finishing the city hall and grading the lands about the same; five hundred for purchasing a strip of land adjoining the city land to improve the shape of the latter; and fifteen hundred for fitting up a room suitable for a city library, and the purchase of books, maps, and periodicals for the same. One fourth part of the stock certificates of this loan were made payable on the first day of January, 1878, and one fourth part yearly thereafter, until the whole should be paid; and the certificates were not to be sold for less than their par value.

The city and county building for which provision was made in these ordinances has been mentioned in an earlier chapter, but fuller treatment of the topic properly enough belongs here. The undertaking had been projected under the town organization, when in March, 1852, Josiah Minot, Richard Bradley, Joseph B. Walker, John Abbot, and Nathaniel B. Baker were appointed a committee with authority to make, in behalf of the town, such arrangements with the county as they might deem proper "for the erection of a

new building on or adjoining the site of the town house, with a town hall, court room, and other offices in the same, and to dispose of the old town house, and appropriate the proceeds thereof to the new building." At the last Concord town-meeting in March, 1853, the powers before given the committee were renewed and confirmed with additional authority "to purchase all the premises enclosed by Main street on the east; Court street on the north; Summer street on the west; and the south line of the Dearborn lot extended in a straight line westerly to Summer street on the south; or such parts thereof" as might be thought proper. The heaviest land purchase was the Dearborn lot, for which six thousand three hundred thirty dollars were paid. This sum, as Governor Nathaniel B. Baker remarked at the laying of the corner-stone of the new building, in 1855, was about the amount—at six per cent. compound interest—of the ten dollars paid for the same land a hundred years before by Richard Herbert, who was often rallied by his neighbors for paying such a price for "a sand-heap."¹

By ordinance in August, 1854, the mayor was joined to the committee, the powers conferred by the votes of the town were continued, and full authority was given to proceed, in behalf of the city,

with the duties assigned. Accordingly, within nine months, preparations were made for carrying out the joint enterprise of the city and county, and the corner-stone of the contemplated structure was laid on Friday, the 25th of May, 1855. At two o'clock in the afternoon a procession was formed at the Phenix building, and moved up Main street to the scene of ceremony. In this walked the members and officers of the city government, several clergymen of the city, and other citizens, under escort of members of the Masonic fraternity accompanied by the Concord brass band. Having arrived



City Hall and County Court House.

upon the ground, those who came in procession occupied the floor of the south wing, temporarily laid for the occasion. After music by the band, prayer was offered by the Reverend Daniel Lancaster. A brief abstract of events and dates in local history was read by the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Bouton, as also a list of documents to be depos-

¹ Bouton's Concord, 666.

ited beneath the corner-stone. These having been deposited in their proper place at the southeast corner of the building to be reared, the proper Masonic ceremonies, under the direction of the Reverend Samuel Kelly as acting grand master, were performed, the stone was laid, the corn, wine, and oil were poured upon it, and the benediction of Heaven implored upon the new structure. Governor Baker then made an address; and Mayor Clement followed with brief remarks that closed the exercises of an interesting occasion. The work of erection thus solemnized virtually reached completion towards the end of 1856. Upon a pleasant and historic site stood the edifice waited for with high expectations. Though of architectural design not faultless, it was a substantial, and by no means ugly, structure. Its well-built, two-storied walls of brick, securely underpinned in granite, enclosed an interior, finished in the center upon the lower floor, into a spacious city hall; upon the upper, into a corresponding county court room; and in its northern and southern wings, respectively, into apartments for county and city uses.¹

The first public occupancy of the new city hall occurred on the evening of January 21, 1857, the occasion being a concert given by Benjamin B. Davis and John H. Morey, which, with the novelty of its place of holding, drew a large attendance. Such veteran and devoted friends of Concord's welfare and honor as Joseph Low, Richard Bradley, and William Kent were present to intersperse music with speech congratulatory upon the beautiful place of convening. Ten days later, in the afternoon of the last Saturday of January, the boards of city council, that for four years had been migratory,—meeting in county court and jury rooms, in the city clerk's office and the police court room, and in Phenix and Rumford blocks,—convened in permanent quarters suitably prepared for them in the south wing of the new building, and later still, or on the 17th of March, the members-elect of the fifth city government were the first to be formally inducted in the city hall, thereafter to be the fixed place for similar official ceremonies.

The subject of establishing and maintaining a Public Library was forcibly urged upon the consideration of the city council by Mayor Low, in his second inaugural address, on the 8th of April, 1854. This important subject came as a legacy from the town to the city. When, in 1849, the general state law was passed, authorizing towns and cities to establish public libraries, Concord had, in March, 1850, appointed a committee of five, consisting of Sylvester Dana, Asa Fowler, Jacob A. Potter, Moses Shute, and Abel Baker, to report, at the next town-meeting, what action should be taken in relation to

¹ See "County Building," and the Old Town and Court House, in note at close of chapter.

the establishment and perpetual maintenance of a public library, and what sum of money the town should raise and appropriate for that purpose. But, at the next town-meeting, in March, 1851, the warrant contained no article pertaining to the matter, and no report was made. In March, 1852, however, the committee made an able report, setting forth the advantages of such an institution, and accompanied by resolutions declaring the expediency of its immediate establishment. The resolutions, accordingly, provided for raising and appropriating one thousand dollars to be expended by a committee in purchasing books, periodicals, et cetera, for the commencement of the library; in furnishing suitable quarters, and in making other necessary incidental outlays during the ensuing year. The committee, just mentioned, was to consist of three disinterested and competent citizens, to be appointed annually by the selectmen, in the month of March, and denominated the Committee on the Public Library. This was to have charge of the institution, and to make rules and regulations for the control and the management of its affairs.

The town voted to accept the report, and to adopt the accompanying resolutions, thus sanctioning the immediate establishment of the library. But no immediate action followed, as prescribed in the vote of the town, and within a year the town had become the city. It was at the opening of the second year of the latter that Mayor Low called attention, as has been seen, to the undertaking that had lain in practical abeyance for two years, and was so to lie one year longer. At the beginning of the city's third year, Mayor Clement, in his inaugural address in March, 1855, earnestly renewed the recommendation of his predecessor, and, a few days later, ex-Mayor Low transmitted to the city council a communication enclosing a letter from John L. Emmons, of Boston, pledging from himself and John C. Abbott, both natives of Concord, one thousand dollars to aid in establishing a public library. The ex-mayor recommended early and favorable consideration of the offer. The communications and the general subject therewith connected were referred by the city council to a joint committee consisting of William Prescott, Nathan Farley, and Rufus Merrill. This committee, on the 28th of July, submitted a report, presenting strong considerations in favor of immediately establishing the library. This report was accompanied by a bill entitled "An ordinance for the establishment and perpetual maintenance of a public library in this city." The views of the committee were favorably received, and the ordinance reported by it was passed at the next regular session of the city council, held August 25, 1855. At the same session, and under the ordinance just enacted, the first trustees of the public library were elected, seven in number, or one

from each ward of the city. Named in the order of wards from one to seven, these were Abial Rolfe, Cyrus Robinson, Simeon Abbott, William Prescott, Henry A. Bellows, Lyman D. Stevens, and Josiah Stevens.

The ordinance appropriated fifteen hundred dollars for the purpose of establishing, commencing, and accommodating a public library. This sum was provided for in another ordinance, passed at the same session, to raise funds for completing the city hall, and for other purposes, being the second ordinance for funding the city indebtedness, as already narrated. Of the appropriation, the sum of three hundred dollars was allowed to be expended by the trustees "in procuring furniture, fixtures, and other articles" necessary for the accommodation of the library, for the ensuing municipal year; while the remaining twelve hundred dollars were to be laid out in the purchase of books, maps, charts, and other publications. The duties of the trustees were prescribed, with the provision that they were to receive no compensation for their services.

The board of trustees was organized by the choice of a president, secretary, and treasurer. A code of by-laws for the regulation of the institution in its charge was adopted, and committees were elected for purchasing, numbering, and arranging books, and for other purposes, all with a view to carrying the enterprise into full effect as soon as possible. But as the room assigned to the library in the still unfinished city hall building was not ready for occupancy, and it was not deemed expedient to procure and fit up another for a few months only, little or no progress could be made toward putting the library in operation. Indeed, at the end of the municipal year, 1855, the trustees reported that none of the money appropriated had been expended, though it had been drawn from the city treasury, and deposited in the Merrimack County bank, so as to be at hand for its designated uses.

The second board of trustees was elected April 5, 1856, and consisted of David A. Brown, Thomas D. Potter, Simeon Abbott, Amos Hadley, William H. Bartlett, Artemas B. Muzzey, and Jeremiah S. Noyes. It organized a week later by choosing Thomas D. Potter, president; Artemas B. Muzzey, secretary; Jeremiah S. Noyes, treasurer, the last, upon early resignation, being replaced by Ebenezer S. Towle, cashier of the Merrimack County bank.

To this board fell the lot of making the library a practical fact by setting it in operation. In the autumn of 1856, Secretary Muzzey, assisted by Amos Hadley, proceeded, by appointment of the board, to the selection and purchase of books. One thousand of the fifteen hundred dollars appropriated in the ordinance of 1855, was allowed

by the board to be expended in the purchase. By early winter, the library room on the second floor in the south end of city hall building was ready for use; and the purchased books, received and properly prepared for distribution, began to find their places upon the shelves. On the 3d of January, 1857, Andrew Capen, a former bookseller and publisher, was chosen librarian at a yearly salary of fifty dollars.

With ten hundred fifty dollars,—for the board allowed the original one thousand to be increased half a hundred,—about fourteen hundred volumes, systematically selected from the various departments of literature, were obtained—all intended for general circulation and reading. Nearly six hundred volumes had been early donated, but were mostly unadapted to circulation.

An increasing public interest in the enterprise was manifested. The newspaper press had a good word for it. Thus, the *Statesman*, in January, had this to say: “We understand that a portion of the books have already been purchased. From the known taste and learning of the gentlemen to whom the selection has been confided, we cannot but anticipate the most favorable results.”

In remarks at the opening of the city hall, General Low suggested that, under the guidance and control of the ladies of Concord, of all denominations, a grand levee be held, the proceeds to be appropriated to the enlargement of the public library. The suggestion was heeded. The library levee came off on Tuesday evening, February 24, 1857, and this is the *Statesman's* enthusiastic description of it: “The Court-House and City-Hall building was all ablaze. A low and aloft, it was effulgent with burning gas. Notwithstanding the badness of the traveling, the attendance was very large. The main tables were handsomely laid, and abundantly supplied with the usual viands prepared for such occasions; and from side-tables were dispensed that class of luxuries for which consideration is paid. The ladies of all religious societies were engaged in the undertaking, and entered with zest into proceedings preparatory to opening the doors of an edifice, the common property of all, for this first and only social gathering,—in one body, in beautiful and spacious apartments,—of people of all sects, and from all portions of Concord. Colonel Josiah Stevens had charge of arrangements within the hall. The Concord Brass Band, which has attained a high degree of skill, and become an institution without which the city would be an imperfect municipal organization, was in attendance. The proceeds, after defraying all expenses, were \$380: the money to be immediately placed in the hands of those gentlemen who made the present purchases for the city library; and such books as are bought with these proceeds are to be prepared for circulation with all practical despatch.”

One day in March, 1857, not long after this brilliant and helpful levee, and before its proceeds could be realized in books, the city library was opened to the public use, and its fourteen hundred volumes began to migrate from their shelves into the hands of eager readers. Yearly cards were issued to patrons, or subscribers, upon the payment of twenty-five cents. The purpose of this unburdensome requirement was that the annual amount of these small subscription fees might, as it did, afford relief—always acceptable, sometimes almost indispensable—to the finances of the institution.

The third board of trustees was elected a few days after the opening of the library. At its organization, Amos Hadley became president; holding the position for fifteen of his seventeen years of service as trustee. Before the end of the fiscal year, 1857-'58, more than three hundred volumes, purchased with the proceeds of the ladies' levee, had increased the number of books intended for circulation to nearly seventeen hundred fifty. In their annual report, the trustees said: "During the past year the public library has been opened to the use of our citizens. We are happy to say that its advantages have been very largely enjoyed. The full attendance at the library-room during the hours of delivery, and the avidity of the demand for books have attested that a public library is an institution imperatively demanded by the intellectual wants of our people." The first year's patronage, so gratifying to the trustees, was to continue with a steady increase, year by year. The small yearly charge to patrons was largely relied upon to pay the moderate salary of the first two successive librarians, Andrew Capen and Frederick S. Crawford, together with sundry incidental expenses, such as re-covering and re-binding books. But for supplying the constantly increasing demand for reading matter, consequent upon increasing patronage, the library depended mainly upon appropriations made by the city council. The aid offered at the outset to the library enterprise by non-resident natives of Concord was not realized, probably because of some change in the circumstances of those who offered it. The consequent deficiency was, however, partially remedied from the proceeds of two levees projected and carried out by the public-spirited ladies of the city: the first being held, as already described, just before the opening of the library; the second coming off in the summer of 1860, and netting for its purpose one hundred sixty-two dollars. The city council's first appropriation in favor of the library, after its establishment, came in 1858, and was only fifty dollars. The next year an allowance of two hundred dollars was made, which was annually continued until 1863; when, notwithstanding the burdens of war, the appropriation was raised to three hundred

dollars. At the end of the fiscal year, 1865, the trustees reminded the city council that the sum of three hundred dollars had not been for two years past, and, probably, would not be for some years to come, adequate to supply the necessary books. This was an enforcement of their report for 1864, in which they had set out the somewhat remarkable fact, that notwithstanding the excitement occasioned by the great national struggle which had been going on during the year, the library had attracted more readers than in any previous year of its existence. Though the first eight city appropriations in favor of the library after its opening hardly counted fifteen hundred dollars, yet, by wise expenditure, they increased the number of circulating volumes from fourteen hundred to nearly four thousand, for the use of the goodly number of readers represented by seven hundred patrons. Subsequent pages will note, in due time and order, the continued and more rapid progress of the institution.

Since the public library was to be an institution tending to perfect "and render available the elementary knowledge acquired"¹ in the public school, the movement to establish the former was fitly coincident with another eminently suited to advance the interests of the latter. In 1846 a fruitless attempt had been made to unite the ninth, tenth, and eleventh districts. But now, in 1855, nine years later, the consummation long wished for by the progressive friends of education came; and, under an ordinance passed the year before, and by the major vote of each district, the three became the Union School District. Soon the Somersworth act was adopted, and committees, prudential and superintending, were elected. The latter consisted of Artemas B. Muzzey, Henry E. Parker, Amos Hadley, Asa Fowler, and Paltiah Brown. Four years later the state legislature authorized the district to choose a board of education, consisting of nine members—the terms of three of whom should expire each year—to take the place of the committees. The first nine were elected on the 10th of September, 1859. They were Henry E. Parker, David Patten, Josiah P. Nutting, Caleb Parker, Jesse P. Bancroft, Paltiah Brown, Parsons B. Cogswell, Asa Fowler, and Joseph B. Walker. The board of education, as well as the whole system of which it was an essential part, was the result of healthy evolution, and could not but be permanent.²

Charity in those days inspired much noteworthy educational effort. Mayor Low, in 1854, commended to the attention of the city council the schools established by benevolent ladies for the mental and indus-

¹ Report of committee in 1852.

² See more detailed treatment in special Educational chapter.

trial education of neglected and friendless children, and invited thereto not pecuniary aid but individual and corporate influence in promoting the success of an enterprise so important and valuable. The schools thus referred to were conducted under the auspices of the two leading charitable organizations of the city. The sewing school of the Concord Female Benevolent Association connected with the Unitarian church had been in successful operation for seventeen years, when, in 1853, the Rumford Charity School was instituted by the Concord Female Charitable Society—a movement especially prompted by the reception of a legacy from the Countess of Rumford. The former school had been from its beginning in the faithful, self-sacrificing charge of Mrs. Capen, wife of the first city librarian, and had steadily grown in favor, till its attendance increased from eight pupils to seventy. This form of humane effort was, therefore, no doubtful experiment when the second school was established. There was no new plan to be devised and carried out; two, with a common purpose, were to till a broadening field of charitable endeavor where one had tilled before. That purpose was to bring together within the reach of salutary influences, on the afternoons of Saturday, from May to October of each year, destitute young girls, to be trained in needle work, and in making up, from materials usually supplied by the societies, garments and other articles for their own use; to impart to them wholesome moral, unsectarian instruction; and to foster in them self-respect, promptness in duty, neatness, love of order, and good manners. Those school seasons bore promises of precious fruitage in the life of many a pupil. Of the fulfilment of those promises, the closing sessions of the school terms gave constant assurance: while they were of themselves frequently occasions of much attractive interest. Especially so were those of 1864, when the sixty children of one school at the close of its eighteenth season, and the seventy of the other at the close of its second, appeared in neat uniform attire, made by themselves from material furnished by Mayor Low, whose presence they welcomed with a hearty and graceful expression of thanks. “Who knows,” wrote a visitant on one of these occasions, “what a shield against temptation will hereafter be the happy remembrance of that day to many a young heart—what an incentive to earnest well-doing in life.”¹

The Lyceum, in its lecture courses, continued to co-operate with other educational forces in promoting the intellectual growth and literary culture of the community. Of the choicest talent of the land, then utilized in this form of popular instruction, there appeared upon the platforms of the Merrimack and the Penacook lyceums not

¹ *State Capital Reporter*, Oct. 6, 1854.

a little of the best; for Horace Greeley, Bayard Taylor, Benjamin P. Shillaber, John G. Saxe, Herman Melville, John Pierpont, George Sumner, Wendell Phillips, John B. Gough, George William Curtis, and Henry Ward Beecher sometimes stood there before Concord audiences to delight and edify. Nor did Parker Pillsbury, the sturdy, eloquent "Anti-Slavery Apostle," fail to do honor there to home talent in his treatment of miscellaneous themes.

Here instances of literary activity, manifesting itself in literary production exclusive of journalism, demand a place in the regular course of narration. Thus, some of the genius-born thoughts of Nathaniel P. Rogers had been transferred from the columns of a Concord newspaper to the pages of a book that was in its second edition in 1849. During the early fifties, the second superintendent of the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane, Dr. Andrew McFarland, a son of Concord's third minister, produced a pleasing volume entitled "The Escape," embodying observations made upon a short vacation trip to Europe; and his brother, Asa McFarland, who accompanied him, produced another entitled "Five Months Abroad." In 1856 was published "The History of Concord from the First Grant in 1725 to the Organization of the City Government in 1853," the conscientious work of the honored pastor of the North church. The author has told the story of its preparation in the following words of autobiographic recollection:¹

"I resolved at the outset that the work should not interrupt or interfere with my weekly labors for the pulpit, nor with my ordinary parochial duties. It did not perceptibly. I gathered facts as I went round among the people, and placed them on file. At stated times, I examined the old Town records, and took notes. I kept an eye on all the passing events of the town. . . . When the time arrived to put the abundant materials of twenty years' collecting into a history; when I resolved to take up my pen and write a volume, that should not interfere with my work—'hic labor, hoc opus.' That was a toil to which, I confess, human endurance was hardly equal. I favored myself somewhat by writing out only one sermon a week; preaching extemporaneously, and now and then 'turning over the barrel,' as the phrase is—that is, using an old sermon with new trimmings. My history went on till, after three years, the work came to its termination. It was a little too much; towards the close, I found myself becoming nervous and uneasy. After writing an hour or so, my hand would tremble; I thought the pen was tired of my fingers, and would n't make a good mark. Then I would lay it down, and walk awhile across the room, or run out into the open air.

¹ Autobiography of Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, D. D., 39-40.

But thanks to the good Providence that watched over me, I finished the composition of the history, in about three years, and wrote the whole with one gold pen—nor was I hindered in this, or any part of my work, by a single day's sickness."

The town, at its last meeting in March, 1853, gave aid to the proposed History by appropriating three hundred dollars, to be expended by a committee consisting of Nathaniel B. Baker, Jonathan Eastman, and Joseph B. Walker, in procuring the publication of portions of the original Proprietors' and Town Records, either in connection with the History, or otherwise. As the work neared completion, the city council, on the 24th of February, by ordinance, authorized Joseph B. Walker to expend one hundred fifty dollars in providing engraved maps for the History of Concord. Thus, under both the town and the city government, the important literary undertaking received a substantial test of appreciation in a direct draft upon the treasury.

In the autumn of 1852, a movement was made, looking especially to "the improvement of the moral, mental, and social condition of young men." It was estimated that there were, at that time, in town, twenty-four hundred males, between fourteen and forty years of age, and fourteen hundred, between fourteen and twenty-five; and that, in the main village, there were fifteen hundred of the first class and eight hundred of the second.

On the evening of October 25, fifty young men, representing the churches of the different "evangelical" denominations in town, met in the vestry of the South church to consider the subject of forming a Young Men's Christian Association, similar in its plan and object to one already in existence in Boston. Of this meeting, Lyman D. Stevens was chairman, and Isaac N. Elwell, secretary. The wisdom of trying the proposed experiment was discussed. There were serious doubts in some minds "whether it was wise to organize such a society in a place so small as Concord then was."¹ The Reverend Augustus Woodbury, pastor of the Unitarian church, came to the meeting, and ineffectually "urged the organization of the society on such a basis as to include the young men of his congregation."¹ Finally, a committee was appointed to report a constitution and by-laws.

The committee made a report on the 8th of November, which was adopted. At once, a permanent organization of the Concord Young Men's Christian Association was effected by the choice of George B. Chandler as president; Abraham J. Prescott and John D. Teel as vice-presidents; Rufus Lane as corresponding secretary; Isaac N.

¹ Letter of Prof. J. H. Gilmore, University of Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 20, 1895.

Elwell, as recording secretary; Henry A. Newhall, as treasurer; and H. F. E. Nichols, as librarian. A board of ten managers was also selected, consisting of two members of each of the following churches: Baptist, North Congregational, South Congregational, Episcopal, and Methodist. Two classes of members were constituted: active, comprising members of evangelical churches; and associate, made up of young men of good moral character. The annual membership fee was one dollar.

Early in the winter, 1852-'53, a reading-room was secured in the new Exchange building, with the hope—as expressed by the corresponding secretary, in an address to the public through the newspapers—“that, in a warm room, well-lighted with gas, and in companionship with good associates, books, and periodicals, the young man” might “spend his leisure evening hours away from temptation, and in the cultivation of mind and heart.” A library was contemplated; and one was actually begun, in a small way, with books presented by members. A course of lectures, or addresses, was projected, and partially, at least, carried out. The opening address was delivered on Sunday evening, January 18, 1853, by the Reverend Charles W. Flanders, pastor of the Baptist church. It was published in pamphlet, and somewhat widely circulated. It put at about one hundred the membership of the Association at that time; and characterized the organization as “a Christian Union, combining the force of lecture, reading-room, and social meeting, thereby aiming to promote right principles, virtuous habits, useful lives, and so far as God will aid us, to secure to young men a trusting and peaceful close of life.”

But the well-intentioned undertaking was short-lived. Its limited financial means precluded efforts and outlays necessary to arouse and sustain public interest. Its reading-room, upon which high hopes had been set, had no secretary or librarian, regularly in charge, to welcome visitors, and at an early date—as recalled by one member at least—“was fearfully unattractive, and generally empty, as it deserved to be.”¹ Besides, the “evangelical” exclusiveness of the Association naturally created a sectarian prejudice against its operations that tended to hinder success. Be the causes what they might, the Association became temporarily extinct. The more successful movement of similar intent and under the same name, made fifteen years later, is a topic reserved for treatment in its proper time.

As a promoter of fraternity and beneficence Freemasonry had, for nearly sixty years, been represented in Concord by Blazing Star Lodge, when the Masonic quarters long located in the Concord Bank

¹ Letter of Prof. J. H. Gilmore.

building, but now outgrown, were exchanged for others more attractive and commodious. In January, 1858, the Lodge accepted a proposition made by Robert N. Coming, to erect a building on the corner of Main and Pleasant streets, and to furnish apartments therein for Masonic purposes. The corner-stone of the proposed structure was laid on Monday, the fifth day of July following, with a programme of happily combined exercises appropriate both to the special occasion and to the celebration of the national holiday. The procession was a prominent feature. Under the chief marshalship of Edward H. Rollins, the Trinity Commandery of Knights Templar of Manchester, and Masonic bodies from other parts of the state, escorted the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of New Hampshire from the old Masonic hall to the front of the state house. The procession, having there been joined by members of the city government and of the fire



Main Street, looking North from Pleasant Street, with Masonic Temple at Left—1900.

department, by a cavalcade of truckmen, and by numerous other citizens in carriages or on foot, moved, to the music of the band, up Main to Penacook street, thence down State to West, and then up Main to Pleasant, where the ceremony of laying the corner-stone was performed by the officers of the Grand Lodge. The procession reformed, then moved to the state house park, where Fourth of July exercises were held; Brother Mason W. Tappan, of Bradford, reading the Declaration of Independence, and Brother William L. Foster, of Concord, delivering the oration.

This event the historian of Blazing Star Lodge has characterized as "a beginning of importance to the Masonic fraternity of Concord." The new apartments were dedicated on the 19th of January, 1859, by the grand officers of the state. The Blazing Star Lodge took a twenty years' lease, during the continuance of which the other Masonic bodies were tenants of the lessee.

In 1859 Mount Horeb Commandery of Knights Templar was in-

stituted in Concord; its first officers being installed on the 21st of November of that year. Of these, Edward H. Rollins was Commander; Reuben G. Wyman, Generalissimo; and Lyman A. Walker, Captain-General. The organization was the revival of an old Encampment—the former name of Commandery—originally located in Hopkinton, and for some time dormant. Under more favorable conditions in its new location, it became a flourishing representative of Templar Masonry.

Earlier, about the year 1847, the Trinity Royal Arch Chapter of Free and Accepted Masons had also been transferred from Hopkinton to a permanent home in Concord. Later, on the 13th of June, 1860, the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire granted warrant to John Dame, George H. Emery, Thomas L. Tullock, Allen Tenny, Charles C. Clement, Abel Hutchins, James B. Gove, Edward Dow, and Luther W. Nichols, Jr., for establishing Eureka Lodge, No. 70. Accordingly, a new Lodge was forthwith instituted, that was to become no unimportant factor of Masonic progress; as was also to become another organization, the Horace Chase Council of Royal and Select Masters, established in 1862.

Nor should it be forgotten in this connection that, while Freemasonry was thus strengthening itself, Odd Fellowship was becoming stronger; and that its White Mountain Lodge was flourishing. Though Harmony hall, which had been the pleasant home of the Lodge for fourteen years, was destroyed by fire on the 10th of September, 1859, yet, on the 25th of October, 1860, a new home, more pleasant than the old, and occupying the same site, at the corner of Main and Warren streets, was formally dedicated to the uses of Odd Fellowship. There the good work of the Order was to be done for thirty years.

The progress of temperance reform has already been a theme of narration. It will be recalled that the town had, as early as 1852, instructed its representatives in the general court to support the enactment of a prohibitory statute similar to the one then in force in Maine, and had requested its selectmen to license but two persons to sell wines or spirituous liquors—and to do that only for medicinal, mechanical, and chemical purposes. But it was not until two years after the formation of the city government that the principle of prohibition supplanted that of license in temperance legislation. However, means of restraining the sale and use of intoxicants in the city were found in the efforts of the long-established Concord Temperance Society, and of the recent "Order of the Sons of Temperance;" in the enforcement of the state law; in the regulation of restaurants by ordinance; and in the efficient performance of duty by the police de-

partment, including its court. Hence Mayor Low, at the opening of his second year of service, could announce the "suppression, in some good degree, of the sale of intoxicating drinks;" and Mayor Clement could, a year later, declare to the city council: "The sale of intoxicating drinks has been stopped, in a great degree, by our predecessors. A wholesome temperance sentiment pervades this community, and any well-directed endeavors on our part to seal up the fountains of so much immorality and misery as dram-shops always are, will, without doubt, meet the hearty approval of a vast majority of our citizens."

On the 13th of August, 1855, the Prohibitory Law, entitled "An act for the suppression of intemperance," went into effect. This event had been anticipated by the city council of Concord, on the 28th of July, in the passage of the following explicit resolutions:— "Resolved—That the late act for the suppression of intemperance in this State meets with our entire approbation:" "Therefore, resolved—that the city marshal and his assistants are requested to prosecute, with promptness and energy, all violations and infringements of said law."

The day after the law went into operation the mayor and aldermen proceeded to put Concord in position to meet the new requirements, by providing for the appointment of liquor agents—one for the main village and one for Fisherville: the annual salary of the former to be three hundred dollars, and that of the latter, one hundred and fifty. Also, authority was given the mayor to borrow one thousand dollars to be appropriated to the purchase of liquors for the agencies. Charles A. Farnam was the first agent in the city proper, and held the office for six months, when he was succeeded by B. L. Johnston. In all this was manifested the purpose to obey the new law, and by honest and judicious enforcement to test its virtue as a reformatory agent.

Three years before the town became the city, the thought of employing Gas for lighting purposes in the main village was entertained. Accordingly, in 1850, an act "to incorporate the Concord Gas-Light Company" was obtained. The capital stock was not to exceed one hundred thousand dollars, and the grantees named were Joseph Low, A. C. Prince [Pierce], John Gibson, Nathaniel G. Upham, George O. Odlin, Perkins Gale, Benjamin Grover, George Hutchins, John Gass, and Cyrus Hill. But not until the 3d of August, 1852, was held the first meeting of the grantees, upon the call of Joseph Low and John Gibson, as provided in the charter. Then associates were chosen and by-laws were adopted. The capital stock was fixed at thirty-five thousand dollars, divided into seven

hundred shares. Seven directors were elected, with power to choose a president, a clerk, and a treasurer. The directors were George B. Chandler, Nathaniel B. Baker, Nathaniel White, Edward H. Rollins, Micajah C. Burleigh, Rufus Clement, and Benjamin Grover. These met on the same day after the adjournment of the grantees' meeting, and chose George B. Chandler, president, Nathaniel B. Baker, clerk, and Rufus Clement, treasurer. A committee, consisting of Nathaniel White, Edward H. Rollins, and Nathaniel B. Baker, was selected "to solicit subscriptions to stock, and for lights."

Operations were at once commenced; and at meetings of the directors, held on the 3d and 11th of December, 1852, the treasurer was directed to take a bond of the land belonging to the Concord Railroad Corporation upon which—in the language of the vote—"the gas works are in the process of erection." The stockholders were assessed fifty per cent. of each share. The treasurer was given full power to purchase coal, lime, whiskey, and all other articles necessary to the manufacture of gas, and was also directed to pay the Somersworth Machine Company the sum of twelve thousand dollars on a contract entered into August 25, 1852.¹ At the meeting of December 11th it was voted that the company furnish the supply pipe and lay the same for sixteen feet from the main pipe, or to the person's land who uses the gas. By February 9, 1853, such progress had been made that the directors voted full powers to Messrs. Clement, Rollins, and Burleigh to make arrangements for the furnishing of fixtures to the consumers of gas, with instructions to "attend to the duty forthwith." It was also voted that the company furnish gas to consumers at the rate of three dollars and seventy-five cents per thousand feet;² and that the treasurer be directed "to procure a deed of the lot on which the buildings of the company are erected, and pay for the same." By summer, gas-light began to be regularly supplied. The town, however, did not at its last meeting in March, 1853, become a customer, but dismissed the article in the warrant as to the erection of ten or more gas-lights on Main and State streets; properly enough leaving the matter to the city, which was soon to be. The enterprise was prosecuted with success, and in December, 1853, a dividend at the rate of six per cent. per annum was declared. Indeed, during the first year of the city the new mode of illumination grew so fast in public favor that the company the next year increased, with the consent of the state legislature, its capital stock to fifty thousand dollars, divided into one thousand shares, and it also took measures to enlarge its plant.

Of course the gas-light system was confined in its operations and

¹ MSS. Records of Gas Company, Vol. I, pp. 10-11.

² *Ibid*, pp. 12-13

immediate benefits to the compact part of the city, so that it was not deemed expedient—if just—to tax the whole city for lighting the streets of the part specially benefited. Hence, in 1857, under an amendment of the charter, a Gas Precinct, with definite bounds, embracing the compact part of the city, was established “for the erection, maintenance, and regulation of lamp-posts, and for supplying the same with gas, in streets and commons, for the purpose of lighting said precinct;”¹ the expense to be assessed upon the taxable inhabitants and property thereof as in case of building schoolhouses in school districts. In this was set a precedent for precinct legislation to which resort was to be had in other matters. Under this ordinance the committee on lighting the streets was instructed in November, 1857, to cause twenty-one lamps then standing, and which had been erected by individuals, to be lighted at the expense of the precinct. These were respectively located as follows: At the North End, near Francis A. Fiske’s store; at the junction of Main street with Franklin, Washington, Fayette, Thompson, Thorndike, and Downing streets; at the junction of State street with Downing, Thorndike, Pleasant, Warren, School, Park, Centre, and Washington streets; at the junction of School street with Green, Spring, Rumford, and Merrimack streets; and at the corners of Pleasant and South, and of Warren and Green streets.

A few years later another forward step was taken when the city government provided steam “to man the brakes” for its faithful fire department. Fires involving more or less of actual or threatened loss were occurring with sufficient frequency to urge the adoption of improved means and methods for their extinguishment. On the 28th of December, 1856, Phenix hotel was destroyed. Three fires, especially notable, occurred in 1859, and consumed, on the 1st of February, the Concord Railroad passenger station, containing the offices of the Concord, Montreal, and Northern railroads, the telegraph office, and the commodious Depot hall—the famous scene of public gatherings, social, musical, literary, and political; on the 13th of June, the South Congregational church on the corner of Main and Pleasant streets, with other buildings near by, including the bakery of James S. Norris, and several shops and dwelling-houses; and, on the 10th of September, Odd Fellows’ hall, with places of business or residence in its neighborhood, on and near the corner of Main and Warren streets. Each autumn month of 1861 had its disastrous conflagration. On the 10th of September the car houses of the Concord and Northern railroads were destroyed, with their valuable contents. On the 4th of October were consumed, at the southwest corner of

¹ Amended charter, June 27, 1857.

Main and Centre streets, the dwelling-house and office of Dr. Charles P. Gage, Day's Marble Works, and the Merrimack House. On the 14th of November the flames swept over a compactly occupied area at the junction of Main and School streets, and on the south side of the latter. Of the buildings destroyed were the establishment of James R. Hill,—then employing one hundred men in making harnesses for the state and national governments, and equipments for the New Hampshire regiments,—the dwelling-houses of Chase Hill and Benjamin Damon, the shoe store of Joseph French, and the office of the Concord Gas-Light company.

The disastrous conflagrations just mentioned—especially those of 1861—quickened movements for providing the fire department with additional means for effective service. On the 30th of November a committee that had, under previous appointment, been considering the urgent needs of the city as to adequate protection against fire, reported, by Moses Humphrey and John Kimball, to the city council, as follows: "Your committee believe that the introduction of the Steam Fire Engine should no longer be delayed, and that arrangements should be made at once to add one to the fire department of this city—to take the place of the hand engine now located on Warren Street." The report was accepted, and an ordinance was passed in December authorizing Mayor Humphrey and Chief Engineer True Osgood to obtain a steam fire engine. Accordingly, in the spring of 1862, the steamer "Gov. Hill" took its place in the fire department system of Concord—to be joined in due time by others of its kind: for though the innovation was at first opposed, yet its advantages became so apparent within a year, that, as Chief Engineer Osgood reported, the question was often asked, "Why not change the other two engines, and get another steamer?"

When Concord became a city it had two hundred miles of highway and twenty bridges, large and small, for the maintenance of all of which the sum of four thousand dollars was appropriated, as had annually been done for twenty years. "This allowance," as Mayor Low reminded the city council in 1854, "experience" had "shown to be altogether insufficient for that purpose:" and that, "consequently, in order to meet the deficiency, large sums" had "annually been drawn directly from the treasury." The desirableness of a larger appropriation was recognized; and, in a year or two, the annual highway tax reached nine thousand dollars. This increase came none too soon, nor did it prove extravagant. Mayor Abbott, in 1857, declared it to be hardly sufficient to keep the roads and bridges in the passable condition required by law. "The number of indictments found against the city for insufficient roads," said Mayor

Clement in 1855, "has been by far too large, and our predecessors have found this a fruitful source of anxiety and care." In March, two years later, Mayor Abbott said: "There were four indictments on four several roads the past year; each of these roads has been satisfactorily repaired. There is now an indictment, which is yet unsettled, on that part of the road leading from Main street to East Concord, between Wattanummon and Federal bridges."

How to expend to better advantage the more liberal appropriations was a question which found one answer in an ordinance passed in 1855, creating the office of superintendent of repairs of highways and bridges; for it was realized that the capable supervision of one "discreet and suitable person" in this important department of municipal administration could not fail of effecting beneficial results. Elected by the city council, and vested with all the powers and duties, and subject to all the liabilities of highway surveyors, this new officer was to collect all taxes assessed for the building and repairing of highways and bridges, whether in money or labor, and to expend them at such times and places as in his judgment the interest of the city might require. He was also to appoint sub-agents or surveyors, approved by the mayor and aldermen, for the thirty-one highway districts—except Nos. 9, 27, and 28—and prescribe their limits. The excepted districts—which embraced wards four, five, six, and a part of seven—were to be considered one district, and were to be under the immediate supervision of the superintendent himself.

The first superintendent of repairs of highways and bridges was Augustine C. Pierce, who served acceptably for one year. In 1856 the office was held by the mayor—an arrangement that was to be continued for many years, and until the one highway district which had been made to embrace the whole city was placed under the supervision of a new officer, styled commissioner of highways.

But liberal appropriations and their wise and honest application could not entirely ward off the plague of road indictments. Mayor Willard, in 1860, was constrained to say, in his second inaugural: "A road which was considered safe and convenient in good old common-sense times is indictable now. There is a morbid sensitiveness on this subject with many persons; and with such, it is smart to make complaints. It is very easy to find something at almost any point that is not exactly perfect." Then, again, vexatious road suits were, for a while, much in vogue, brought to recover damages for injuries alleged to have been occasioned by defects in public thoroughfares. Though these actions at law were largely actuated by mercenary motives, and grounded upon exaggerated or fictitious in-

juries, yet surprising verdicts—as characterized by Mayor Clement in 1855—were often found, whereby the city was outrageously mulcted. Mayor Willard struck at this abuse in 1859, when he said: “People nowadays think more about how much they can recover of the city in case of accident than they care about how they can pass a temporary defect with safety. . . . We have suffered severely from a morbid and extravagant construction of the law relative to streets and sidewalks.” In speaking of this matter in 1861, Mayor Humphrey had this to say: “Large expenditures are annually required to keep our streets, highways, and bridges in repair, yet with all our expense for this purpose, suits are constantly brought against the city to recover heavy damages for alleged defects in highways. I would suggest whether it might not have a tendency to put a stop to the bringing of such actions, if each one brought—except in a clear case of neglect on the part of the city—should be promptly and vigorously contested in court.”

In later years of the city, claims for damages for highway defects were to be made, but with less frequency, and rarely with the sheer selfishness which largely actuated those of this earlier period. It ought also to be added that the newspapers—especially the *Statesman* and the *Independent Democrat*—had vigorously opposed those vexatious road suits—so vigorously, indeed, as occasionally to be threatened with process for contempt of court. In the *Statesman* of October 23d, 1863, appeared the following bit of effective irony: “The most remarkable of modern curative powers is a jury verdict with damages assessed to the amount of a few thousand dollars. This paper has uniformly urged the belief that most of what are called road cases have their origin in nothing but a desire for pelf. We are half inclined to retract our opposition in view of the brilliant medical results of success in suits of this character. If we could publish certificates of the nimbleness of tongues once speechless, the agility of legs once paralyzed, the recovery from ailments seen and unseen which had been pronounced beyond the reach of surgery, all effected by trial by jury, the public would be amazed at the curative effect of a verdict with damages.”

In the first year of the city an ordinance in relation to the width and construction of sidewalks was passed. It prescribed that the sidewalks on Main street should be eight feet wide; those on State street—or any other, three rods in width—six feet wide; and those on all streets less than three rods in width, four feet wide—the inclination of all from the outer edge not to exceed half an inch to the foot. They were to be laid true and even upon an established grade, and under the direction of the superintendent of streets. By an

ordinance passed six years later, the price of edge-stones, of whatever width or thickness, was fixed not to exceed twelve and a half cents per foot linear measure, and at a proportional rate for a portion of a foot. Six years later still—or in 1865—to encourage construction, the price per foot was increased to fifteen cents. All along from 1859 to 1867 ordinances were passed fixing the grade of sidewalks, including, at the last date, those of Fisherville or Penacook.

It may, also, here be noted that street sprinkling began to be practised in the summer of the city's first year. For, under a resolution adopted at a meeting of citizens held on the 18th of June, 1853, a subscription was raised for sprinkling Main street from Free Bridge road to Pleasant street. The sprinkler was soon in operation within the limits assigned, and so a beginning was made in a branch of street service which was to become of growing importance, as will hereafter be seen.

Peculiar interest attaches to Auburn street, laid out, constructed, and opened in 1860. The wooded eminence known as Prospect hill, with certain lands adjacent, had, in 1855 and 1856, come into the possession of John G. Hook. The purchaser, a convert in 1842 to the Miller or Advent faith, was already a preacher, having soon after conversion entered upon his remarkable evangelistic career of more than fifty years. But he neither then nor afterwards "preached for a living." With him, thrift followed industry and sagacity in secular callings and enterprises. His land purchase lay remotely to the westward of residential occupation at that time, but with characteristic enthusiasm he had calculated its advantages for such occupation. He opened through it eleven streets or avenues, and divided it into eligible house lots. Upon one of these he built his own home, and waited for neighbors to buy and occupy others. The West End, however, had not yet the charm for buyers and settlers which it was later to have. The proprietor, waiting for sales, realized the special necessity of facilitating the settlement of his neighborhood by opening a more direct route than that of existing thoroughfares, from the central portion of the city, over his hill, to Long pond; and, fortunately for him, many citizens were of like mind. The movement to that end, though finding considerable opposition, was at last successful, and in 1860 the city government laid out Auburn street from Little Pond road through the Stickney pasture to High street, and thence to Washington street in line with Centre. Being the lowest bidder, Mr. Hook promptly completed the construction.

The present and prospective importance of the new street suggested the appropriateness of opening it with formal celebration. This took place on Saturday, the 15th of September, 1860. Several

hundred citizens, including Mayor Willard with other members of the city government, and the petitioners for the street, moved in carriage procession, led by the Concord Cornet Band, from the Eagle hotel to and along Centre street to Auburn. Two large flags suspended across the new street drew from the procession hearty salutes, which were redoubled for the happy projector of the enterprise as he stood by the roadside to respond, hat in hand, to the honors paid him. Thence the march was continued to Little Pond road, along which it wound over highlands to the southern shore of Long pond. There the orator of the occasion, Lyman D. Stevens, made, from a rostrum supplied by "the rear end of a job wagon," a happy address. He was briefly followed by John H. George, Anson S. Marshall, and John G. Hook. The speaking was not post-prandial, for after it came a chowder, well relished, too, though "for it"—as a participant in the repast has testified—"the sea had done little, the pork barrel much."

The orator of the day, after tracing in his address the grand march of improvement which had, for the ten or fifteen preceding years, characterized the history of the city in many important particulars, including streets and highways, had said: "In these improvements of our highways we see indications of our progress in civilization. The opening, therefore, of this new and useful street is an achievement over which we may well rejoice. But let it not be thought that this is a victory which has been easily won. No fewer than five petitions were presented to the city council before Auburn street was laid out. . . . Permit me to allude to the enterprise out of which this street originated as a necessary consequence. Prospect hill, that beautiful eminence over which we passed on our way hither, was scarcely known to a large portion of the people of Concord six or seven years ago. It remained for our townsman, Mr. John Hook, first to perceive the marvelous beauty of the spot, and to come to the conclusion that at no distant day it would be sought for as one of the most desirable places of residence in the whole city. Without means, and I had almost said without friends—but I will not say that, for probity and industry always secure friends—he began to purchase the land. By careful management he succeeded in securing nearly the whole hill and other adjoining lands; and we may count it fortunate for us that Miller's prophecies of the Second Advent did not prove true, else we might suppose that our friend Hook, instead of participating with us in the festivities of this day, would have been speculating in corner lots in the New Jerusalem. . . . Some of our prominent citizens regarded the opening of this street with distrust and disapproval; but many others came up nobly to its support. . . . The work is now done, and as we can all attest, well done."

It may be recalled that the committee appointed by the town in 1842 to enlarge the Old Cemetery, reported the next year that an enlargement had been made, which it was believed would make that "graveyard equal to the public wants for half a century." But the increase in the number of the living—as told by the census—from four thousand nine hundred three in 1840 to eight thousand five hundred seventy-six in 1850, and to ten thousand eight hundred ninety-six in 1860, with the corresponding increase in the number of the dead, so far outstripped the calculations of the committee that within sixteen years it became necessary for the city to provide an additional burying-place. Earlier even, private enterprise had secured a burial plat alongside the old ground, and called it the "Minot Enclosure."

On the 26th of November, 1859, the city council authorized, by resolution, Shadrach Seavey, John C. Briggs, Josiah Minot, Caleb Parker, and Joseph B. Walker, to purchase of Francis N. Fiske, for the purposes of a cemetery, a tract of land upon and near Wood's brook, not exceeding thirty acres, and at a price not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars per acre. The land was purchased at once for forty-five hundred dollars; and on the 4th of February, 1860, an ordinance entrusted the Old Cemetery, and the ground thus purchased for a new cemetery, to the care of a cemetery committee of three, consisting of Joseph B. Walker, Enos Blake, and George B. Chandler, the term of one to expire each year. As early in the year as possible the committee made a careful survey of the newly purchased tract to ascertain its condition and capacities of improvement for the purposes to which it had been devoted, and proceeded at once to such operations as seemed necessary and desirable for the immediate occupancy of the grounds.¹

The formal consecration of these grounds to their sacred purpose occurred with appropriate services on the 13th of July, 1860. An introductory statement made by Joseph B. Walker, of the cemetery committee, was followed by remarks of Mayor Willard. The prayer of invocation was offered by the Rev. Dr. Ebenezer E. Cummings; that of consecration by the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Bouton. Scripture selections were read by the Reverend Henry E. Parker, and hymns, read by other clergymen of the city, were sung. The oration was delivered by William L. Foster. At the close of the consecration exercises, it was, on motion of Richard Bradley, decided by a vote of those present that the beautiful resting-place of the dead should be called Blossom Hill Cemetery.

During the first year the ground was surveyed and laid out by

¹ First Annual Report of Cemetery Committee for year ending Feb. 1, 1861.

John C. Briggs, "whose eminent ability as a civil engineer"—in the language of the committee—was "fully equalled by his skill and taste as a landscape gardener." The committee further reported at the end of the year that one hundred seventy lots had been laid out and accurately defined; that these had also been appraised at values varying from five to forty-five dollars each; that twenty of them had been sold at an average price of fifteen dollars and fifty-two cents; and that, in exception, one, very large and eligible, had brought one hundred twenty-three dollars and thirty-three cents.¹ It was also reported that about a mile and a half of carriage avenues had been constructed; that large quantities of brush and other litter had been removed from the forest land; and that such portions of the other ground as were not already in grass had been seeded down. The committee felt confident that at no very distant day, by a judicious expenditure of the receipts from the sale of lots, the first cost of the land and interest, with all expenses for improvements, might be paid and the citizens of Concord be possessed of one of the most accessible and beautiful cemeteries in the country.¹

Attention was also paid to the Old Cemetery, the west portion of which had been regularly laid out into paths, avenues, and lots, sixteen years before, but which wore the general appearance of neglect, notwithstanding very many embellishments had been made upon individual lots.¹ Of the four hundred and thirty-five lots which had been laid out almost every one was claimed and occupied; but for three hundred and thirty nothing had been received by the city, and no deeds had been given.¹ The collection of the sums due was committed to the city treasurer, and was prosecuted with a good degree of success. Thereafter the historic ground, venerable with the associations of Penacook, Rumford, and Concord, was to receive more careful and systematic attention from the proper authorities; while, in 1863, the cemeteries in Wards 1, 2, 3, and 7 came under the direction of the city.

With the growth of Concord in the essentials of a progressive municipality, its post-office naturally grew in importance. The post-mastership, though generally changing with each party change of the national administration, always found itself in hands worthy of the trust. The postmasters who served in the course of the half century from 1791 to 1841 have already been mentioned; those belonging to the succeeding quarter of a century may here be added. Robert Davis held the postmastership under the Tyler administration, and was succeeded, in 1845, by Joseph Robinson, who was Polk's appointee, and held the place till 1849. Ephraim Hutchins

¹ First Annual Report of Cemetery Committee for year ending Feb. 1, 1861.

was his successor, and was in office four years under the Taylor-Fillmore administration. In 1853 President Pierce appointed Jacob Carter to the postmastership, which he held during Pierce's administration and most of Buchanan's. Having resigned, he was succeeded for a few months by Benjamin Grover. Upon the accession of President Lincoln, Robert N. Corning became postmaster. He served during Lincoln's first term, through the few days of the second, and into that of Andrew Johnson, until his own death, when his widow assumed the responsibility of the office in behalf of the bondsmen, until the appointment of Moses T. Willard in 1868.

During the terms of Postmasters Davis and Robinson the location of the office was near the southeast corner of Main and Centre streets, on the west side of the former. Postmaster Hutchins changed the location to the old post-office building, which was situated on the northerly side of School street near its junction with Main, and had been occupied ten years by Postmaster William Low. This continued to be the home of the Concord post-office for about twelve years, till Postmaster Corning removed it across School street into the westward extension of State block, a fine structure of brick just erected by James R. Hill upon the ashes of the fire of 1861.



Old Post-office on Site of Board of Trade Building.

The city's first twelve years covered a period of the country's most important political history. During the first eight—from 1853 to 1861—Slavery was the one question in politics, which during the last four—from 1861 to 1865—was settled by the stern arbitrament of war. In the preceding chapter mention has been made of the sweeping Democratic victory won in New Hampshire and its capital at the March election of 1853, four days after the inauguration of Franklin Pierce. At that time the new administration had the unanimous support of its party; but within one year it began to lose that unanimity. One cause of the change was the support given by the president to the bill brought into congress in the winter of 1853-'54, for establishing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska in preparation for their admission as states, either slave or free. This measure annulled the Missouri Compromise of 1820, under which Missouri had been admitted as a slave state, but by which slavery had been forever prohibited in all the rest of the territory ceded by

France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, and lying north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude.

While the Kansas-Nebraska bill was pending in congress, the people of the president's own state had opportunity partially to express their opinion upon this prominent measure of his administration. The result of the March election of 1854 was one of that kind of Democratic victories which sagacious members of the winning party were not particularly desirous of seeing repeated. Upon the total governor vote, one thousand larger than that of 1853, the Whig and Democratic parties each lost one thousand votes, while the Freesoil party, declaring steadfast opposition to the spread of slavery into the territories of the Union, gained three thousand. Nathaniel B. Baker, the popular Democratic candidate, was elected, though by a majority reduced to one third of that given for Governor Martin the year before. A safer test, however, of the change in popular feeling within the year was afforded in the result as to the house of representatives of the state legislature, wherein the Democratic majority of eighty-nine in 1853 was almost entirely swept away. In Concord the Democratic majority for governor was ninety—one half that of 1853: while of its ten members of the general court only two were Democrats instead of the eight of the preceding year.

Before the legislature met in June the Kansas-Nebraska bill had become a law. Though a Democratic organization of each branch was secured by a narrow majority,—that on the choice of speaker of the house being only two,—and though a Democratic secretary of state and state treasurer were re-elected, yet repeated attempts to choose a senator of the United States in place of Charles G. Atherton, deceased, came to nothing—the Administration-Democrats lacking the twelve or fifteen votes necessary to elect John S. Wells. Certain other Democrats—sometimes distinguished as the Old Guard—did not see fit to help elect the candidate of an administration to which they had become more or less averse, but preferred to contribute to a negative result by supporting for senator George W. Morrison, who had resisted in the lower house of congress the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. They also helped to make up the decisive majority of more than forty in the passage of resolutions long discussed in the house of representatives, denouncing the Kansas-Nebraska measure as “unnecessary, impolitic, a breach of faith with the North, dangerous and wrong.” Meanwhile, too, a positive decision of some political significance had been reached in a sharp and protracted contest over the election of State Printer. For more than twenty-five successive years—1846 excepted—the public

printing had fallen to the *New Hampshire Patriot*. Now, however, that paper, Democratic and Administration, was cast aside for the *State Capital Reporter*, Democratic but not Administration; for the legislature, on the first day of July, 1854, elected Amos Hadley of the latter as state printer over William Butterfield of the former, by one hundred sixty-five votes to one hundred fifty-three, or a majority of twelve.

The American party, which found sure foothold in New Hampshire during the political year 1854-'55, served to strengthen opposition to the national administration—especially as to its recent prominent measure. Americanism, as it existed in New Hampshire, while asserting subordinately a policy as to foreigners and foreign influence too restrictive in some points, always opposed the fallacies of “popular sovereignty and congressional non-intervention,” under which slavery veiled its evil designs. It is not strange, therefore, that men of the old parties, waiving scruples as to minor points, should have entered the new party in order that, under its efficient organization, they might to better advantage contend upon the main issue. Hence, the American party, nicknamed the Know-Nothing, having its secret councils—or confidential clubs—as influential centers of skilfully-directed political effort, attracted a membership counted by tens of thousands. This party, moreover, had the support of many who did not enter the inner circle of its secret organization, but who could stand with it in its position upon the paramount political question of the day.

By the second Tuesday of March, 1855, political interest had been thoroughly aroused in the popular mind by ordinary campaign appliances, superadded to the secret and still more effective movements of the new party. As one result, the then unprecedented total of nearly sixty-five thousand votes for governor was cast. To that total, the American party contributed, in round numbers, nearly thirty-three thousand; the Democratic party, twenty-seven thousand; the still-organized remnant of the Whig party, thirty-five hundred; a like remnant of the Freesoil party, thirteen hundred; and scattering, nearly two hundred. Thus Ralph Metcalf, the American candidate for governor, had a plurality of six thousand over Governor Baker, the Administration nominee for re-election; a plurality that, but for the deflection of some five thousand Whig and Freesoil votes to other anti-Democratic candidates, would have been a majority of nearly eleven thousand, instead of about one thousand over all, as it had to be counted. This anti-Democratic—substantially American—majority of more than ten thousand, as indicated by the governor vote, secured a sweeping anti-Democratic victory, whereby the

railroad commissioner, the entire council, three members of congress, eleven twelfths of the state senate, two thirds of the house of representatives, and three fourths of the county officers were of the American party.

Concord, which had been a lively and influential center of party movements in this contest, epitomized, as it were, the results of the state election in its own. Its governor vote, as distributed among the parties, stood: American, ten hundred ninety-four; Democratic, seven hundred seventy-four; Whig, one hundred twenty; Freesoil, fifty-four—making a result of four hundred ninety-four anti-Democratic majority. Since the majority of the Democratic party had been, in 1854, eighty-one, its loss within the year netted five hundred seventy-five. Concord, in every ward, was American. Hence, its municipal government was entirely American: hence, too, it contributed to the overwhelming American majority of the general court a full delegation of ten.

The American party in New Hampshire retained its distinctive organization until the March election of 1856. Latterly, however, the designation American-Republican had come somewhat into use in view of the maturing movement for creating a new party which should embrace in its membership all opposed to the extension of slavery, and which should bear the name Republican. The result of that election—the first of the eighteenth presidential year—came of a severe contest, in which the Democratic party fought desperately to regain ascendancy and to bring back the president's own state to the support of his administration. But it was more successful in reducing opposition majorities than in overcoming them, so that the American party achieved a victory practically as decisive as that of the year before. In the matter of the governorship, an anti-Democratic majority of twenty-five hundred was obtained, though Ralph Metcalf, the American candidate, was not elected by the people. But this result merely transferred the choice to a legislature safely American. In brief, the state government remained completely in the hands of the American-Republican party.

The city of Concord stood with especial steadfastness by the prevailing party, even making a gain of seventy-five votes for Governor Metcalf over the previous year's result. Ward 2 alone went over to the Democratic side. In Ward 4, than in which no severer struggle occurred anywhere in the state, American ascendancy was fully maintained. The ward had, in 1855, elected Edward H. Rollins to the general court; this year it re-elected him, and he became Concord's third occupant of the speaker's chair. Mr. Rollins had come to Concord as a young man, and worked as a clerk in a drug store, which

he subsequently bought. He early took an active interest in politics, and when the Republican party was organized became the first chairman of its state committee, a position to which he was several times re-elected. In those days political parties had no headquarters, as the term is now understood, and the work of organizing the Republican party in this state was largely done in the back office of Mr. Rollins's drug store, which stood on Main street just north of the Eagle hotel. Four years after Mr. Rollins's election as speaker, he was nominated and elected to congress, where he served for six years, which covered the entire Civil War period. He rendered great service to the state and its citizens during this period, and measured by the results accomplished, he was unquestionably the most influential member of the New Hampshire delegation in congress. After his retirement from congress he was made treasurer of the Union Pacific Railroad, a position which he held until his election in 1876 to the United States senate. In all political positions held by him, his industry, energy, and perseverance contributed materially to the welfare of the state he represented. It is doubtful if New Hampshire ever had a more useful representative in the national councils. He had a strong attachment to Concord, which for the greater part of his life was his home. His last service for the city was securing for it the handsome granite post-office building, which is a monument of his zeal for the interests of his native state.

The American party had now made its last appearance, under that name, upon the field of New Hampshire politics. It was ere long to be incorporated as a corps of a great political army under one national standard. On the 17th of June, 1856, delegates from all the free states, some of the slave states along the northern border, and several territories, including Kansas, met in Republican National Convention at Philadelphia. The New Hampshire delegation had been selected at a mass convention held at Concord on the 10th of June, upon an invitation addressed to "all, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into the territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state, and of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of the patriot fathers." The Concord member of the delegation was George G. Fogg, who also served as a secretary of the Philadelphia convention. Upon the accession of the Republican party to power in the nation, he was appointed minister to Switzerland by President Lincoln, and subsequently became United States senator to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Daniel Clark.

The National Convention nominated John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton to head the Republican ticket, and adopted a bold, unequivocal platform. In New Hampshire the American party gave ready adherence to ticket and platform, and became one with the Republican party.

The Democratic National Convention, held at Cincinnati during the first week in June, had nominated James Buchanan for president over competitors, including President Pierce, who was supported for re-nomination. John C. Breckenridge became the candidate for vice-president. The nominees were placed upon a platform recognizing the Kansas-Nebraska measure "as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question," thus making approval thereof, and acquiescence therein, a test of Democratic fealty. This action was ratified by a mass meeting of the Democracy of New Hampshire, held at Concord on the 17th of June—the day on which the Philadelphia convention assembled. The occasion was reckoned by the party in whose interests it was held as an auspicious opening of its campaign. On the evening of the next day, Concord was again astir over the news of Fremont's nomination. On the succeeding day, when the Philadelphia convention had closed its labors, one hundred guns helped to express the popular gratification; while, at a crowded meeting in Depot hall, Fremont Club No. 1 was formed, and the determination reached to hold at Concord, on the ensuing 4th of July, a grand ratification meeting of the Republican party of New Hampshire. That meeting was held upon the appointed day, with such emphatic success as to encourage its party with the hope—not to be disappointed—that the Granite State was sure for Fremont by five thousand majority. The predominant public opinion of the state and of its capital found expression in resolutions passed at a large meeting of citizens, convened in Phenix hall, on the evening of the last day of May, to voice indignant condemnation of Slavery's bludgeon assault upon Charles Sumner in the senate of the United States, as well as of its recent outrages in Kansas.

The course of events tended to intensify such views: for the practical working of the Kansas-Nebraska measure went from bad to worse. It became more and more difficult to defend the measure, and to recommend the policy pursued under it to the approval of the mind and conscience of the people. Appeals for charitable relief were made by the bona fide settlers of Kansas suffering from "border ruffian" outrages at the hands of pro-slavery intruders. Amid the din of the political contest, those appeals were heard in the Free North—and heeded. In Concord, early in October, a "Ladies' Kansas Aid Society" was established, for procuring supplies of clothing

and other necessaries for the relief of Free State emigrants, especially during the coming inclement season. Its membership embraced ladies from all the religious societies in the city. Within a month the officers of the society—Mrs. Richard Bradley, president; Mrs. J. A. Prescott, secretary; and Mrs. John C. Briggs, treasurer—reported contributions amounting to five hundred twenty-seven dollars, the greater part of which had already been forwarded to Kansas. “Although highly gratified with what had been done,” added the report, “the ladies who have this enterprise at heart are not disposed to relax their efforts, while the destitution which first excited their sympathy continues to exist.”

The club organization in this campaign was efficient. The Keystone and the Fremont clubs were the generators of political light and heat for their respective parties. There were many of these in the state, and at least five in Concord, four of which, including the “Young America” and the “Democratic,” bore the name of Fremont. The members of this “Democratic Fremont” club, numbering about two hundred fifty, had voted for Franklin Pierce in 1852; and some of them had supported the administration party at later dates, even to the March election of 1856. For this and the other Fremont clubs of the city, Rumford hall became the headquarters under the name of Fremont Camp.

In New Hampshire, both parties hoped for victory in state and nation: and both, accordingly, put forth their best efforts. They flung their numerous banners to the breeze; and under these marched in procession of thousands—as, for instance, did the Republicans, on the 4th of July, and the Democrats, on the 5th of September, when respectively assembled at Concord, in mass convention. Sometimes, at evening, a brilliant pyrotechnic display in Railroad square rounded the exercises of the day. Torch-light processions were also much in evidence. Thus a large torch-light company was organized in Concord, “which went into most of the principal towns of southern New Hampshire hurrahing for Fremont.”¹ Its greatest display occurred in Concord, on the evening of the 23d of October, though the national defeat of the Republican party in November was felt to be almost certain from the result of the recent state election in Pennsylvania, the pivotal state. In this bold, magnificent demonstration, the Republicans of Manchester, Nashua, and other places participated. The procession—under the chief-marshalship of John C. Briggs, with sixty marshals and assistants in charge of the Concord portion—“went over;” as a participant¹ has written, “the principal streets, and then counter-marched in alternate lines in State House park until that square was

¹ Henry McFarland's “Personal Recollections,” 172.

full to overflowing, beside thousands of men to spare. There were illuminated decorations, torches, the light of which shone far up on the clouds, and the air was full of colored fire discharged from Roman candles."

President Pierce visited Concord on the second day of October, 1856. But the warmth, spontaneity, and unanimity of welcome which had characterized former presidential visits were somewhat lacking. Those visits, however, were not made at the heated climax of hot political contests, in which the policy of their respective administrations was the burning question at issue. The special features of this reception find minute delineation in another chapter.

In November occurred the presidential election, the national result of which was a Republican defeat; James Buchanan having received one hundred seventy-four electoral votes, and John C. Fremont one hundred fourteen. But in support of the Republican candidate New Hampshire, on a total vote of more than seventy-one thousand, including four hundred for Fillmore, chose the Republican electoral ticket by a majority of more than five thousand. To this majority, Concord contributed four hundred fifty-two—being two hundred twelve more than Pierce's majority in 1852. These results in state and town verify the assertion, that nowhere during the great political campaign had enthusiasm run higher for the "Pathfinder" and his cause; and that nowhere had the magnetic alliteration, "Fremont and Freedom," signified more than in New Hampshire and its capital.

Four months after the presidential campaign of 1856 New Hampshire had to fight another battle, the opening one in the great struggle which was to reach decision in November, 1860. Each party did its best: the Democratic, with the sanguine hope of at least dividing the field with the enemy; the Republican, with confident determination that would accept nothing but complete victory. The result, as the *New Hampshire Patriot* testified, on the morning after the second Tuesday of March, 1857, was "a complete, sweeping Black Republican triumph." The governor vote showed twenty-four hundred majority, while the majorities for the three members of congress aggregated four thousand. Such figures carried with them Republican predominance in the various departments of government, state, county, and town, where elections turned upon general political issues. It may here be summarily stated that, at the elections of 1858-'60, the average Republican majority on the governor vote was four thousand. The figures, however, rose five hundred higher in the re-election of William Haile in 1858, and in that of Ichabod Goodwin in 1860. Concord, during these four years, never gave less than four hundred Republican majority for the general ticket, and, in 1858, gave five

hundred lacking six, outdoing any other town or city in the state. From the nine of its ten members of the general court, whom it steadily contributed to the sixty or seventy Republican majority in the house of representatives, Napoleon B. Bryant was chosen speaker in 1858-'59, directly succeeding Edward H. Rollins, who had occupied the chair for two terms.

A few days before the March election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, already recognized as one of the great leaders of Republican thought and action in the land, appeared in Concord and addressed the people. His speech was a marvelous effort, of matchless grasp, of cogent logic, and of captivating eloquence, that, from beginning to end, held entranced his large audience, convened at short notice in Phenix hall, on that rainy afternoon of early March. The *New Hampshire Statesman* characterized it as "an argument against the system of Slavery, and in defense of the position of the Republican party, from the deductions of which no reasonable man could possibly escape." The *Independent Democrat* described it as "masterly and massive, sweeping away every refuge of modern Democracy as smoke is swept before the wind; and producing an effect which cannot but tell on the understanding and conscience of many Democrats who heard."

That masterpiece of political oratory was also a revelation of the clear moral insight and keen political sagacity of the really great and good statesman. Hence, when the orator had closed amid enthusiastic applause that had a heart in every cheer, more than one listener instinctively prophesied to his neighbor, "That man will be the next president of the United States."

Abraham Lincoln had just made his memorable appearance in Concord, when the first state election in the year of the nineteenth presidential campaign occurred. The result of that election has already been indicated, and was of a character to encourage Republican hopes everywhere, that as New Hampshire had gone in March so the country would go in November. Early subsequent events intensified those hopes to almost absolute assurance. The Republican National Convention met at Chicago on the 16th of May and organized; unanimously adopted on the 17th a platform unqualifiedly declaring opposition to the extension of slavery into territory then free; and on the 18th nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for president, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for vice-president. The three days' work was received with joyful Republican satisfaction all over the North, nowhere with more than in New Hampshire. In Concord,—two of whose citizens, Edward H. Rollins, as a delegate at large, and George G. Fogg, as a member of the National Committee,

had been upon the ground, and active participants in the proceedings,—the news of the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, arriving on the 18th of May, rekindled the enthusiasm of the Fremont campaign, and “at sundown,” as jubilantly expressed by one newspaper, “The big gun was brought out, and its hundred rousing utterances told the enthusiastic joy of the Republicans, and that their cartridges had not been damaged by long keeping, as not unlikely may be those prepared some time ago by our Democratic friends to be fired in honor of the nomination of Douglas at Charleston.”

This playful allusion to damaged ammunition related to the suspended result of the Democratic National Convention, which, having met at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of April, had failed, contrary to Northern expectations, of nominating Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois to the presidency. For that convention had split, the friends of Douglas insisting upon a platform favoring congressional non-intervention as to slavery in the territories, coupled with popular sovereignty, while his opponents stiffly insisted upon a platform of non-intervention without the principle of popular sovereignty, but with a worse—that of the Dred Scott Decision which involved the possible practical effect of making the whole country slave territory. At adjourned conventions held at Baltimore in June, the friends of Douglas nominated him for the presidency, while his opponents set up John C. Breckinridge for the same office. Of course, this party disruption, virtually ensuring Republican victory in the coming contest, could not but dampen Democratic enthusiasm. Yet in Concord, on the evening of the 27th of June, was held a plucky Douglas demonstration for the purpose of receiving the reports of the New Hampshire delegation in the Charleston and Baltimore conventions. A well-attended meeting convened in Rumford hall, at which Thomas P. Treadwell presided and made an opening speech. The assemblage then repaired to the stand outside the state house yard and in front of the Eagle hotel, to listen to other speaking. Guns and rockets were discharged, bonfires were lighted in Main street, and the Concord Band discoursed patriotic music. The delegation, of which Josiah Minot, of Concord, was one, related their convention experience to a large gathering of citizens of all parties. The speeches of Walter Harriman, of Warner, John H. George, of Concord, and George W. Stevens, of Laconia, were the other contributions to the eloquence of the occasion.

The next evening the city was again astir with a Republican demonstration, in which the Wide Awake clubs took the leading part. These had been organized in Wards 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6, within one month after Lincoln's nomination, and now, two hundred strong, uni-

formed and completely equipped for campaign service, they mustered, at central headquarters, in their first grand rally. Here, rallied with them another organization, bearing the suggestive name of "Rail-splitters," and already numbering more than a hundred men, who carried axes, mallets, and rails; while, also, appeared upon the scene, a delegation of sturdy Norcross log-drivers with huge pikes in hand. This literally wide-awake demonstration had as its prominent feature the torch-light procession,—a feature which had proved to be an inspiring attraction in the Fremont campaign. This earliest procession of the present campaign, having in its ranks more than five hundred men bearing torches, banners, and transparencies, and headed by the Concord and Fisherville Cornet bands, passed in a long march through the streets, amid cheering crowds of spectators, and between lines of residences and other buildings brilliantly illuminated. Its final halt was made at the Main street front of the state house yard, where, meanwhile, speaking had been going on, and was to be continued to a late hour, with Edward H. Rollins and Napoleon B. Bryant among the principal speakers.

This early and exclusively Concord demonstration was a fit harbinger of the grand New Hampshire rally that, four months later, would and did come off at the capital, when October the twenty-seventh foretold with absolute assurance the Republican triumph, which November the sixth would record. This final state demonstration in the presidential campaign had its attendance of six thousand, day and evening, including the Wide Awakes of Concord, Manchester, Portsmouth, Nashua, Lakeport, and Derry; the Railsplitters of Fisherville; and the mounted Lincoln Guard of Concord, uniformed and numbering two hundred. Among its speakers were Governor Goodwin of New Hampshire, Governor Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Anson Burlingame of Massachusetts. Its torch-light procession of fourteen hundred men marched to the music of eight well-trained bands, along a route brilliant with special illumination and elaborate decoration.

Among other electioneering demonstrations witnessed in Concord during the lively campaign was the visit of Stephen A. Douglas, one of the four presidential candidates. This occurred on the last day of July, and was an occasion for which his supporters had made due preparation, and from which they counted that considerable advantage might be gained. It proved to be a very creditable and enthusiastic reception of the distinguished visitor, though mostly local in character. Gala decorations, symbolic of welcome and respect, were not lacking. Unpartisan hospitality was also manifested in the profusion of flags that graced the scene. The candidate, as on that

bright afternoon he rode in cheerful procession from the station through Main, Washington, State, and School streets, passed beneath banners in goodly numbers, bearing his own name, as well as fourteen others inscribed with that of Lincoln, and two with that of Breckinridge. An attentive audience of two thousand, gathered in state house park, listened to his speech, the main feature of the day—a speech characteristically able and brilliant. Noteworthy and significant, in the light of early future events, was the speaker's generous reference to his Republican antagonist for the presidency, wherein he pronounced him both honest and able, and advised the Democratic party neither to berate nor underrate Abraham Lincoln, either as a man or a candidate. Was this in forecast of early results, in consequence of which Douglas defeated and Lincoln elected would stand together in defense of the Union? For the speaker was within a year of the end of life—a year which, before that end should come, would find him giving the new administration full support in suppressing rebellion. The occasion, though especially an incident of political history, had, withal, its pleasant significance as a social event, in the reception accorded, without party distinction, to the visitor and to his wife, the companion of his journey. In the evening, Mr. Douglas exchanged handshakes with citizens in the city hall, while Mrs. Douglas received the civilities of the ladies of Concord at the residence¹ of Oliver Sanborn, where the visitors were entertained during the night.

Concord had its four parties, the platforms of three of which—the Republican, the Douglas-Democratic, and the Breckinridge-Democratic—have already been described. The fourth, styled the Constitutional Union, but sometimes designated the Bell-Everett, from the names of its candidates, John Bell and Edward Everett, “recognized no political principle other than the constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws.” Its followers were few. The Breckinridge-Democratic organization was also an unimportant political factor in New Hampshire. The tug of war had been between the Republicans and the Douglas-Democrats during the great contest that came to its decision at the polls on the 6th of November. New Hampshire chose five Lincoln electors by a majority of nearly nine thousand one hundred votes—or exactly nine thousand eighty-five. Her vote distributed among the four candidates stood: for Lincoln, 37,519; for Douglas, 25,881; for Breckinridge, 2,112; for Bell, 441. Concord gave Lincoln 1,408 votes; Douglas, 772; Breckinridge, 33; Bell, 13. The Republican majorities in state and city were respectively the largest ever hitherto won by any party.

¹ That of Henry Robinson in 1900.

This was the last presidential election in which the extension of slavery into free territory—including its nationalization—would be an issue for fair and peaceful decision at the ballot-box. Secession was now the method tried; and, during the last four months of Buchanan's administration, seven cotton states declared themselves out of the Union, and set up a new Confederacy with slavery for its corner-stone, and Jefferson Davis¹ for its president. During these months of suspense New Hampshire was engaged in the campaign of a state election to be decided on the 12th of March, 1861—a week after the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. The state convention of the Republican and Democratic parties had met in Concord on the same day—the 8th of January—and respectively nominated their gubernatorial candidates—Nathaniel S. Berry and George Stark. At noon, by resolution of the Republican convention, the bells in the city were rung, and a national salute was fired, especially in honor of the gallant and patriotic action of Major Robert Anderson, who, in view of the mischievous projects of the South, had, on the 26th of December, 1860, transferred his command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Later in the day a similar salute was fired under resolution adopted by the Democratic convention.

The election resulted in retaining complete Republican ascendancy in the state. Three members of congress—one of whom was Edward H. Rollins, the second citizen of Concord thus honored—were elected to support the newly inaugurated administration of Abraham Lincoln. Concord contributed to the state majority four hundred seventy-two. Indeed, the strong Union sentiment in Concord had not been misrepresented by the pastor of the North church in his sermon preached on Sabbath afternoon (January 6), and soon printed and circulated, wherein he urged obedience to the constitution and the laws, and cogently argued that coercion was the only effective remedy for disobedience and attempted secession.²

NOTES.

Wards Defined. Under the charter and its amendments (exclusive of those constituting Wards Eight and Nine) Ward One embraced the territory comprised within School Districts numbered One, Two, and Twenty, except the farm of Jonathan B. Ferrin; Ward Two, the territory situate on the east side of Merrimack River, northerly of the centre of the highway leading from Free Bridge to North Pembroke; Ward Three, the territory comprised within School Districts

¹ See note, Jefferson Davis in Concord, at close of chapter.

² See Peace Commission in note at close of chapter.

numbered Three, Four, and Five, together with the John Alexander, Andrew Buswell, and Jonathan B. Ferrin farms; Ward Four, the territory comprised within School Districts numbered Six and Eleven, together with that portion of School District numbered Ten situate northerly of a line passing through the centre of Free Bridge Road to the centre of Main Street, thence northerly on the centre line of Main Street to a point opposite the centre of Centre Street, thence through the centre of Centre Street to the centre of Fruit Street, thence to the west line of School District numbered Six, and the homestead farm of Charles Fisk, in School District numbered Eight: Ward Five, the territory beginning at a point on the westerly bank of the Merrimack River, in the centre of Free Bridge Road, thence on the centre line of said road to the centre of Main street, thence northerly on the centre line of Main Street to a point opposite the centre of Centre Street, thence on the centre line of Centre Street to the centre of Fruit Street, thence on the centre line of Fruit Street to the centre of Pleasant Street, thence through the centre of Pleasant Street and across Main Street, and thence in a line at right angles to said Main Street at that point to Merrimack River, thence up said river to the centre of Free Bridge Road; Ward Six, the territory comprised between the south line of Ward Five and a line drawn from the centre of Washington street, at its intersection with Pleasant Street, through the centre of the road leading from Washington Street to the Bog Road, to its intersection with the Bog Road, thence through the centre of the Bog Road, and across South Street, through the centre of Downing Street, across Main Street, thence in a line due east to Merrimack River, thence up said river to the south line of Ward Five; Ward Seven, all the remaining territory of said city, not included in the other Wards.

The "County Building" and the Old Town and Court House. Near the old town house, at its southeasterly corner, had been erected, in 1844, by the county of Merrimack, a two-storied structure of brick with rough granite trimmings, and of dimensions forty-two by thirty-three feet. In materials and finish this "County Building," as it was named, was intended to be fire-proof. There the county records were kept in the offices of the clerk of the courts and the registers of deeds and probate. It disappeared in the early fifties, when the new city and county building was erected, having contributed its brick and stone to that edifice. The old town and court house, having given place to the new building, found location at a short distance south of Bridge street, near the track of the Northern Railroad, where it stood for more than thirty years, and until its destruction by fire in 1883. It may here be added that thirteen years earlier the same fate befell

the Old North church, the elder town house, at midnight of November 28, 1870.

Jefferson Davis in Concord. Jefferson Davis, secretary of war, accompanied by Professor Alexander Bache, of the coast survey, arrived in town on Saturday, August 20, 1853. Having dined at the Phenix, and taken a ride about town, Mr. Davis received calls from citizens at the Eagle. He afterwards left for the lakes and mountains on a brief tour. Those who had shaken hands and conversed with him at the informal reception, little thought then what a decade would bring forth, and that President Pierce's cabinet officer would be the president of a Confederacy arrayed in rebellion against the Union.

A Peace Commission. The state of Virginia recommended a conference of commissioners from the several states to meet in Washington on the 4th of February, 1861, to consider the condition of the country. Governor Goodwin requested Amos Tuck, Levi Chamberlain, and Asa Fowler to attend the proposed peace conference as commissioners for New Hampshire. Twenty states were represented—thirteen free and seven slave. Ex-President John Tyler presided. The conference was in session twenty-one days, but could agree upon no practicable plan for a peaceful settlement of the slavery question.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CITY OF CONCORD.—THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WAR.

1861—1865.¹

Definite intelligence of the attack on Fort Sumter was received in Concord on the morning of Saturday, April 13, 1861. It was a morning of leaden sky and drizzling rain—atmospheric conditions quite suited to the gloomy tidings borne by the telegraph from the South. Soon neighbors, wherever they met, were exchanging anxious views upon the new and alarming situation. In newspaper offices, as special centers of gathering for citizens seeking and discussing information; in hotels; in establishments, mechanical or mercantile; in places of business; and even in the homes of the people, excitement reigned, and “Sumter” was upon every tongue. To some in Concord, as elsewhere, this overt act of rebellion seemed but a rash outbreak of Southern passion that would soon subside; to others it seemed the beginning of a war which was more likely to be long than short. In fact, the gloomy cloud of uncertainty was too dense to permit of prophecy. But on that day many Concord young men manifested a readiness to engage in the military service of their country; and it is believed that all who evinced such a spirit did actually enlist—many of them to lay down their lives in that service. “The storm has burst,” said a friend that day to Edward E. Sturtevant, Concord’s faithful, bold-hearted, iron-nerved policeman: “Yes, and I shall be in the thickest of it,” was the quick, prophetic response.

In the forenoon of Sunday, the 14th, came the news of the surrender of the fort. It met the people returning from morning services in the churches. The telegraph office was opened at noon to the crowd gathered to learn particulars. Groups of earnest citizens were collected at various places repeating and discussing what they had heard, with the anxiety of yesterday intensified. Those who attended the afternoon and evening services of public worship were burdened with thoughts of the evil and portentous event. It was remarked by aged and lifelong residents of Concord that, though they had witnessed many exciting occurrences here, no such intense feeling was ever before manifested.

¹ The narration of events—excepting those political, and those exclusively belonging to the Civil War—has run, in the preceding chapter, to 1865; while that of events of the war period proper also extends, in the present chapter, to the same date.

On Monday, the 15th of April, was issued the proclamation of President Lincoln calling for seventy-five thousand troops for three months. The telegraphic announcement of the proclamation reached Concord about eight o'clock in the morning. Some friends of Edward E. Sturtevant—whose prophetic declaration two days before has been noted, and who was anticipating an early call for troops—went, by previous appointment, to his boarding-place, aroused the tired night-watchman from his short nap, and told him the news. Without delay he was up, and forthwith was away to the adjutant-general's office, in the state house, to offer his services. Coming thence upon Main street, New Hampshire's first volunteer in the War for the Union met Concord's newly-elected mayor, Moses Humphrey, and found him ready at once to adopt the plan of temporary, or provisional, enlistment, by taking the names of such as would regularly enlist when the state authorities should have issued the regular call for volunteers.

While the mayor went to obtain a recruiting office, the active policeman, with characteristic promptness,—somewhat tinctured, in this case, with playfulness,—hastily pitched a small tent, outside and east of the state house yard, for the purpose, as he pleasantly said to friends who called upon him under canvas, of showing what volunteers were coming to. This early tent pitching—probably the earliest in the war—provided a temporary recruiting station, at which, though not long occupied, New Hampshire's quota of volunteers virtually began to be filled. Within a few hours the impromptu station—Sturtevant's Canvas, it might be called—was left for the permanent recruiting office secured by Mayor Humphrey in Phenix block. Here the work of provisional enlistment was continued, and now in charge of two earnest men of kindred spirit: for Leonard Drown, of Fisherville, having early in the forenoon expressed to the mayor the desire to enlist and recruit, had gone to work with Sturtevant. By the close of that 15th of April, and before the issuance of any orders by the state authorities, some fifty volunteers had been enrolled.

On Tuesday, the 16th of April, Governor Ichabod Goodwin, in accordance with the requisition of the war department, issued his order to Adjutant-General Joseph C. Abbott, "to make proclamation calling for volunteers . . . to the number required . . . for a regiment of militia, consisting of ten companies of infantry to be held in readiness to be mustered into the service of the United States, for the purpose of quelling insurrection and supporting the government." The order was complied with on the same day, and forthwith twenty-eight recruiting officers were appointed and enlisting papers issued for as many recruiting stations in different parts of the state. Edward

E. Sturtevant, having been appointed recruiting officer at the Concord station, and having been supplied with the requisite papers, was ready at noon of Wednesday, the 17th of April, and with the assistance of Leonard Drown, regularly to continue and complete the work already well begun. Within a week, his rolls showed the names of one hundred seventy-three volunteers from all the counties of the state save Cheshire, Carroll, and Coös. To these Concord, including Fisherville, contributed seventy.¹ The succeeding week the total number was increased by fifty more; though, before the 24th of April, the enlistments throughout the state were more than sufficient to fill the regiment, and by the 30th, reached two thousand.

Enthusiastic war meetings stimulated enlisting. Two days after the formal opening of recruiting service in Concord, and on the evening of Friday, the 19th of April, a large meeting was held in city hall in response to a call issued by citizens "without distinction of party." Thomas P. Treadwell, a prominent Democrat, and a former secretary of state, presided, and made a patriotic speech, casting aside all partisanship. At the conclusion of the president's speech, nine hearty cheers were given for the Constitution and the Union. Francis N. Fiske, Samuel Coffin, Josiah Stevens, and Lewis Downing were appointed vice-presidents; Jonathan E. Lang, William E. Chandler, and Joseph W. Robinson, secretaries. Judge Ira Perley offered a resolution, "framed in general terms," and with "no allusion made to former party ties."

Almost without exception, the explicitly patriotic utterances of the president touched the keynote of remarks made at the meeting by gentlemen of the same party faith as he; only once was "coercion" declared to be "a mistaken idea," while Republican speech, on the occasion, was entirely above the partisan plane. The true war spirit of the North breathed in these inspiring words of the Reverend Henry E. Parker, who was about to enter upon service in the tented field: "I thank you from my heart for calling me out, that I may speak for my country. Many times during the past winter have I anticipated what is now upon us; but I knew then what would be our duty, and I am now ready to take that duty upon me. There is much to animate us. We ought to rejoice that we are permitted to live in this country, to strive, and fight, and die, if need be, for the great principle that underlies this government. The great crime that is sought to be committed is the destruction of our republican form of government. We must defend this principle, and perpetuate it. We must prove our title to our patriotic ancestry by fighting on the battle-field in defence of the blessings which they

¹ See list in note at close of chapter.

have left us. 'It is sweet to die for one's country.' Let us to-night take on the true spirit of liberty, and always be found ready for our country's defence."

On the 18th of April, *The Independent Democrat* had said, "Concord is full of the war spirit:"—this meeting verified the assertion, and intensified that spirit. From the opening prayer offered by Dr. Bouton, to the closing song of the "Star Spangled Banner" rendered by George Wood, and chorused by the full audience, the occasion was one of inspiring consecration to the country's holy cause. Nor was immediate practical action forgotten amid the exercises of prayer, speech, and song; for a resolution, presented by Joseph B. Walker, to appoint a committee of nine "to take measures in concert with the city government, or otherwise, for rendering aid to the families" of enlisted men, was adopted, and a committee accordingly selected, consisting of Joseph B. Walker, Josiah Stevens, John L. Tallant, Nathaniel White, Woodbridge Odlin, George Hutchins, Moses T. Willard, Daniel Holden, and John V. Barron. Thus the eighty-sixth anniversary of Lexington, with its first blood of the American Revolution, found virtual and worthy celebration in Concord, on this evening of the 19th of April, 1861, while the first blood of the American Rebellion was yet fresh in the streets of Baltimore.

Those April days were indeed days of patriotic awakening in Concord; days of hurried but cheerful preparation fitly to answer the country's call to arms, and of renewed intensity of devotion to the country's flag. The impulse to volunteer for military service was strong upon those of suitable age and strength, and, as already seen, was promptly obeyed; while the patriotic, helpful liberality shown on every hand promoted enlistment. The general desire to aid the families of enlisted men, voiced in the resolution of the citizens' meeting, was practically manifested in liberal individual contributions of money, and in the unanimous appropriation of ten thousand dollars by the city council. Physicians tendered gratuitous services in the same direction. To procure means in aid of volunteers, the musical talent of the city cheerfully lent itself. Two concerts of patriotic and miscellaneous music, in the exercises of which more than fifty ladies and gentlemen participated, were given before large audiences, netting a handsome sum.¹ The women of Concord were not remiss in efforts for the good cause. As early as the afternoon of Monday, the 22d of April, ladies of the several religious societies met in the ladies' room of the South Congregational church, to make arrangements for supplying soldiers with articles necessary

¹ See note at close of chapter.

to their comfort while in the [field. Having raised about two hundred dollars, they expended three quarters of the sum at once for flannel, which, within three days, they were making into shirts for members of the First regiment: while also busily getting handkerchiefs, bandages, and other useful articles, in readiness. And so were begun by the women of Concord those patriotic labors, which, during the war, should deservedly characterize as blessed the Soldiers' Aid societies of the North.

When, moreover, the money needed by the state to meet heavy expenses incurred by the sudden military call was lacking, and Governor Goodwin applied to banking institutions for relief, the application was generously answered by those of Concord: the Union bank tendering a loan of twenty thousand dollars, and the State Capital bank, one of thirty thousand.

Loyalty to the country's cause found also manifestation in the profuse display of the stars and stripes. Over the capitol, over the city hall, over the depot, over the machine shops of the Concord and Northern railroads and upon all their locomotives, over newspaper offices, and other establishments, mercantile and mechanical, over numerous private residences, and across streets at many points, the flag of the republic proudly floated. The star spangled banner was never dearer to the hearts of the people than in those early days of war. Its three colors, too, combined in tasteful arrangement of goods in shop windows along the main street of the city, or in rosettes, freely worn, gracefully attested patriotic feeling.

Almost all the newspapers of the city truly reflected in their columns the earnest, loyal sentiment of the community, and strove to promote it. As no daily newspaper was then regularly issued in Concord, the eager desire of the people for war news was somewhat gratified by Joseph W. Robinson, telegraph manager and operator, who issued, twice daily, a small fly-sheet for general circulation, called the "Telegraphic Bulletin." The pulpit, too, was generally true to the religion of patriotism, and by argument and appeal, edified heart-burdened congregations. Speaking of Sunday, the 21st of April, the *New Hampshire Statesman* said: "In the churches, the Union, its perils and its destiny, with the duty of all to labor in the strength of God, for its rescue, were the themes of devout contemplation—made so by prayer or discourse, or both. The pastor of the South Congregational church, Rev. Henry E. Parker, closed his forenoon discourse by an appeal to the young men who had then enlisted at the recruiting station, and who marched into church in double file in charge of Capt. E. E. Sturtevant. . . . Tears have here often flowed over bereavements that touched other hearts than

those in the household most nearly afflicted, and sadness without tears has occasionally brooded over congregations here, because of some local circumstance of painful description: but on Sunday, they fell like rain from many eyes, because of emotions the like of which were never felt here until then."

The recruiting station at Concord had, within a week, its large body of volunteers daily drilling under the instruction of Leonard Drown and others. Within a week, too, reports from other stations showed more than a full regiment enlisted, so that, on the 24th of April, the adjutant-general issued orders for volunteers to rendezvous at Concord, an arrangement having been made whereby the Merrimack County Agricultural society's fair ground upon the plains east of the river and about a mile distant from the state house, might be used for the encampment. There, on the very day on which the orders were dated, the first volunteers went into camp: being a company of seventy-seven from Manchester, who, with Dignam's Cornet Band, were, upon their arrival in the city, escorted by the Cornet and Serenade bands of Concord to the state house, where they were received by the Concord recruits, and thence accompanied by them to the city hall, before going into barracks on the plains. A week later, nearly one thousand enlisted men had gathered at the rendezvous, which had received the name of Camp Union, and enlisted men were still coming. The state authorities, therefore, determined to organize, arm, equip, and make ready for the field, two regiments of seven hundred eighty officers and men each. Between the 29th of April and the 7th of May, the First regiment was completely organized in ten companies, and mustered into the service of the United States by Major Seth Eastman of the regular army, detached for the purpose.¹ Its colonel was Mason W. Tappan, of Bradford, serving, in the Thirty-sixth congress, his third term. Company I was the Concord company of the regiment. Of its seventy-seven officers and men thirty-four were Concord volunteers: while, of its ten officers—commissioned and non-commissioned—seven were from Concord, which supplied its captain, Edward E. Sturtevant; its first lieutenant, Henry W. Fuller; and its second lieutenant, Enoch W. Goss.

Upon the organization of the First regiment, the men left in surplus at Camp Union were transferred to a new rendezvous in Portsmouth named Camp Constitution, where, with others, they were to be organized into the Second regiment, with Thomas P. Pierce of Manchester, who had seen service in the Mexican War, for colonel. On the 3d day of May, President Lincoln, by proclamation, called

¹ See note as to Major Eastman, at close of chapter.

into service forty-two thousand thirty-four volunteers for three years. The Second regiment, already in process of organization, would fill the quota of the state under the new requisition, could its term of enlistment be changed from three months to three years, and its numbers increased from seven hundred eighty to ten hundred forty-six. The change and increase were readily wrought. Five hundred three months' men were at once re-enlisted for three years, and these were eagerly joined by fresh recruits, so that the entire regiment was made up anew before June, with Gilman Marston, of Exeter, a member of congress, as its colonel in place of Pierce, resigned.

The order discontinuing the acceptance of three months' volunteers did not apply to the First regiment already mustered into the United States service, which remained in Camp Union until the last week of May under strict military drill and discipline, while preparations were making to send it to the front with all requisite appointments. The camp thus occupied was the center of much popular interest, and its tented grounds never lacked visitors—sometimes in throngs—especially on the afternoons of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, the days for general parade and drill. There the process of moulding civilians into soldiers was well begun; there the state, with liberal intent, and with its best available means, uniformed,¹ armed, and equipped its incipient heroes; while not far away, over the river, two manufacturing establishments contributed skilled handiwork towards supplying adequate field transportation; the Abbot carriage manufactory, once Downing & Abbot's, promptly furnishing sixteen four-horse baggage wagons and a two-horse ambulance; and the harness shop of James R. Hill, as promptly, the sixty-six harnesses for the handsome and serviceable horses of the imposing train. And this train was as useful as imposing, carrying, as it did, with other freight, medical stores, surgical instruments, and provisions of varied kinds sufficient to enable the regiment to support itself for weeks.² Indeed, it has been claimed—and, doubtless, truthfully—that the first regiment of volunteers to go to the front in 1861, from any state, fully equipped with uniforms, arms, accoutrements, baggage, hospital, and supply train, was the First New Hampshire.³

While thus prepared to depart for the seat of war, and eagerly awaiting from Washington the order so to do, the regiment lost one of its number by the first of four deaths that befell it during its term of service. On the 17th of May, died, at the age of nineteen, Private Arthur Cline of Lyme, a soldier of promise, who had bravely said, as he lay in fever upon his hospital cot, that he would rather die than

¹ History of First N. H. Regiment, 111.

² Waite's "New Hampshire in the Rebellion," 63

³ History of First N. H. Regiment, 181.

not march with his regiment. At sunset of that day, the regiment being formed in funeral procession, with Major Seth Eastman in charge, and Colonel Tappan at head of column following the hearse, marched from the camp to the city, the streets of which it solemnly paced to the dirge by Baldwin's regimental band until the North cemetery was reached. There, in a receiving tomb, with regiment drawn up in circle around, and with committal prayer offered by Chaplain Abbott, the dead soldier was tenderly left.

The very next day afforded an illustration of the contrasts incident to human experience in peace or in war. Yesterday the regiment had marched in sorrow; to-day it marched in gladness. On the forenoon of Saturday, the 18th of May, Colonel Tappan, in compliance with the requests of Concord friends of his regiment, led it in full parade through the streets of the city. This display of a regiment of New Hampshire's vigorous sons, completely uniformed and equipped for war, and already showing, in bearing, step, and movement, strong aptitude for military art and discipline, delighted "the citizens, who"—as the regimental chaplain has truthfully written—"thronged on either side of the column with cheers and huzzas. It was to them an inspiring sight. They were proud of the regiment, and the regiment was proud of them, from whom it had received no little kindness during these days of preparation."¹

At length came the welcome order to proceed to the seat of war, and the start was made on Saturday, the 25th of May. Early on the rainy morning of that day, the regiment was massed about the grandstand on the camp-ground, and a parting address was made by the Rev. Dr. Bouton, followed by prayer and the singing of the Star Spangled Banner by the thoughtful assemblage. At eight o'clock the regiment was brought into line, and had soon left Camp Union, marching under an escort consisting of Company A of the Governor's Horse Guards,—Captain John H. George commanding,—with the Fisherville Cornet Band, mounted, and of Fire Engine Company, No. 2, with the Concord Cornet Band. The advance of the column was accompanied by lively strains of music, emphasized, as the city proper was neared, by cannon peals from the interval. At the junction of Bridge and Main streets, the column met a mass of spectators, and thence all the way through a cheering multitude, down the wide but crowded thoroughfares, with ladies at every window waving handkerchiefs in parting salute, it moved to the railway station. There thousands were assembled; the station and the grounds about it were densely packed. Acquaintances, friends, and relatives were there to say good-by. After a half hour spent in affectionate leave taking, a train of eighteen pas-

¹ History of First N. H. Regiment, 112.

senger and twenty freight cars steamed out of the station amid hearty farewell cheers, bearing away the First New Hampshire regiment of volunteer militia towards its destination. Ovations marked its three days' journey to Washington, two miles from which it pitched its tents at Kalorama, proud of the encomium of President Lincoln, who had pronounced it the best appointed regiment that had yet arrived.¹

Meanwhile the work of filling and organizing the Second regiment upon the three years' basis was successfully going on. Concord had, upon the roster of field and staff officers, Josiah Stevens, Jr., as major, and Henry E. Parker, as chaplain. Leonard Drown, of Fisherville, was captain of Company E, with A. B. Thompson, recently of Holderness, as second lieutenant. The company contained many men from Concord, including Fisherville. William H. Prescott, one of Concord's earliest volunteers, was second lieutenant of Company H, commanded by Captain Ichabod Pearl, of Great Falls. Company B was more exclusively a Concord organization than any other in the regiment. Its captain was Simon G. Griffin, with Charles W. Walker and Abiel W. Colby, lieutenants—all of Concord. Captain Griffin had just entered upon the practice of the law when the war commenced. Throwing aside his law books, he took up the study of military tactics, and joined a company of young men forming under the first call for troops. He became captain, and finding that the quota of New Hampshire under that call was full, volunteered, with a large number of his men, for three years under the second call. The offer of the volunteers to serve as riflemen was accepted; and soon the "Goodwin Rifles"—as the company was called in honor of the governor, with whom it was a favorite—numbered eighty. For some time the headquarters at the city hall witnessed daily drills; the captain sparing no pains to make his command a model of military excellence. The strong desire of himself and of his men to be provided with Sharpe's breech-loading, sword-bayoneted rifles, whereby the better to do skirmish duty, was gratified; the expense being guaranteed in subscription by citizens of Concord and members of the company themselves, if the state would not—as it did, however,—assume it. The ladies of Concord also expressed their appreciation of the promising body of young men of high character and sobriety—as characterized by Governor Goodwin—by the presentation of a beautiful banner.

Concord contributed to the Second regiment not only heroes for the battle-field, but also a true heroine for the hospital. When Miss Harriet Patience Dame received into her house the sick soldiers left in hospital by the First regiment on its departure, and when by

¹ See note at close of chapter.

judicious care and nursing she had enabled them to go to the front, the experience became for her an inspiration thither also to go, and there do what she might to alleviate the miseries of war by self-sacrificing ministrations of mercy. At the age of forty-six the conscientious, patriotic woman offered her services as an army nurse, and on the 6th of June was enrolled as hospital matron of the Second New Hampshire regiment, to retain that connection for nearly five years, without one day's furlough or one day's sick leave; enduring hardships almost beyond the endurance of strong men with whom she shared them; undaunted by the roar of battle, or the crash of shell through her tent, as she tenderly dressed gaping wounds fresh from the battle-line;¹ and occasionally doing service in a wider range, until her name was familiar, and her praise was sounded throughout the entire Army of the Potomac.

The Second regiment was uniformed, and, in general, armed and equipped, as the First had been; and its transportation train of twenty wagons, and the harnesses of the eighty horses that drew it, were products of the same Concord manufactories that furnished those of the First. It remained in Camp Constitution until the 20th of June. Starting for Washington on that day, it reached its destination on the 23d, and encamped at Kalorama, as the First had done nearly a month before.

The Second while it journeyed had been the object of much admiring attention, especially in Boston and New York. In the latter city the "Sons of New Hampshire" resident there, who, less than a month before, had presented the First with a beautiful silken flag, now gave the Second another as beautiful, under the folds of which many a great battle was to be fought.

But death early beset the journey; for, in the night of its second day, Lieutenant Charles W. Walker, of the Goodwin Rifles, suffered fatal injuries in a precipitate fall from a lurching platform-car, while the regiment was passing through New Jersey, and expired in a few hours. The body of this favorite among men wherever he might be, so sadly come to his death in the vigor of his thirty-eight years of life, was brought home to Concord, and committed to the grave with extraordinary civil and military honors.

The raising and equipping of these two regiments had been accomplished without a special legislative session. And now, on the 5th of June, the legislature which had been elected in March came together in regular session, having a Republican majority of more than sixty in the house, and ten of the twelve members of the senate. Of the ten representatives of Concord in this first war legis-

¹ History of Second N. H. Regiment, 297.

lature, nine were Republicans. These were David A. Brown, Ira Rowell, Samuel Coffin, Charles H. Herbert, Henry S. Shattuck, Enos Blake, Lyman D. Stevens, David J. Abbott, and Benjamin Green. The one Democrat was John L. Tallant. The inauguration of the new governor, Nathaniel S. Berry, on the next, or Election, day, was made the occasion of more than ordinary display of military escort, music, procession, banquet, and post-prandial eloquence; while interest was enhanced by an Election sermon, in revival of an ancient custom, but disused for nearly thirty years. That feature of Election day was on this occasion restored at the instance of prominent citizens of Concord, who saw, in that period of peril, a propriety in recurring to what the fathers declared to be "the best and greatest security to government—morality and piety propagated by the institution of the public worship of the Deity, and of public instruction in morality and religion." By appointment of Governor Goodwin the Reverend Henry E. Parker, chaplain of the Second regiment, preached the Election sermon before the governor and council and both houses of the legislature assembled in the South church,—the last observance of its kind in New Hampshire.

The legislature of 1861 was at once reminded by Governor Berry, in his inaugural, of the pressing necessity for immediate attention to those measures that should aid the general government in resisting the rebellion. "No Northern state," added he, "has placed less than a million of dollars at the command of the general government, in view of the present emergency of the country, and I trust New Hampshire will not be behind her sister states in this respect, and that whatever we do may be done with perfect unanimity." A measure consonant with the governor's suggestion was soon before the lower house of the legislature. It was entitled, "An act to aid in the defence of the country," and authorized the issue of state six per cent. bonds or certificates of debt to an amount not exceeding one million dollars, to meet present and future liabilities in the existing war to save the nation's life. This bill passed the house on the 28th of June, by one hundred sixty-nine yeas to ninety-four nays. Seven members classed as Democrats voted with the Republicans in the affirmative—one of them being John L. Tallant, of Concord, who thus made the delegation of his city unanimous in support of the important act. In the senate the bill was also passed by the strict party vote of ten to two.

At a little past seven o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 5th of August, the First regiment, whose three months' term of service had expired three days before, arrived in Concord for payment and formal discharge. It was received at the railroad station by Gov-

ernor Berry, and notwithstanding the early hour, by a large assemblage of citizens. Under escort of Company A of the Governor's Horse Guards, it marched to the state house, and stacked its guns in the park upon the State street side. There the officers and men, in nearly full numbers, having been welcomed by the governor in words of congratulation, partook of a collation furnished by the state. The regiment remained in Concord four days, and was then paid and discharged.¹

On the 6th of August, the day after the return of the First regiment, the tents of the Third began to be pitched at Camp Berry, on the interval, in Concord, upon the east side of the Merrimack, half-way between the Free and Concord bridges, and near the river's bend. The Third regiment was the first raised in New Hampshire under the act of congress of July 22, 1861, authorizing the president to call for volunteers, not to exceed five hundred thousand in all. Thirty recruiting officers had been successfully at work for fifteen or twenty days—the one for the Concord district being Captain Hiram C. Tuttle. Governor Berry proclaimed a state bounty of ten dollars for each man mustered in. By the 22d of August, thirteen hundred volunteers were in rendezvous at Camp Berry, and between that date and the 26th, a regiment was mustered in, consisting of ten hundred forty-seven officers and men, including a band of twenty-four pieces under the leadership of Gustavus W. Ingalls, of Concord.² The colonel of the Third was Enoch Q. Fellows, of Sandwich, who had been adjutant of the First. Concord was well represented in the ranks; and supplied as surgeon, Albert A. Moulton; as hospital steward, Moody Sawyer—succeeded, a year later, by Perry Kittredge; as first lieutenants, Henry H. Ayer, of Fisherville, and Richard Ela—both early promoted to captains.

Early on Tuesday morning, the 3d of September, the tents of the regiment were struck, and the twenty-five wagons and ninety horses of the transportation train, with camp, garrison, and hospital equipage, were placed upon thirty-one railroad cars. The regiment, well uniformed, thoroughly equipped, and effectively provided with Enfield rifles, marched from the camp-ground, under escort of the new company of Concord Zouaves, and to the music of the Regimental and Serenade bands, through the streets of the city to the station, with thousands of spectators to watch its procession and departure; its immediate destination being a temporary rendezvous on Long Island.

Thenceforward, the autumn and early winter of the first year of

¹ See, in note at close of chapter: Destruction of a Newspaper Office; A Regiment Paid in Gold.

² Waite's "New Hampshire in the Rebellion," 169.

the war saw the almost simultaneous raising of five regiments, and their despatch in rapid succession to the front. To all of them Concord contributed men and officers in larger or smaller numbers: to some, the means of transportation; and to one, the rendezvous of organization. Four companies of cavalry and three companies of sharpshooters were also raised, during this time, to which Concord furnished a mustering place, and, to some of them, recruits.

Two hundred enlisted men, who had gathered at Camp Berry, in excess of the number required to fill the Third regiment, were ordered into camp at Manchester. There, through rapid accessions of volunteers, the two hundred speedily became the thousand of a new regiment—the Fourth. This was mustered into service by the 18th of September, and left the state on the 27th. It was in command of Thomas J. Whipple, of Laconia, who had been lieutenant-colonel of the First. Its adjutant, Henry W. Fuller, and two of its company lieutenants, Fred A. Kendall and Hiram C. Tuttle, were of Concord.

On the 5th of September, two days after the departure of the Third regiment, Captain Edward E. Sturtevant, who had returned from the three months' campaign of the First with intensified purpose to continue his military service, pitched his recruiting tent in front of the state house to enroll volunteers for the Fifth. This spread of canvas was not the temporary expedient of April, but afforded a permanent enlisting station, where the enthusiastic captain remained night and day in true campaign style. In course of a week, however, he had enlisted almost the entire company which he was to command, composed of men from Concord and Merrimack county, and called Company A of the new regiment. By the 26th of September, the day before the departure of the Fourth regiment, the Fifth, with its ranks four-fifths full, was at Camp Jackson, in eligible location on Glover's hill, east of the river across the lower or Concord bridge. There, though soon recruited to the requisite number, it remained a month, profitably employed in preparation for effective service, under the skilful discipline of Edward E. Cross, its brave and inspiring colonel. Having broken camp on Monday, the 28th of October, and rested over night in the city, the "Fighting Fifth" left Concord the next morning. With a goodly number of men to handle the Minie rifles in the ranks of the regiment, Concord had upon the non-commissioned staff, Commissary Sergeant Isaac W. Hammond, and of company officers, Senior Captain Edward E. Sturtevant and First Lieutenant James E. Larkin, both of Company A, and both early promoted—the former to be major; the latter to be captain, and later to succeed the former, killed at Fredericksburg.

The Sixth regiment was mostly enlisted in the months of October and November, and had rendezvous at Camp Brooks, in Keene. Its Company I was enlisted mainly in Concord, Canterbury, and the vicinity: and was organized with Robert L. Ela, captain; Thomas T. Moore, first lieutenant; Hubbard T. Dudley, second lieutenant, all of Concord. At its organization, the regiment had for colonel, Nelson Converse, of Marlborough; Simon G. Griffin, recently of the Goodwin Rifles of the New Hampshire Second, lieutenant-colonel, and Phin P. Bixby, also of Concord, adjutant. A few months later, Griffin succeeded Converse as colonel. The regiment was mustered into service by the 30th of November, and, on the 25th of December, started upon its three years' journey through Dixie.

In September, Joseph C. Abbott, recently adjutant-general of the state, received authority directly from the war department at Washington, to raise a regiment of infantry in New Hampshire, and to uniform, arm, equip, and make it ready for the field. The state authorities encouraged the undertaking by offering the usual bounty of ten dollars, and in other ways. The rendezvous of the new, or Seventh, regiment was established at Manchester. Consisting of ten hundred and four officers and men, it was raised with no expense to the state save the bounty paid, for from the outset every dollar expended for recruiting, transportation, rations, and outfit, was paid directly by the United States government.¹ Haldimand S. Putnam, of Cornish, a graduate of West Point, and first lieutenant of the United States Topographical Engineers, was, upon General Abbott's designation, appointed colonel, the latter accepting the lieutenant-colonelcy. Concord (including Fisherville) supplied the regiment with a considerable body of men, and some officers. Joseph C. Emerson was chaplain, and William H. Smart, Jr., assistant surgeon of the regiment; Jeremiah S. Durgin was captain, and Timothy Dow, first lieutenant, of Company E. The organization and mustering in of the Seventh New Hampshire were completed by the 14th of December; but Colonel Putnam, who had assumed command on the 26th of October, continued to drill and instruct its officers and men till the 14th of January, 1862, the day of its departure from the state.

The Eighth regiment, which had been in process of formation simultaneously with the Sixth and Seventh, also had rendezvous at Manchester, and was mustered in on the 23d of December with Hawkes Fearing, of Manchester, as its colonel. Concord gave fewer men to it than to any of the preceding regiments, but it supplied its major, Morrill B. Smith, and, of its company officers, a captain, Aaron G. Estabrook, and the second lieutenants, John K. Stokes and

¹ Adjutant-General's Report (1866), Vol. 2, p. 608.

James H. Landers,—the former subsequently promoted to major, the latter, to captain. The regiment left the state on the 25th of January, 1862, destined to join General Benjamin F. Butler's expedition for the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi.

While these regiments were forming, mustering, and departing, a battalion of cavalry was raised composed of four companies, or troops, and commanded by Major David B. Nelson, of Manchester. Its rendezvous was in Concord, on the site of Camp Union, where the spacious fair ground was found well adapted to cavalry drill, in which the men, armed with Burnside carbines and sabres and mounted upon tractable horses of the small Morgan and Canadian breed, engaged with great interest. The battalion remained there for weeks, and until the 22d of December, when it was ordered to Pawtucket to join its four companies to the eight stationed there; the twelve to constitute the regiment called at that time the First New England cavalry, but later the First Rhode Island cavalry.

Along through the autumn sharpshooters were enlisting and organizing until three companies, numbering ninety-five men and three officers, had been mustered in at Concord, and thence despatched to Colonel Berdan's Camp of Instruction at Washington. In all of these companies were Concord marksmen whose rifle shots could hit the bull's-eye at one hundred yards, off-hand, or two hundred at a rest; in two were officers from Concord—William D. McPherson, a captain, and Edward Dow and Edward T. Rowell, second lieutenants—the last named subsequently becoming by successive promotions a captain and a major.

It was thus that the manhood of the state and its capital was drawn upon for the military defense of the country within the year 1861, that year of preparation for the mighty struggle to follow. But after the Eighth regiment had been sent to the front, and the quota of the state had thus far been filled, the recruiting offices in New Hampshire and elsewhere were, by order of the war department, closed.

Meanwhile one hundred and fifty families of volunteers from Concord—exclusive of those in the First regiment—received aid, that year, from the city to the amount of nearly three thousand dollars, under a statute whereby the state was to reimburse the city for aid thus rendered. But the sum of nearly two hundred fifty dollars expended for such aid from the appropriation of ten thousand dollars made by the city council on the 27th of April, and before the enactment of the state law, was never reimbursed.

Moreover, those gone to war themselves received aid in clothing, hospital stores, and other things desirable for their health and com-

fort, but not supplied by the government. To do this, a ladies' society was formed in Concord within a month after the first call for troops. At its organization it had for officers—besides a board of directors consisting of two ladies from each religious society in the city—Mrs. Nathaniel G. Upham, president; Mrs. Onslow Stearns, vice-president; Mrs. Moses H. Bradley, recording secretary; Miss Eliza Whipple, treasurer; Mrs. Ira Perley, corresponding secretary; aided by a committee of eight gentlemen consisting of Henry A. Bel- lows, Onslow Stearns, James Peverly, John M. Hill, Nathaniel White, Henry H. Brown, Daniel Holden, and Cyrus Robinson. The society announced that it had arrangements with officers of New Hampshire troops for obtaining early and regular information of the soldiers' wants, and that it would have means to forward with despatch whatever might be furnished. The Concord society became a Central Relief Association for combining the efforts of auxiliary societies and of individuals in all parts of the state, procuring and distributing the earliest information, and forwarding contributions to the troops with such directions as givers might designate.

Concord at this period rendered timely financial aid to the country's cause through the considerable subscription of its citizens to the national popular loan, offered under the act of congress of July 14, 1861. This loan was represented by treasury notes varying from fifty to five thousand dollars, dated August 19, payable three years from date, and bearing interest at the rate of seven and three tenths per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually; such interest being at the rate of two cents a day for each one hundred dollars. On the 30th of September Hall Roberts, agent for the loan, opened subscription books, at the State Capital bank, and within a week received subscriptions amounting to twenty thousand dollars, mainly from citizens of Concord. By the middle of November, the latter amount had been doubled,—an investment signifying patriotic motives and popular confidence in the government's stability.

To the Republican majority, in the election of 1862, Concord contributed four hundred twenty-nine votes; and eight members to the eighty Republican majority in the house of representatives. Prominent among the new members of the legislature from Concord were William E. Chandler, John Y. Mugridge, William L. Foster, and Charles P. Sanborn. In the municipal election Ward 2 alone, as usual, broke Republican unanimity in the result as to aldermen and common councilmen. For reasons of no historical significance, Moses Humphrey, Concord's first war mayor, failed of re-election at the first trial; his plurality over his Democratic opponent having been prevented from becoming the requisite majority by one hundred

twenty-five votes reckoned scattering, though all but ten of them were cast for Ex-Mayor Willard. At a second election, however, held twenty days later, Mr. Humphrey was chosen by a majority of five hundred thirty-nine over another scattering vote of one hundred fifty-seven.

In May, 1862, within a few weeks after the war department had ordered all recruiting offices to be closed, an additional regiment of infantry was called for from New Hampshire. But the work of raising this regiment—which was to be the Ninth—was at first slow; for the discontinuance of recruiting in April had tended to create an impression that the more than nine thousand troops already sent forward would suffice—an impression that naturally cooled the ardor of enlistment. The stimulus of a higher bounty was applied: the ten



View of Concord from the South.

dollars hitherto allowed becoming fifty for enlisting into new regiments, and sixty for enlisting into regiments already in the field. During the last days of June volunteers for the Ninth regiment began to come into camp on the fair ground in Concord.

On the 2d day of July, 1862, President Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand men for three years, and the war spirit of the people began to be re-kindled. Towns and cities held public meetings to discuss the situation, and to devise ways and means to raise their quotas for filling the new regiments, and for replenishing the ranks of the old, without a draft, a disagreeable alternative which now began to be suggested. Such a Union war meeting, large and enthusiastic, was held at the city hall on the evening of the 22d of July. In its organization party lines were ignored. Joseph B. Walker presided; the seven vice-presidents, one from each ward, were Henry H. Brown, John L. Tallant, Daniel Holden, Matthew

Harvey, Augustine C. Pierce, Benjamin Grover, and Josiah Stevens ; the three secretaries were William E. Chandler, John F. Brown, and Francis A. Fiske. Lyman D. Stevens offered a resolution declaring "it expedient that our city forthwith take active measures, by the offering of bounty and the organizing of ward committees, to encourage and hasten enlistments to fill up our quota of soldiers called for by the requisition of the President of the United States." The resolution, with an amendment proposed by Joseph A. Gilmore, asking the city government to offer to each volunteer from the city a bounty of fifty dollars in addition to the sums offered by the state and United States governments, was unanimously adopted. The oratory of the occasion was appropriately vigorous, direct, and practical. It was participated in by Joseph B. Walker, Lyman D. Stevens, Governor Berry, Edward H. Rollins, William L. Foster, Joseph A. Gilmore, Anson S. Marshall, General Anthony Colby, Captains Tileston A. Barker and Joshua F. Littlefield, of the Second New Hampshire regiment. The meeting, in speech and action, signified Concord's full recognition of the demands of the crisis and her readiness to meet them. Forthwith, too, the city council gave practical effect to the recommendations of the meeting by voting the bounty of fifty dollars and appointing ward committees to hasten enlistments.

By the end of July seven hundred of the nine hundred seventy-five officers and men finally constituting the Ninth regiment had been mustered in, while three hundred of the next regiment in order—the Tenth—had been enrolled. At last, on the 23d of August, the organization of the Ninth was completed, and two days later it left Concord for Arlington Heights, near Washington. As usual on such occasions the departure was witnessed by an interested and friendly assemblage of men, women, and children, as it marched through the streets to the station, whence it departed for the front. The regiment was in command of Colonel Enoch Q. Fellows, recently of the Third. Concord furnished its adjutant, George H. Chandler ; one captain, Samuel J. Alexander ; and one second lieutenant, William I. Brown (of Fisherville).

Rapidly now, for three months, regiments were to be raised and sent to the field. The Tenth, or "Irish Regiment," which had been filling contemporaneously with the Ninth, was readily enlisted, largely through the efforts of Michael T. Donohoe, its colonel, and John Coughlin, its lieutenant-colonel, both of Manchester, where it had rendezvous. Its men began to arrive in camp on the 20th of August, and by the 5th of September it was fully organized with nine hundred twenty-eight officers and men, and on the 22d of the same month went to join the Army of the Potomac. One of its few

Concord volunteers, was John C. Keenan, a second lieutenant, afterwards promoted to captain.

In August a commission as colonel of a regiment to be numbered the Eleventh was accepted by Walter Harriman, of Warner, long a popular leader of the Democratic party and its able and favorite orator; but who, from the beginning of the war, had strongly supported with voice and pen, the government of his country as administered by Abraham Lincoln. Colonel Harriman, in compliance with the request of the governor and council, took the stump to raise his own regiment and to stimulate enlisting generally. Within eight days he had enlistments many more than sufficient to fill his command. The Eleventh, thus speedily raised, went at once into camp on the fair ground in Concord, and by the 2d of September was mustered into the service of the United States. It numbered nearly the maximum of one thousand officers and men, and was armed with the Springfield rifle. It left for Washington on the morning of the 11th of September—eleven days ahead of the Tenth—with well-wishers thronging street and station, as never before in Concord, to honor the departure of a regiment.

On the 10th of August prominent citizens of Belknap and Carroll counties obtained authority from Governor Berry to raise and officer a regiment, provided it could be done in ten days. Within the allotted time ten full companies had been enlisted, organized, and made ready to be mustered into the United States service as the Twelfth regiment. On the 3d of September—eight days before the departure of the Eleventh—they came to Concord and encamped in quarters which they named Camp Belknap. Joseph H. Potter, a native of Concord, and a veteran in the regular service, became colonel. George L. Batchelder, a second lieutenant, and Ira C. Evans, a principal musician, were also of Concord. The Twelfth departed for Washington on the 27th of September.

The first company of the Thirteenth regiment came into camp at Concord on the eleventh day of September, the day the Eleventh departed, and eight days after the Twelfth arrived. By the twenty-third of the same month its officers and men were all mustered in. Its colonel was Aaron F. Stevens, of Nashua, who had been major of the First. Concord supplied one company with a captain, Charles O. Bradley, and a second lieutenant, Rufus P. Staniels, afterwards promoted to captain. The regiment, on the 5th of October, received its colors with befitting speech and ceremony at the state house, and set out the next day for Washington.

Robert Wilson, of Keene, was, in August, commissioned as colonel of the Fourteenth regiment,—the last of the three years' regiments

from New Hampshire. It was raised without difficulty, and was mustered in on the 24th of September, at Concord, where it was quartered in barracks on the fair ground, near the Twelfth and Thirteenth, and departed for Washington towards the end of October.

The Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth regiments were raised and placed in the field under the call of the president for three years' troops. These, with nearly seven hundred recruits to fill up regiments already in the service—all amounting to four thousand six hundred men—fully answered the calls for three years' men. But, on the 4th of August, 1862, the president had called for three hundred thousand nine months' troops. This call having been made, the quotas of each town and city under both calls were estimated and published on the 28th of August. Concord's quota of three years' men was five hundred sixty-five; of nine months' men, one hundred eighty-eight. Preparations were also early made for enforcing a draft, if necessary, by the appointment of superintendents and examining surgeons furnished with detailed instructions. But many towns and cities had promptly raised, by voluntary enlistments, for three years, their full quotas, and some of them considerable numbers in excess, thus enabling the state authorities to organize the Thirteenth and Fourteenth regiments for three years instead of nine months; being equivalent to eight regiments for nine months' service.

The city council of Concord, on the 30th of August, passed a resolution granting a bounty of one hundred dollars to any resident of the city who should, before the 15th of September, enlist for nine months; and appointed as recruiting officers, Charles H. Herbert, Amos C. Warren, James H. Morey, Albert H. Drown, Robert S. Davis, and Carr B. Haynes.

By the middle of October, and before the last of the three years' regiments had left for the front, the Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments of nine months' men were in camp at Concord: the first, with full numbers; the second, with five hundred men. On the 13th of November the Fifteenth regiment, organized with Colonel John W. Kingman of Durham at its head, left Concord for New York, where it was to join General Banks's expedition to Texas. The Sixteenth was filled, organized, and mustered in by the 1st of November, and, on the twenty-third of the same month, departed for New York; having been assigned to the same branch of service as the Fifteenth. Its colonel was James Pike, of Newmarket, a Methodist clergyman, who had served in congress: its lieutenant-colonel, Henry W. Fuller, of Concord, recently adjutant of the Fourth. Its commissary-sergeant, David D. Smith, was of Concord; as were also two of its company officers, Charles H. Herbert, first lieutenant (soon promoted to captain

and commissary of subsistence, U. S. V.), and Robert S. Davis, second lieutenant.

The nine months' organization designated the Seventeenth regiment was, from causes not necessary to be treated here, never filled. Early in 1863 one hundred fifty men belonging to it were transferred to the Second, and the regimental officers mustered out. At the close, then, of the year 1862, fifteen New Hampshire regiments of infantry were in the field—all there were to be until the formation of the Eighteenth in 1864. Concord shared, more or less, in the membership of all, as shown by the rolls tabulated elsewhere; and, as already partially seen, their history finds other points of connection with that of Concord. Voluntary enlistments had filled them all, with bounties increasing from the comparatively nominal one of 1861, to the larger ones of 1862—the latter fact denoting rather the growing scarcity of fighting material in the population than a decrease of patriotic feeling in the hearts of the people. Towards the last the threatened draft somewhat hastened enlisting. But no draft came, and had it come Concord would have escaped it, for she had filled all her quotas, and had eighty men to her credit upon another call.

By 1863 the New Hampshire regiments, and the Concord men therein, had done honorable service in the war. The Second had fought at the two battles of Bull Run; at Williamsburg, losing one of its captains, Leonard Drown, of Fisherville, the first of New Hampshire's commissioned officers slain on a battle-field of the war; at Oak Grove, where Leaver and Lamprey perished; and at Fredericksburg. The Third and Fourth had seen severe fighting at South Carolina. The Fifth had been at Fair Oaks, and there had fired the first and the last shot; at the Seven Days' Fight, where the senior captain, Edward E. Sturtevant—the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major having been disabled by wounds—was in command; at Antietam, where, under the lead of Colonel Cross, it earned its title, the "Fighting Fifth"; at Fredericksburg, where Major Sturtevant, "in the thickest of the fight," died beneath the fatal crest of Marye's Height. The Sixth had won, at Camden, North Carolina, name as a fighting regiment, losing there its first in battle, Curtis Flanders, of Fisherville; it had been at the second battle of Bull Run; at Chantilly; at Antietam, too, where it helped carry Burnside's Bridge; and finally at Fredericksburg. The Eighth had fought at Georgia Landing; and the Ninth, at South Mountain, Antietam, and Fredericksburg; and it was on the last-named fearful field that the Tenth, the Eleventh, the Twelfth, and the Thirteenth had fought their first battles.

On the 1st of January, 1863,—the critical year of the war,—Abraham Lincoln, in fulfilment of his promise made on the 22d of September, 1862, put forth his Proclamation of Emancipation. In Concord that New Year's day had much of summer pleasantness, and its morning was greeted by the joyful ringing of the city's bells, that rang again at noon, accompanied by the salute of fifty jubilee guns fired in the state house park. Furthermore, Emancipation day saw assembled in its honor the Republican state convention.

The Democratic party declared its hostility to this war measure, and thus another important issue was added to the issues already joined by the contending parties in New Hampshire, pending the March election of 1863. That election came during the darkest days of the struggle with Rebellion, those between the 13th of December, 1862, and the 4th of July, 1863; and with a result, at some points, closer than any other for years. This statement applies especially to the governor vote, given upon three tickets: the Republican, for Joseph A. Gilmore, of Concord, a merchant and railroad manager; the Democratic, for Ira A. Eastman, also of Concord, and recently on the New Hampshire bench; and the Union, for Colonel Walter Harriman, then with his regiment at the front. Eastman received a plurality over Gilmore, but through the combined Republican and Union tickets, the administration strength counted a majority of five hundred seventy-four. The legislature had a safe Republican majority, thus securing Mr. Gilmore's election as governor.

In this election of 1863 Concord gave an administration majority of four hundred twenty-nine—which happened to be precisely that of 1862. Of the nine of its ten members of the general court, one was William E. Chandler, re-elected, who became speaker of the house at the ensuing session—being the fifth resident of Concord called to that position. The election of Mr. Chandler to the legislature of 1862 was the beginning of a remarkable political career, unsurpassed in New Hampshire in the prominence of the positions to be held and in the influence exerted in state and nation. He served as speaker for two terms of the legislature, in 1863 and 1864. In March, 1865, he was appointed solicitor and judge advocate general of the navy, and in June following, was made first assistant secretary of the treasury, which position he resigned in November, 1867. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1876. Mr. Chandler was elected again to the legislature in 1881, and, in March of that year, was appointed solicitor-general of the United States by President Garfield, but rejected by the senate, which was opposed to him politically. In April, 1882, he was appointed secretary of the navy by President Arthur,—in which office he served until March 7, 1885.

He was elected to the United States senate for filling out the unexpired term of Austin F. Pike, to be re-elected in 1889, and also again in 1895,—serving in that body fourteen years; and at the close of his senatorial service was selected by President McKinley as president of the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission.

The two branches of the city council, in 1863, remained of the usual party complexion. To elect the regular Republican candidate for mayor, Benjamin F. Gale, required a second trial: his requisite majority having been defeated in the first by votes cast upon an independent ticket.

Political interest did not abate after the election, for war events kept alive war politics; but especially warm did that interest become during the period of suspense which intervened between the Union reverse at Chancellorsville, early in May, and the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg, early in July. A stirring call was circulated in May throughout the state for signatures, thousands of which were obtained. It invited "the Union citizens" of New Hampshire "without distinction of party to assemble in Mass Convention at Concord on the Seventeenth Day of June, 1863, for the purpose of associating together as a Public Loyal Union League of the State; of pledging themselves to unconditional loyalty to the government of the United States, and an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the Rebellion: and of renewing their unyielding resolve that the unity of this nation shall not be impaired." The answer to this call was to convene at the capital the largest assemblage ever witnessed in New Hampshire, numbering nearly thirty thousand. More than three thousand marched in procession to the music of thirteen bands, while other thousands thronged the state house park, the sidewalks, the hotels, the stores—in fine, all available standing places from Free Bridge road to Railroad square. At the speakers' stand in state house park the convention was regularly organized, with Ira Perley to preside. Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair, General Benjamin F. Butler, Congressman James W. Patterson, and Major E. B. Turner, a Texas Union man, were the principal speakers. Resolutions drafted by a committee and presented by Henry P. Rolfe were adopted, while the songs of the Hutchinson family pleasantly varied the exercises. Songs, resolutions, speeches—all were consonant in spirit with the unpartisan, but unequivocally loyal, call which had summoned the Union citizens of New Hampshire to take counsel together.¹

Seventeen days later, on the 4th of July, 1863, another mass state convention was held in Concord, the leaders of the Democratic party

¹ See more minute description in a special chapter.

having determined to open, then and there, the campaign of 1864. The gathering was large, numbering about twenty thousand, and the usual concomitants of display on such occasions—the procession excepted—were not lacking. Ex-President Pierce presided at the organized meeting in state house park and made the principal speech. It denounced the war policy of the national administration, and the war itself, as “fruitless in everything except the harvest of woe which it” was “ripening for what was once the peerless republic.” It scouted “any of the coercive instrumentalities of military power,” and urged reliance upon “moral power” alone. This failing, and thus “all efforts, whether of war or peace, having failed” to save the Union—to the question, “What then?” the speaker replied in these words of peroration: “You will take care of yourselves; with or without arms, with or without leaders, we will, at least, in the effort to defend our rights as a free people, build up a great mausoleum of hearts, to which men who yearn for liberty will, in after years, with bowed heads and reverently, resort as Christian pilgrims to the sacred shrines of the Holy Land.”

Some other speaking followed in the same strain of “peace and compromise,” and all to the purport that the war against Rebellion and for the Union had been and would be “a failure.” While the convention was in progress, the first news of the victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg was received in Concord. The official intelligence, certified by President Lincoln and General Meade, did not come to the ears of the convention until much of the speaking was over, and then was received with incredulity. Its confirmation came later, and was recognized by the legislature, then in session, by an order directing the firing of one hundred guns in Concord, in honor of the decisive, far-reaching results achieved at Gettysburg and Vicksburg.

With war politics thus engaging popular thought, war preparation was continued. Congress had, on the 3d of March, 1863, passed the “act providing for the enrolment of the National forces.” This measure, generally known as the “Conscription Act,” prescribed that Federal provost-marshals and enrolling officers should make enrolment of all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, in two classes, those between twenty and thirty-five to constitute the first class; and all others, the second. From this enrolment, the president was authorized, from and after July 1st, to draft, at his discretion, persons to serve in the national armies for terms not exceeding three years. A commutation of three hundred dollars was to be accepted in place of such service, and provision was made for certain exemptions. The president proceeded, under this

law, to constitute an enrolling board for each congressional district in the loyal states, and the several boards, to perform the duty assigned them. By the 1st of July this work was completed in New Hampshire, but the draft did not come at once. On the 10th of July the legislature, by resolution, instructed the governor to confer with the war department as to equalizing, if possible, the draft among the several towns, so that those which had furnished their quotas or more under previous calls should not be reduced to a level with those which had not. As a result of this action, such towns as could, through the governor, prove to the provost-marshal-general a surplus number raised on former quotas, might have that number of drafted men discharged. Acts were also passed authorizing towns and cities to pay bounties, not exceeding three hundred dollars each, to drafted men or their substitutes, and to aid the families and dependents of these. The city council of Concord did not hesitate to make appropriations under these enactments, the bounty being put at the maximum, or three hundred dollars. When, about the middle of July, serious draft riots occurred in the cities of New York and Boston, with disorderly indications elsewhere, the city council deemed it proper to take precautionary measures by authorizing Mayor Gale to appoint one hundred special police officers, and to purchase one hundred revolvers with the requisite ammunition. The purchase was made for fourteen hundred sixty dollars: but fortunately, and to the honor of the city, there was no occasion for the use of the firearms or for any further draft upon the ten thousand dollars put at the disposition of the mayor to meet police emergency. In Concord there was no spirit of resistance to the draft. The prevalent disposition was to submit good-naturedly to the disagreeable necessity; while citizens liable to conscription formed, in some cases, associations to assist in obtaining substitutes for such as might be conscripted.

At last, on Wednesday, the 19th of August, 1863, the draft was made upon the seven wards of Concord. The drawing took place in representatives' hall, in the presence of many spectators, and with only half a dozen soldiers present as a provost-guard. Of the nine hundred twenty-four names placed in the wheel, two hundred seventy-seven were turned out, and the persons bearing them were announced as drafted. The result of the drawing was cheerfully accepted; and, in the evening, the Concord conscripts, with a band, and under the lead of Colonel Josiah B. Sanborn, made a march through the streets. The bounties paid by Concord in this draft amounted to thirty-one thousand five hundred dollars; denoting a shrinkage upon the number drafted of about thirty-seven per cent., through commutation and physical disability. The Draft Rendez-

vous for New Hampshire having been established in Concord, with General Edward W. Hinks in charge, the first detachments of conscripts came into camp during the last days of August; and by the 24th of September, nearly six hundred had been sent to join regiments in the field.

In course of the spring and summer of 1863 the return of regiments began to be a feature of interest in the life of the capital. The Second and Fifth returned for rest and recruitment; the Fifteenth and Sixteenth, for final discharge, their nine months' term of service having expired. All were received with demonstrations of hearty welcome. The ringing of bells, the salute of cannon, the display of flags, the music of bands, the march in procession, the speeches of welcome and reply, and the bountiful repast were favorite features of the ovations. The Second was the first of the New Hampshire regiments to whose lot such an ovation fell. Ordered to report to General Wool commanding the Department of the East, it reached Concord on the 3d of March, 1863. Here, at its reception, it was met and addressed by the veteran commander himself, and assigned its headquarters for ninety days. In May, with ranks replenished by the men of the disbanded Seventeenth, and other recruits, it departed again to join the Army of the Potomac.

On the 11th of August, came the reception of the Fifth and Fifteenth regiments—the former, just from Gettysburg, where its ranks, already thinned at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, had been thinned again, with loss of its commander, the heroic Cross; the latter regiment, sadly depleted in the Port Hudson siege and the pestilential climate of the lower Mississippi. The city had liberally appropriated for the reception of three regiments, including the Sixteenth; but the last returned too late. The welcome was warm and brilliant. Main street and the state house with its grounds were tastefully decorated. Military companies from Dover, Manchester, and Nashua, with the Manchester, Milford, and Dover Cornet bands, were present. Governor Gilmore received the two regiments in front of the state house park, with a speech of welcome, to which Lieutenant-Colonel Hapgood of the Fifth and Major Aldrich of the Fifteenth responded. The procession was formed, under the marshalship of Nehemiah G. Ordway, and in the following order, with bands interspersed at proper intervals: General Hinks and staff, Governor's Horse Guards, Governor Gilmore and staff, Amoskeag Veterans, Nashua Cadets, Strafford Guards, a company of U. S. Regulars, the Concord Lancers (a boys' company), the Fifth and Fifteenth regiments, carriages containing wounded officers and soldiers, members of the Executive Council, the City Government,

and distinguished visitors from abroad. After its march, the procession ended at state house park, where, early in the afternoon, several hundreds dined. From a stand erected near, Congressman Edward H. Rollins called the assembly to order, with brief remarks, and thirteen speakers responded to as many toasts. Mayor Benjamin F. Gale made response to the sentiment in memory of Major Edward E. Sturtevant; and William L. Foster to that in memory of Colonel Edward E. Cross. Among other speakers were Colonel Walter Harriman, Senators John P. Hale and Daniel Clark, and General Nathaniel B. Baker, of Iowa, formerly governor of New Hampshire.

The Fifth, on its arrival, had reported at Camp Gilmore, and it remained in Concord nearly three months, during which it was recruited to the minimum strength. Taking, on one occasion, its opportunity to mingle the grave and the gay, it had celebrated, on the evening of September 17th, in a brilliant ball at Eagle hall, the first anniversary of Antietam, where it had won distinguished honors.

The Sixteenth regiment, though not reaching Concord until the 14th of August, and so missing the reception intended for it, had one of its own, as cordial and grateful, if less elaborate. A cannon salute greeted its arrival at the station, where a large number of people had assembled, and whence, under the general management of Colonel Natt Head, of the governor's staff, and City Marshal Jonathan L. Pickering, it was escorted, in procession, by the Fifth, with detachments from New Hampshire regiments in the field, and the Heavy Artillery, to Phenix hall, where Joseph G. Wyatt had prepared a collation under the direction of the state and city authorities.

There were fifty-one sick and disabled men of the Sixteenth, who had reached Concord, but could not share in this reception. These were speedily cared for by the Soldiers' Aid society, and placed in hospital at the City hall, where were already some malarial patients of the Fifteenth. It was not long before, through the zealous efforts of both the state and city authorities, that a new structure, projecting from the southwest angle of the City hall building, was completed, capable of accommodating the more than one hundred victims of Southern malaria who were there treated. Of these, seventeen died; but those recovering were one by one removed to their homes, till, on the 5th of September, the extemporized hospital became vacant.

The draft had not answered expectation in furnishing men to the armies: and, on the 17th of October, 1863, a call for three hundred thousand volunteers was issued, to be enforced by a draft commencing on the 5th of January, 1864. The quota of New Hampshire, under this call, was three thousand seven hundred sixty-eight; that

of Concord, one hundred thirty-two. All volunteers were to be mustered into regiments then in the field—no new organizations being authorized—and recruits could enter any existing regiment they might select. Recruits who had served not less than nine months were to receive five hundred two dollars in bounty and premium,—four hundred two from the United States, and one hundred from New Hampshire. Fresh recruits were to receive one hundred dollars less.

Concord heard the call and made haste to comply. On the 10th of November, the city council authorized the city treasurer to borrow, from time to time, at a rate of interest not exceeding six per cent. a year, money not exceeding in all ninety-five thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the mayor, in encouraging and securing the voluntary enlistment of a sufficient number to fill the city's quota. The mayor was also authorized to take an assignment of the claims of volunteers to the bounties from the state and national governments, and advance to the said volunteers the amount of such claims in cash. This action was taken upon assurance from the war department, that the national bounties would be reimbursed by the general government. Mayor Gale promptly and judiciously exercised the authority thus conferred. He paid out on account of volunteers, sixty-four thousand one hundred dollars of the city appropriation, and received assignments of state and national bounties—to be reimbursed—amounting to fifty-two thousand four hundred fourteen dollars; making the balance of expenditures over receipts, only eleven thousand six hundred eighty-six dollars,¹ and showing the ultimate unreimbursed expenditure for each man to be about eighty-eight dollars. On the 25th of November, the quota of Concord under the call of October the 17th was declared full; while voluntary enlistment throughout the state finally precluded the threatened draft of January, 1864.

Then came, on the first day of February, the order for a draft of five hundred thousand men to be made on the 10th of March. But as New Hampshire had filled her quota under the recent call for three hundred thousand, she would be required to furnish only her proportion of two hundred thousand; and it was soon ascertained and duly proclaimed that she had already done this—she being even in excess of all demands upon her for men, and, consequently, out of the draft.

On the 14th of March, 1864, a call for two hundred thousand more was issued, with the 15th of April designated as the time up to which the numbers required from each town or ward of a city might be obtained by voluntary enlistment; but after that time

¹ Eleventh Annual City Report, p. 31.

drafting was to commence as soon as practicable. Under this call, drafting was not completely avoided; and, in a draft for the Second Congressional district, which took place on the 17th of May, in the rotunda of the state house, nineteen men were drawn, including a few from Concord. This was the last enforcement of the draft in New Hampshire, though, in course of the last and eventful year of the war, two other calls for troops were made. Concord was, all the while, contributing her share of newly enlisting volunteers and of veterans re-enlisting; so that, during the year 1864, she disbursed, in bounties to volunteers, the sum of one hundred thirteen thousand five hundred fifty dollars.¹

The re-enlistment of Veterans—as those who had been in the service two years were called—helped to obviate the necessity of drafting. The Sixth was the first New Hampshire regiment to re-enlist for three years or during the war. The re-enlisting veterans arrived in Concord on the 29th of January, 1864, upon their furlough of thirty days, and received an enthusiastic reception. On Sunday, the 28th of the following February, detachments of the Second, Fifth, and Twelfth regiments, to the number of four hundred fifty,—mostly re-enlisted veterans,—reached Concord upon furlough from Point Lookout. Among the demonstrations in their honor was a public meeting accorded them at Phenix hall, on the evening of the day of their arrival, and presided over by Mayor Gale. After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Bouton and a speech of welcome by His Excellency Governor Gilmore, appropriate speaking followed, in which the Revs. Henry E. Parker and A. J. Canfield, the Rev. Dr. Cummings, Nathaniel G. Upham, and others, participated. By the 1st of March, the state was credited with nearly seventeen hundred veteran re-enlistments in the following regiments, besides those already mentioned: The Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, Heavy Artillery, Sharpshooters, and Cavalry.

Early in 1864, the New Hampshire Battalion of Cavalry, which, since 1861, had constituted four companies, or “troops,” of the Rhode Island Cavalry, was detached therefrom. The men largely re-enlisted, and formed the substantial nucleus of the First New Hampshire Cavalry regiment, made up of twelve troops, and having John L. Thompson, of Plymouth, for colonel, and Benjamin T. Hutchins, of Concord, for lieutenant-colonel. Two of its first lieutenants, George W. Estabrook and George H. Thompson, were also of Concord.

Concord supplied a considerable number of men and officers for the Heavy Artillery, consisting of twelve companies raised in 1864, including the Light Battery organized in 1861. The regiment had for

¹ Twelfth Annual City Report, p. 25.

its first colonel, Charles H. Long, of Claremont. Its surgeon, Ezekiel Morrill; its principal musician, John H. Caswell; its captains, Robert S. Davis, Charles O. Bradley, and Richard E. Welch; and its second lieutenants, Joseph I. Shallis, Melvin L. Ingalls, George E. Crummett, and Asa D. Gilmore,—were of Concord.

The last New Hampshire regiment raised in the War of the Rebellion was the Eighteenth. It was enlisted partly under the call of July the 19th, 1864, for five hundred thousand troops; and partly, under that of December the 21st, 1864, for three hundred thousand—the last call of the war; for the state's quota under the first call had been filled when the sixth company was organized, but early in 1865, the organization of the regiment was completed under the second. Major Thomas L. Livermore, of the Fifth, became its colonel. Concord supplied, as its major, William I. Brown (of Fisherville), recently adjutant of the Ninth; quartermaster-sergeant, Samuel N. Brown; commissary-sergeant, Henry L. Harris; principal musician, Nathan W. Gove; company captains, Alvah K. Potter, Willis G. C. Kimball, John A. Colby; first lieutenant, Henry S. Brown.

Thus, New Hampshire and its capital supported the purpose of the national administration to fill the Union armies for the last great year of the war. That year was 1864,—the year when Grant marched upon Richmond by way of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, and Lincoln, in recognition of unrivaled fitness, was bidden by the people to hold his high office for a second term. That year had come and gone; Grant had fought it out to the investment of the Rebel capital, and Lincoln had entered upon his second term. The soldiers of New Hampshire and of Concord had served with Grant, while the men at home supported at the polls both President and Army by reassuring majorities, one tenth of which Concord gave. But the details of military and political operations must be omitted here.

On Monday evening, April 3, 1865, Concord celebrated the fall of Richmond with a display of flags, ringing of bells, discharge of cannon, and a procession. Just a week later, on Monday morning, April 10, came the news of Lee's surrender at Appomattox, the day before. Cheering crowds gathered all over the city to exchange congratulations. Mayor Humphrey at once ordered a cannon-salute, and the bells to be rung. A salute of one hundred guns was also fired by order of Secretary Stanton. Flags were unfurled and tasteful decorations displayed in profusion. At five o'clock in the afternoon, a procession was formed in front of the state house under the marshalship of Adjutant-General Natt Head, comprising, in its line, the Veteran Reserve Corps,—stationed at Camp Gilmore on the Dunklee

fair ground; a delegation of disabled soldiers from the hospital at Camp Union; a company of recruits, who, fortunately, would not have to go to the front; the city fire companies; a cavalcade; the Concord Lancers; Lincoln Cadets; and citizens in carriages. Headed by the Concord Brigade Band, the procession marched to the residence of Governor Gilmore, where it was joined by His Excellency and staff, and thence continued its march through the joyous streets. In the evening, there was an extensive illumination; the fireworks were fine and the bonfires numerous. Eagle hall was crowded with happy men and women. Mayor Humphrey presided at this meeting, which was addressed by the Rev. Henry E. Parker, Governor Gilmore, Henry P. Rolfe, Joseph B. Walker, Captain Alfred Norton, ex-Mayor Benjamin F. Gale, and State Treasurer Peter Sanborn.

In the early morning of Saturday, April the 15th, came the appalling news that Abraham Lincoln was no more—stricken down the evening before by assassination. Thereat sadness brooded over Concord; and the day became, as it were, a holiday of sorrow. Arrangements were made for a citizens' meeting, to be held at Phoenix hall on Sunday afternoon. A large assemblage convened at the appointed time and place. In that crowded hall, draped with emblems of mourning, and amid the tears of many, resolutions presented by Asa McFarland, and supported by the feeling words of prominent citizens, were adopted.

On Wednesday, the historic 19th of April, occurred at Washington—and throughout the land—the funeral of Lincoln, into whose open grave a nation's tears were falling fast. In Concord, and in accordance with the proclamations of the governor of the state and the mayor of the city, religious services were held in the North and South Congregational and the Unitarian and Episcopal churches. All places of business were closed from eleven o'clock to three. A procession formed at the North church, and headed by the brigade band and a company of wounded soldiers, marched successively to the other churches, and from the South church to the front of the city hall, where Governor Gilmore addressed the multitude, and the Rev. Dr. Bouton offered prayer and pronounced the benediction.

The final reception of the New Hampshire regiments returning from the front where war had been, became an interesting experience of the capital during the summer and autumn months of 1865. The first to return was the Eleventh, with Colonel Harriman at its head, arriving on the 6th of June; the last, was the reorganized Second, in command of Colonel Joab N. Patterson, reaching Concord on the 23d of December. All, prior to final discharge, received their pay, —twelve of them from the hand of Major Henry McFarland, of Con-

cord, for three years a paymaster in the army,—and all departed to their homes of peace, leaving their battle-inscribed standards a sacred deposit in the capitol.¹

The war was over, its cause removed, and Peace, returning with blessings beneath her wings, hovered over the land.

NOTES.

The First Volunteers. The following is a list of the first volunteers of Concord and Fisherville: Concord,—Edward E. Sturtevant, William D. Locke, George Clark, William H. Prescott, Eben Ordway, Alfred J. Bullock, Charles N. Ela, Warren S. Abbott, Daniel Anderson, Thomas Newton, Parkhurst D. Quimby, George A. Jones, Thomas C. Weeks, Walter S. Drew, Charles H. Smart, Charles W. Porter, John Lamprey, George E. Wright, Amos L. Colburn, Frank R. Drew, James N. Sleeper, Richard B. Wheeler, John R. Miller, John C. French, Enoch W. Goss, George W. Sylvester, Lewis A. Clapp, Frank W. Alden, Simon L. Dorr, Martin Wells, Charles O. Bradley, Henry C. Sturtevant, Joseph G. Whitney, Calvin F. Langley, James K. Whitney, Michael Storin, Benjamin Thaxter, William H. Eaton, William Smith, 2d, Charles S. Leavitt, Edmund Aiken, Henry Griffin, Charles W. Bickford, John H. Gilman, James M. Langley, Timothy G. Moores, Stephen H. Bartlett, Benjamin F. Varney, Horace Clark, Henry M. Robinson, Addison S. Martin, Robert Dame, James Casley, Joseph C. Wolcott, William L. Hildreth. Fisherville,—Leonard Drown, Curtis Flanders, Moses Jones, James Thompson, Joseph S. Sweatt, Michael Griffin, Jason R. C. Hoyt, Philip C. Eastman, Isaac N. Vesper, John K. Flanders, Stephen Cooney, William Haley, Hiram F. Durgin, Thomas Ward, Joseph H. Currier.

Musical Patriotism. John H. Morey and Benjamin B. Davis were leaders in providing those musical entertainments mentioned in the text.

Major Seth Eastman. The mustering officer, Major Seth Eastman, of the United States Army, was a son of Robert Eastman, of East Concord, and fourth in line of descent from Captain Ebenezer Eastman. He had been professor of drawing at West Point eight years, and had served in the Florida War.

War Statistics. William A. Hodgdon, city clerk during the Civil War, collated in 1865 statistics as to troops furnished by Concord, a summary of which is here given: Whole number of men furnished on all calls during the war was one thousand four hundred ninety-seven. Of these, seven hundred eighty-four were furnished prior to

¹ See War Statistics, in note at close of chapter.

the call of July 3, 1863. Under the calls of July 3, 1863, October, 1863, February 1, 1864, consolidated, two hundred thirty-eight men were furnished, and one hundred eleven thousand five hundred twelve dollars paid in bounties; under that of March 14, 1864, ninety-five men, with twenty-five thousand two hundred dollars bounty; under that of July 18, 1864, two hundred thirty men, with one hundred eighty-one thousand four hundred fifty-one dollars bounty; under that of December 19, 1864, one hundred fifty men, with ninety-six thousand twenty-two hundred dollars fifty cents bounty: making the total number of men furnished under the six calls, seven hundred thirteen, and the whole amount of bounty paid four hundred fourteen thousand one hundred eighty-five dollars, being an average per man of five hundred eighty dollars ninety cents. The amount of bounty paid embraces the total expense incurred for advancement of government bounty, city bounty, all sums paid by individuals in putting in substitutes, and all expenses incurred by ward committees and individuals in filling the quotas; in other words, every known expense of city, wards, or individuals in furnishing the above seven hundred thirteen men for the war.

The Quartermaster of the First New Hampshire Volunteers. The rapidity with which the first New Hampshire regiment was equipped for service was largely due to its quartermaster, Richard N. Batchelder, of Manchester, whose executive ability here shown was to find early recognition in the field and rapid promotion, until during the last year of the war he was chief quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac. He was one of the ablest officers New Hampshire contributed to the service, as the testimonials of Grant, Meade, Hancock, Hooker, and other commanders show. At the close of the war he was appointed to the quartermaster's corps of the regular army, and became quartermaster-general in 1890, retiring in 1896.

Destruction of a Newspaper Office. The particulars of the destruction of the *Democratic Standard* office by members of the First regiment, indignant at certain bitter utterances against Abraham Lincoln and the soldiers engaged with him in prosecuting the war against Rebellion, are given in a special chapter. It suffices to be said here that those who did the work of destruction were careful not to injure any property except that of the objectionable sheet. "The affair was not," said Mayor Moses Humphrey years afterward, "a rum mob,—if mob it be called,—but a mob of excited patriotism."

A Regiment paid in Gold. On the 9th of August, 1862, the First regiment was paid off at the treasurer's office in the state house by Paymaster Moses K. Hazelton. The disbursement of nearly thirty thousand dollars was made in specie—largely gold. The precious

metal, so profusely displayed on that occasion, was soon to vanish utterly from current use for years.

CONCORD SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR.¹

FIRST REGIMENT.	
Aiken, Edmund	Butler, Job, Cr.
Bradley, Charles O.	Campbell, George, Cr.
Brown, Henry S.	Campbell, Thomas, Cr.
Brown, Robert A.	Carr, Samuel L.
Bullock, Alfred J.	Carter, Charles, Cr.
Carr, William	Carter, George T.
Casley, James	Chamberlin, George C.
Clapp, Lewis H.	Chase, Samuel H.
Colburn, Amos L.	Cheever, George N.
Dame, Robert S.	Clark, Edward, Cr.
Day, Alonzo L.	Clark, Harry, Cr.
Drew, Walter S.	Clark, Joseph, Cr.
Eaton, William H.	Clark, Theodore S.
Ela, Charles N.	Clay, George H.
Estabrook, George W.	Clemenson, Joseph C., Cr.
Flanders, Curtis	Clement, Orin B.
French, John C.	Cohen, William, Cr.
Fuller, Henry W.	Colby, Abiel W.
Goss, Enoch W.	Concklin, Charles, Cr.
Griffin, Henry J.	Connor, John, Cr.
Griffin, Michael	Converse, Nathan P.
Langley, Calvin F.	Cooper, Charles S.
Langley, James M.	Cooper, John D., Jr.
Lock, William D.	Crowley, Timothy, Cr.
Mathes, Henry	Dandon, Anthony, Cr.
McVicar, Alexander	Davis, Samuel, Cr.
Moore, George A.	Day, Freeman F., Cr.
Newton, Thomas	Desmond, Daniel
Ordway, Eben	Drew, Jedediah K.
Pingree, John H.	Drown, Leonard
Robinson, Henry M.	Durand, Adolphe
Scripture, Stephen A.	Durgin, Abner F.
Silver, William C.	Durgin, Hiram F.
Smart, Charles H.	Eastman, Philip C.
Smith, William, 2d	Edwards, Charles, Cr.
Sturtevant, Edward E.	Edwards, John, Cr.
Sturtevant, Henry C.	Egin, John, Cr.
Sylvester, George W.	Erickson, John, Cr.
Thaxter, Benjamin	Folsom, Asa
Weeks, Thomas C.	Forrest, Edward W.
Wells, Martin	Fox, William, Cr.
Wheeler, Richard B.	French, James L.
Whitney Joseph G.	Fuller, Amos, Cr.
Wright, George E.	Gallagher, Henry, Cr.
	Gerrish, Hiram F.
	Goodwin, Hiram S.
	Griffin, Simon G.
	Griffin, William, Cr.
	Hadley, Sylvester E.
	Hanson, John
	Harmond, Charles
	Hayes, Charles II.
	Healey, William
	Hendrick, John, Cr.
	Hiliker, Charles, Cr.
	Hill, George II.
	Holbrook, Henry
	Holden, Wyman
	Holt, Amos, Cr.
	Holt, Henry, Cr.
	Howes, James, Cr.
	Hoyt, Francis S.
	Hurd, George
	Jameson, Edward C.
	Jenness, Henry O.
	Johnson, Charles, Cr.
	Jones, George A.
	Judd, Michael, Cr.
	Kendall, John A.
	Keyes, Franklin L.
	Klemeier, Henry A., Cr.
	Ladd, George W.
	Lamprey, Daniel
	Lamprey, Horace A.
	Lamprey, John
	Lamprey, John L.
	Lang, John, Cr.
	Laskey, William, Cr.
	Leaver, Thomas B.
	Lee, Alfred, Cr.
	Lee, John, Cr.
	Lewis, Cornelius
	Little, Thomas B.
	Lynch, John, Cr.
	Manning, Charles R.
	Marden, Alfred L.
	Martin, Addison S.
	Martin, Daniel S.
	McDonough, Owen, Cr.
	McKinnon, Daniel B., Cr.
	McNeil, Paul, Cr.
	Meyers, Abraham, Cr.
	Moore, John C. W.
	Moore, Timothy G., Cr.
	Morse, William E.
	Mullen, Peter, Cr.
	Mussey, John B.
	Nash, Charles, Cr.
	Newman, Charles, Cr.
	Nichols, John II.
	Noyes, Edward R.
	Odin, John W.
	O'Malley, Thomas, Cr.
	Parker, George, Cr.
	Parker, Henry E.
	Partridge, Simeon
	Patch, William H. H.
	Perkins, Francis W.
	Perkins, George, Cr.
	Pieree, Joseph, Cr.
	Powell, John, Cr.
	Prescott, William H.
	Price, George, Cr.
	Randall, Joseph, Cr.
	Riley, Thomas, Cr.
	Roberts, Jean, Cr.
	Robertson, John, Cr.
	Robinson, Richard W., Cr.
	Rouse, Patrick, Cr.
	Sanborn, DeWitt C.
	Sands, John, Cr.
	Sanger, Austin T.
	Seymour, Charles
	Shute, Charles H.
	Shute, George M.
	Silver, Isaac, Cr.
	Simpson, Joseph, Cr.
	Small, George W., Cr.
	Smith, Edward, Cr.
	Smith, Victor, Cr.

SECOND REGIMENT.

Alden, Frank W.
 Allen, Charles H.
 Allen, Charles P.
 Allen, Harlan P.
 Anderson, Charles, Cr.
 Anderson, Henry, Cr.
 Bateholder, Sewall D.
 Bickford, Joseph, Cr.
 Boyden, George W.
 Boyer, William, Cr.
 Bremer, John, Cr.
 Brown, John, 2d, Cr.
 Brown, John, 3d, Cr.
 Brown, John H., Cr.
 Brown, John L. T.
 Burke, Thomas, Cr.
 Burnett, William, Cr.

¹ Cr. credited to Concord from other towns.

Smith, William, Cr.
 Stevens, Benjamin G.
 Stevens, Edward R.
 Stevens, Josiah, Jr.
 Stevenson, William
 Storn, Michael
 St. Pierre, Prudent, Cr.
 Sullivan, William, Cr.
 Swett, Nelson S.
 Thomas, Elisha, Cr.
 Thompson, Ai B.
 Thompson, James
 Tobin, Edward, Cr.
 Traynor, Edward, Cr.
 Tryon, James, Cr.
 Turner, Francis, Cr.
 Varney, Benjamin F.
 Vesper, Isaac N.
 Walker, Charles W.
 Wallace, Nathaniel D.
 Wallace, William
 Watson, Jacob W.
 Westerman, William, Cr.
 Wiggins, George A.
 Wilkinson, Joseph H.
 Willard, George, Cr.
 Willey, John H.
 Williams, James, Cr.
 Wirt, William, Cr.
 Wolcott, Joseph C.
 Wood, Charles, 1st, Cr.
 Wood, Charles, 2d, Cr.
 Woodman, Alfred
 York, Michael, Cr.

THIRD REGIMENT.

Abbott, John
 Abbott, Warren S.
 Arlin, Emri
 Ayer, Henry H.
 Baker, Thomas, Cr.
 Bartlett, Stephen H.
 Brown, D. Arthur
 Brown, Henry F.
 Brown, Samuel F.
 Burnham, Matthew F.
 Buxton, John R.
 Caswell, John H.
 Chase, James M.
 Cole, James, Cr.
 Cooney, Stephen
 Crague, Henry, Cr.
 Currier, Adna S.
 Currier, Joseph H.
 Cushon, Joel A.
 Dadmun, Josiah A.
 Davis, James, Cr.
 Davis, William Y.
 Day, George M.
 Dimick, Asa
 Drew, Charles H.
 Edwards, James W., Cr.
 Ela, Richard
 Farrand, Edmund
 Feen, Gerrett, Cr.
 Flanders, George E.
 Flanders, John K.
 Flanders, William W.
 Ford, Elisha H., Cr.
 Foss, John
 French, Loveland W.
 Gates, Edward, Cr.

Gerald, Frank E.
 Gilbert, Daniel W.
 Gove, Charles H.
 Gove, Nathan M.
 Gove, Nathan W.
 Hagan, Charles, Cr.
 Hall, Charles, Cr.
 Harney, George, Cr.
 Harris, George C., Cr.
 Hart, Robert
 Haurathy, Francis, Cr.
 Hoyt, Jason R. C.
 Ingalls, Gustavus W.
 Jackson, George W.
 Killam, Alonzo, Cr.
 Kittredge, Perry
 Krebs, Carl
 Lang, George B.
 Lear, George A.
 Lear, Henry N.
 Linehan, John C.
 Lovejoy, George L.
 Martin, Joseph
 McDaniel, Samuel
 McKinnon, Daniel B.
 Mills, George H.
 Mining, Thomas W.
 Mitchell, John C.
 Moulton, Albert A.
 Nash, William, Cr.
 Parsons, Edgar V., Cr.
 Rattray, Thomas
 Reed, John N., Cr.
 Robinson, Rody
 Roby, Walter S.
 Russell, George, Cr.
 Sanborn, Jacob R.
 Sawyer, Moody A.
 Scales, Charles F.
 Scott, William P.
 Smith, Thomas, Cr.
 Smith, William, Cr.
 Spellman, Martin
 Stephens, Edward R.
 Storn, Matthew
 Tebo, Samuel
 Thing, Frederick F., Cr.
 Warren, Frank, Cr.
 Watson, George E.
 Welcome, Philip
 Weymouth, Charles H., Cr.
 White, Charles H.
 Wilson, William, Cr.

FOURTH REGIMENT.

Avery, Louis C.
 Billings, Liberty
 Bresnahan, John
 Bronson, Louis, Cr.
 Carleton, Charles A.
 Clark, Asa
 Colburn, Amos L.
 Cole, Daniel Q.
 Davis, Daniel, Jr.
 Dickerman, John C.
 Ducey, John
 Fuller, Henry W.
 Hichborn, Philip
 Kendall, Frederick A.
 Kent, Albert F., Cr.
 Libbey, Charles F.
 Libbey, Andrew G.

Madden, Michael
 Mann, Henry A.
 Martin, Thomas, Cr.
 McDonald, James, Cr.
 McEwen, William, Cr.
 Norton, William K.
 Nudd, John H.
 Sanborn, Daniel F.
 Tandy, Franklin L.
 Tandy, Josiah
 Taylor, Thomas, Cr.
 Thompson, John
 Tuttle, Hiram C.
 Walker, Frank, Cr.
 Watson, Samuel, Cr.
 Weeks, Thomas C.
 Whiting, Nelson, Cr.
 Wilson, Henry, Cr.
 Witham, John W.

FIFTH REGIMENT.

Adams, Addison
 Aiken, Edmund
 Ames, Horace
 Baker, Nathaniel E.
 Barnard, Hazen A.
 Barnes, George J.
 Bean, Thomas P.
 Bell, James, Cr.
 Benney, John, Cr.
 Blinn, Orvis F.
 Boyd, Thomas
 Branam, Patrick
 Bucknam, George H.
 Bunnell, Lucius D.
 Bush, James, Cr.
 Carter, Charles,
 Carter, Frederick J., Cr.
 Cogswell, James
 Cook, Benjamin
 Cook, Frank E.
 Cook, Jacob H.
 Copp, Luther
 Couch, Calvin P.
 Cutting, Asa D.
 Dale, Henry, Cr.
 Dame, Robert S.
 Danforth, Nathan C.
 Davis, Jared M.
 Davis, John, Cr.
 Delaney, John
 Delury, William
 Donovan, John
 Dorety, Marcus
 Dorr, Simon L.
 Drew, Frank P.
 Drew, Walter S.
 Ducey, Cornelius,
 Dufur, Porter
 Dunn, Samuel, Cr.
 Eastman, Nelson G., Cr.
 Eastman, Reuben J.
 Eastman, William W.
 Eile, Charles, Cr.
 Fenev, Lucius,
 Fitzgerald, Patrick, Cr.
 Gahagan, Anthony
 Gahagan, Thomas
 Garvey, Luke
 Gibson, Daniel
 Gilmore, Edwin C.
 Gilson, William, Cr.

Godfrey, Orlando I.
 Haines, Samuel
 Hammond, Isaac W.
 Heath, Moses C.
 Hook, William L.
 Hughes, Peter
 Jackson, Lewis
 James, Thomas
 Jones, Henry, Cr.
 Keenan, Francis
 Kelley, John, Cr.
 LaBonta, John
 Larkin, Albert M.
 Larkin, Elkanah A.
 Larkin, James E.
 Leavitt, Charles S.
 LeBosquet, William F.
 Lock, William D.
 Lotter, William
 Lovejoy, Samuel S.
 Lucht, Ludwig, Cr.
 Lussoy, Edward, Cr.
 Lynch, John
 Mansur, Nathan
 Marsh, Charles T.
 May, Isaac A.
 McDonald, William, Cr.
 McGee, Frank, Cr.
 McGuire, John, Cr.
 McKeag, James, Cr.
 Melcher, Charles G.
 Merrill, Samuel F.
 Morrill, Richard S.
 Morse, Benjamin F.
 Morse, George
 Mullen, Daniel, Cr.
 Murphy, John, Cr.
 Murray, John
 Ordway, Eben
 Paine, Joshua
 Paul, John, Cr.
 Pervere, Benjamin, Cr.
 Prescott, Sewall
 Price, James
 Quinn, Peter
 Reilly, Charles
 Rich, John, Cr.
 Robinson, Daniel W.
 Robinson, Henry M.
 Ryan, John, Cr.
 Saltmarsh, Andrew
 Sargent, Charles
 Saunders, Daniel J.
 Scott, James, Cr.
 Silver, William C.
 Smart, Charles H.
 Smith, Charles
 Smith, Edward P., Cr.
 Smith, Frank W., Cr.
 Smith, Robert J., Cr.
 Snow, John, Cr.
 Spead, Leonard
 Starkey, Martin T.
 Steno, Victor
 Stoddard, Norton, Cr.
 Stone, Abel H.
 Strong, Medad
 Startevart, Edward E.
 Sylvester, George W.
 Taylor, Roland
 Thornton, Bernard
 Wallace, William D.
 White, John

Whitney, John
 Willard, Charles H.
 Wilson, John, Cr.
 Wood, William
 Wooley, Samuel

SIXTH REGIMENT.

Bany, Thomas B., Cr.
 Barber, William A.
 Bixby, Phin P.
 Boyden, George W.
 Brock, Benjamin
 Cass, Jeremiah
 Chesley, Charles C.
 Crummett, Joseph
 Cushing, James, Cr.
 Dame, James C.
 Dimick, Edwin M.
 Dodge, Rodney
 Doyle, Patrick W.
 Dudley, Hubbard T.
 Edmunds, Andrew J.
 Ela, Robert L.
 Fagan, William
 Gleason, William T.
 Gough, John
 Gould, Solon
 Griffin, Henry J.
 Griffin, Simon G.
 Hadley, William H.
 Harris, Joseph, Cr.
 Hildreth, William L.
 Hill, Edwin
 Hill, Howard T.
 Hook, James M.
 Horner, William H.
 Hoyt, Peter, Cr.
 Kirbey, James
 Lambrey, Stephen
 Leighton, Charles
 Marden, George W.
 McCaffrey, Samuel
 Moore, George E., Cr.
 Moore, Thomas T.
 Neddo, James, Cr.
 Newton, Thomas
 Olsen, Peter
 Parker, John, Cr.
 Pettingill, Lafayette
 Pope, Joseph P. B.
 Potter, Robert H.
 Putnam, Charles
 Rand, James C.
 Richardson, Lyman E.
 Rollins, Lyman
 Shipard, John, Cr.
 Simonds, Andrew
 Simonds, John S.
 Simons, Andrew L.
 Smart, Charles H., Cr.
 Smith, Dexter D.
 Sprague, Fred D.
 Wilder, Thomas
 Wilson, George W.
 Wood, Robert

SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Abbott, Daniel E.
 Abbott, George W.
 Abbott, Oliver B.
 Brackett, James K.
 Brown, Robert A.
 Burke, John J.
 Burt, Robert
 Bush, Thomas, Cr.
 Cable, David F.
 Callahan, William, Cr.
 Carter, John F.
 Casey, Richard
 Chadwick, James
 Chandler, Lucius H.
 Cheeney, Lyman K.
 Coffee, James, Cr.
 Conner, Lorenzo F.
 Carrier, Charles H., Cr.
 Davis, Calvin
 Dow, Timothy
 Dow, William E.
 Durgin, Jeremiah S.
 Dwinells, James M.
 Dwinells, Warren P.
 Eastman, Edson A.
 Elliott, Charles H.
 Emerson, Joseph C.
 Farrand, Joseph
 Farrand, Robert O.
 Ferrin, Freeman
 Flanders, John A., Cr.
 French, Burlleigh F.
 French, James S.
 French, Oscar F.
 Frost, Hiram B., Cr.
 Galagan, Patrick
 George, Washington A.
 Gilman, George W.
 Goodwin, Andrew, Cr.
 Haley, Thomas
 Hall, Francis, Cr.
 Hall, Moses W.
 Harland, James, Cr.
 Heath, Thomas B., Cr.
 Hoyt, Joseph S.
 Holmes, Bradford H.
 Holmes, Myron G.
 Holt, Samuel W.
 Houghton, Edward L.
 Hoyt, George A.
 Hutchinson, William S.
 James, Samuel P.
 Johnson, Benjamin, Cr.
 Kelley, John, Cr.
 Kimball, Henry
 Landress, John, Cr.
 Leamore, Henry, Cr.
 Leroy, Charles, Cr.
 Lovering, Charles H.
 Lown, John, Cr.
 Marsh, Davis S.
 Martin, Daniel W.
 McDonald, John, Cr.
 Melville, John, Cr.
 Morrill, Charles A., Cr.
 Morrison, Edward
 Nathans, Thomas, Cr.
 Nolan, Richard
 Pettengill, Daniel, Cr.
 Pettingill, Ephraim
 Potter, Alvah K.
 Reed, Samuel P.
 Reed, Selwin S.
 Roach, William S.
 Rowe, Joseph F., Cr.
 Rowell, Charles D.
 Russell, John, Cr.
 Sargent, William A.

Sawyer, Thomas J.
Smith, Henry
Smith, James, Cr.
Stevens, Abial
Stevens, Charles
Stevens, David
Stevens, Henry
Stevens, William
Tasker, Daniel P.
Thomas, Henry, Cr.
Wadleigh, William R.
Wallace, Charles B.
Wells, Alfred, Cr.
Wetherill, William G.
Younger, Thomas, Cr.

EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Abbott, Joseph M.
Anderson, James, Cr.
Atwood, Alvin
Bickford, Andrew
Bowen, Charles A.
Brickley, Thomas A., Cr.
Bryhen, James, Cr.
Burt, William, Cr.
Chandler, Jacob F.
Claffey, Andrew J.
Clark, Horace, Cr.
Clay, Charles H.
Cochrane, Joseph, Cr.
Comstock, Walter
Curran, Dennis J., Cr.
Dexter, Edwin F., Cr.
Dinsmore, Albert
Drew, Enos G.
Estabrook, Aaron G.
Everett, John
Ferguson, John
Finneran, Patrick, Cr.
Flynn, Thomas, Cr.
Foisie, John B.
French, John C.
Getchell, Charles, Cr.
Goodrich, Almon P.
Gould, Hiram M.
Gow, William G., Cr.
Grainger, George C., Cr.
Griffin, Michael
Guide, George, Cr.
Harvell, Frank
Horn, Samuel, Cr.
Howard, Charles, Cr.
Jansen, Charles, Cr.
Johnson, Henry, Cr.
Kelley, Martin, Cr.
Kimball, Nathaniel O.
Lamprey, Morris
Landers, James H.
Langley, James M.
Leman, Arnold, Cr.
Lingo, Andri, Cr.
Mansur, Ephriam
Mansur, Joseph
Martin, Francis, Cr.
Martin, James
Martin, James T.
Martin, Michael
Martin, Thomas, Cr.
McCoy, Peter, Cr.
McGairl, Cornelius, Cr.
McLean, John, Cr.
Melia, John O.

Merrill, Andrew P., Cr.
Mitchell, John E., Cr.
Morrill, Jesse F.
Narcisse, Louis, Cr.
Neff, William E.
Neil, Andrew, Cr.
Newhall, Daniel B.
Nichols, Daniel E.
Norton, Francis, Cr.
Patten, Levi L.
Pillsbury, John F.
Provancher, John
Riley, James, Cr.
Risley, John, Cr.
Robbins, Charles A., Cr.
Robinson, George H., Cr.
Robinson, Charles, Cr.
Rooney, James F.
Rowe, David B.
Ryan, James, Cr.
Ryan, Thomas, Cr.
Sawyer, James, Cr.
Scott, Lewis W.
Sexton, John K., Cr.
Smith, Francis I.
Smith, John, Cr.
Smith, Morrill B.
Smith, Parker H.
Stevens, Samuel, Cr.
Stokes, John K.
Tewksbury, Samuel F.
Tonkin, Gustavus D.
Wallace, George, Cr.
Webb, William G., Cr.
Webber, Harrison
Williams, Henry, Cr.
Woodbury, Frank D.
Woods, Charles M., Cr.

NINTH REGIMENT.

Alexander, Samuel J.
Babb, Edward C.
Bailey, Sewell B., Cr.
Barnes, Leander C.
Blaisdell, Charles H.
Blanchard, Moses W.
Boyden, George W.
Brown, William I.
Burns, James
Caldwell, Hiram P.
Campbell, John, Cr.
Carpenter, Hamilton, Cr.
Chandler, George H.
Clark, Charles, Cr.
Cross, Thomas C.
Cullen, Richard
Davis, Albert H.
Davis, Albert P., Cr.
Dodge, Rodney, Cr.
Emerson, Edward I., Cr.
Gordon, George
Greene, Edwin
Herr, Michiel
Heselton, Rufus B.
Hill, Daniel E., Cr.
Johnson, James, Cr.
Jordan, William
Leavitt, Gilman, Cr.
Lougee, Robert K., Cr.
McCaffrey, Samuel, Cr.
McKusick, Asa A., Cr.
McQuade, Patrick

Morrison, Peter
Olson, Peter, Cr.
Prindable, James
Ranals, Charles
Rofe, Horace H.
Sanborn, Carroll, Cr.
Smith, Dexter D., Cr.
Stevens, Josiah, Jr.
Sylvester, George P.
Teel, Josiah
Underhill, Charles W.
Ward, John, Cr.

TENTH REGIMENT.

Arnold, Michael
Bresnahan, John, Cr.
Buckley, Charles, Cr.
Callahan, Jerry, Cr.
Callahan, John, Cr.
Callahan, Michael
Cate, Augustus J.
Connolly, Edward, Cr.
Dow, Lewis, Cr.
Drew, Charles A., Cr.
Driscoll, Cornelius, Cr.
Driscoll, Daniel, Cr.
French, Joseph, Cr.
Gannon, Michael, Cr.
Haley, James, Cr.
Howard, Frank, Cr.
Keenan, John C.
Kelley, Patrick, Cr.
Lamprey, Maurice S.
Mann, John, Cr.
Max, Augustus, Cr.
McMahon, John, Cr.
Mehigan, Charles, Cr.
Moran, Michael, Cr.
Murphy, John
Norton, Henry, Cr.
Powell, Alred D.
Quimby, Moses M., Cr.
Quimby, Ransom, Cr.
Ray, Joseph, Cr.
Spellman, Peter, Cr.
Stevens, John, Cr.
Trimble, Robert, Cr.

ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Bartlett, William H.
Bryant, Orland C.
Burke, John, Cr.
Critchett, William W.
Dubois, Charles, Cr.
Eizzer, John, Cr.
Haines, Frank E.
Hayes, John A.
Hutchins, Edward R.
Moore, John C. W.
Phillips, William, Cr.
Pierre, Bordeau, Cr.
Rumsey, George A.
Sprague, Frederick D., Cr.
Worthen, George W.

TWELFTH REGIMENT.

Batchelder, George L.
Evans, Ira C.
Hill, Byron C.
McKeever, James, Cr.
Potter, Joseph H.

THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

Adams, John, Cr.
 Anderson, James, Cr.
 Batchelder, Alvin B.
 Batchelder, Josiah
 Bissert, John, Cr.
 Bradley, Charles O.
 Brown, George, Cr.
 Burns, George
 Butters, George F.
 Carter, Horace D.
 Carter, Weston M.
 Casavaint, Gideon
 Casavaint, Michael
 Clark, John, Cr.
 Conklin, George, Cr.
 Coranney, Cornelius, Cr.
 Davis, William S.
 Delaney, John F., Cr.
 Dickerman, Joseph W.
 Durgin, James, Cr.
 Flanders, Robert K.
 Gallagher, James.
 Glover, Charles F.
 Glover, George A.
 Gray, William H., Cr.
 Ladd, Moses
 Lane, John A.
 Libby, Charles
 Lull, John E.
 Lull, John M.
 Lull, Leander C.
 McMann, John, Cr.
 McConney, William H.
 McMichael, Henry W.
 Morgan, Charles
 Morrill, Ezekiel
 Nealley, Henry B.
 Palmer, John C.
 Peters, Benjamin F., Cr.
 Reid, James, Cr.
 Sanborn, Edwin
 Sargent, Frank
 Schanks, Edward
 Smith, John, Cr.
 Smith, Thomas E., Cr.
 Snare, John W., Cr.
 Staniels, Rufus P.
 Tufts, George S., Cr.
 Virgin, William W.
 Weeks, George H.
 Wilder, George A.
 Williamson, William

FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Alard, John, Cr.
 Axman, John, Cr.
 Baker, Albert A.
 Baker, William H.
 Clode, Molliver, Cr.
 Collins, Thomas, Cr.
 Helsey, James, Cr.
 Libby, William H.
 Moody, William H.
 Moran, James, Cr.
 Neal, William H.
 Smith, Charles, Cr.
 Smith, Laroy
 Smith, Peter, Cr.
 Thomas, George, Cr.
 Tucker, George W.

FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Brown, George W.
 Flanders, Rothois
 Griffin, John S.
 Heath, John H.
 O'Connor, John
 Sargent, Joseph E.

SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Abbott, Levi C.
 Atwood, Alvah
 Austin, Charles E.
 Barnes, Jefferson
 Boucher, Joseph R.
 Brown, Samuel N.
 Buswell, Reuben D.
 Cooper, Charles S.
 Crummett, George E.
 Cushon, George H.
 Cushon, Joel A.
 Davis, Nathaniel W.
 Davis, Robert S.
 Dimond, Gilman H.
 Dow, Nathan M.
 Drown, Albert H.
 Elliott, Alfred
 Elliott, Hall F.
 Elliott, James C., Jr.
 Elliott, John H.
 Elliott, Lewis B.
 Emery, Asa
 Farnum, Andrew S.
 Fuller, Henry W.
 Gerald, Edward
 Hall, Charles I.
 Hall, Frank P.
 Herbert, Charles H.
 Holden, Samuel E.
 Lamprey, Maitland C.
 Lang, Charles W.
 McCarty, Patrick
 Merrill, James O.
 Noyes, George
 Orne, William H.
 Perkins, Jerauld
 Powell, Alvin C.
 Powell, Sylvester H.
 Quimby, Parclust D.
 Sargent, David W.
 Shallies, Joseph I.
 Shepard, George W.
 Smart, Albert H.
 Smith, David D.
 Stevens, David
 Stevens, Hiram
 Summers, Charles T.
 Wilson, Charles

SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT.

Bodwell, George

EIGHTEENTH REGIMENT.

Adams, Charles, Cr.
 Bailey, Stephen E., Cr.
 Baker, Nathaniel E.
 Barnett, William
 Batchelder, George F., Cr.
 Batchelder, George W., Cr.

Bateman, John H., Cr.
 Boyle, Henry, Cr.
 Brown, Henry S.
 Brown, Samuel N.
 Brown, William I.
 Bruce, Samuel C., Cr.
 Callahan, Michael
 Carter, Frank A., Cr.
 Cilley, James A., Cr.
 Clark, Edward J., Cr.
 Clark, John II., Cr.
 Colby, John A.
 Curran, John, Cr.
 Davis, Timothy, Cr.
 Dodge, John S., Cr.
 Durgin, J. Scott
 Eastman, Edson A., Cr.
 Eastman, Rendall, Cr.
 Farley, Edwin R., Cr.
 Fifield, Charles W., Cr.
 Flanders, Robert K.
 Gove, Nathan W., Cr.
 Grimes, Edwin H., Cr.
 Hall, Frank P., Cr.
 Hancock, Nathan P., Cr.
 Happenney, James R., Cr.
 Harris, Henry L., Cr.
 Hayden, Charles M., Cr.
 Hill, Edwin, Cr.
 Hilton, Jackson, Cr.
 Hunt, Frank S., Cr.
 Jameson, William E.
 Jones, James, Cr.
 Kimball, Nathaniel O.
 Kimball, Willis G. C.
 Lacomb, Simon M., Cr.
 Lamprey, Clarence S., Cr.
 Lear, Thomas M., Cr.
 Lowell, Joseph W., Cr.
 Main, Jacob C., Cr.
 Marden, David, Cr.
 McAloon, Thomas, Cr.
 Moores, Timothy G., Cr.
 Morton, Wilson E., Cr.
 Murphy, John H., Cr.
 Myers, Peter W., Cr.
 Osborn, Alverton P., Cr.
 Owens, Patrick, Cr.
 Pelren, Severe, Cr.
 Piper, Charles W., Cr.
 Potter, Alvah K., Cr.
 Powers, Thomas F., Cr.
 Robertson, Curtis B., Cr.
 Robinson, James, Cr.
 Robinson, William II., Cr.
 Roby, Benjamin F.
 Sargent, Joseph E., Cr.
 Saunders, Edward, Cr.
 Scales, Charles F., Cr.
 Shanks, John
 Sharples, Ralph, Cr.
 Shepard, James M.
 Smart, Thomas J., Cr.
 Smith, Albert W., Cr.
 Smith, Daniel E., Cr.
 Smith, William, Cr.
 Stevens, Frank
 Tabor, William, Cr.
 Wallace, William F.
 Welch, Joseph, Cr.
 Whittier, Clarion T., Cr.
 Wilkins, Timothy C., Cr.
 Woods, Peter

FIRST HEAVY ARTILLERY.

Abbott, Abial C.
 Ballou, Samuel H., Cr.
 Bates, Sidney T., Cr.
 Bean, George W., Cr.
 Biron, Chester J., Cr.
 Blake, John B., Cr.
 Bodwell, John H., Cr.
 Brackett, Henry J.
 Bradley, Enoch N., Cr.
 Briley, Thomas, Cr.
 Brown, George A., Cr.
 Butters, George F.
 Campbell, William, Cr.
 Caswell, John H., Cr.
 Chase, Mark
 Clough, Horace R., Cr.
 Collins, William H., Cr.
 Crosby, Jackson, Cr.
 Crummett, George E.
 Cutting, Daniel, Cr.
 Davis, James S., Cr.
 Davis, Robert S.
 De Irish, Cortez, Cr.
 De Wolf, Henry H., Cr.
 Dimond, Gilman H.
 Drew, Frank P., Cr.
 Dunbar, David P., Cr.
 Durgin, Fred W.
 Durkee, Paine, Cr.
 Fagan, Owen, Cr.
 Farnum, Henry H.
 Fletcher, Cyrus F., Cr.
 Ford, James E., Cr.
 Foster, Sidney A., Cr.
 French, John L., Cr.
 French, William H.
 Gardner, Albert G., Cr.
 Gilmore, Asa D.
 Griffin, Dennis, Cr.
 Hadrick, David, Cr.
 Hanscom, Charles E., Cr.
 Heckman, John H., Cr.
 Howe, Solon M., Cr.
 Ingalls, Melvin L., Cr.
 Jackman, James M., Cr.
 Jemery, Joseph
 Jemery, Lawrence
 Jennings, George L., Cr.
 Johnson, Edward A.
 Lawrence, Henry A.
 Leary, John
 Lincoln, Beza H., Cr.
 Lincoln, Edwin S., Cr.
 Loyde, Robert
 Mahurin, William C., Cr.
 Marsh, George
 May, William, Cr.
 Merrill, Joseph F., Cr.
 Mitchell, Frank, Cr.
 Moody, William H.
 Morher, James E., Cr.
 Morrill, Ezekiel
 Murphy, Thomas, Cr.
 Pace, Charles, Cr.
 Provancher, Felix, Cr.
 Puffer, Charles H.
 Quimby, Parclust D.
 Quinn, Jeremiah, Cr.
 Riley, Michael, Cr.
 Rix, Eugene A., Cr.
 Rorke, Cornelius, Cr.

Rowell, Frank G., Cr.
 Rushlow, Alfred, Cr.
 Sanborn, Alfred L., Cr.
 Sargent, J. Sidney, Cr.
 Shallies, Joseph I., Cr.
 Smith, George T., Cr.
 Smith, John, Cr.
 Stevens, James H.
 Summers, Charles T.
 Sweatt, Laroy A.
 Walker, Edward, Cr.
 Welsh, Richard E., Cr.
 Wilkins, George H.
 Wilson, John W., Cr.
 Winn, William F., Cr.
 Wright, Renselear O., Cr.

FIRST REGIMENT SHARP-SHOOTERS.

Andrews, Charles E.
 Brown, Benjamin F.
 Colby, Willis T.
 Collins, George A.
 Collins, William H.
 Davis, Isaac
 Day, Alonzo L.
 Drew, Curtis D.
 Ferrin, Stephen H.
 Floyd, Jonathan E.
 Gilman, John H.
 Holmes, Francis
 Manning, Elisha R.
 Morey, Peter
 Morse, James W.
 Rolfe, Joseph H.
 Taylor, Joseph
 Tyler, James S.
 Walker, Alfred
 Ward, Thomas

SECOND REGIMENT SHARP-SHOOTERS.

Abbott, Amos S.
 Barnes, George J.
 Collins, George
 Dow, Edward
 Eastman, Frank A.
 Farnum, Cyrus R.
 Farnum, Isaac H.
 Graham, Benjamin F.
 Hanks, Charles, Cr.
 Lougee, Walter, Cr.
 Marston, David C., Cr.
 Matthes, Henry
 McPherson, William D.
 McVicar, Alexander
 Quimby, Moses M.
 Rowell, Edward T.
 Shepard, George W.
 Spead, Leonard
 Spead, William F.

UNATTACHED CO. N. H. VOL. INFANTRY.

Gove, James B.
 Kidder, William W.

NATIONAL GUARDS N. H. VOL. INFANTRY.

Hunt, Peter, Cr.
 King, James, Cr.

Leighton, George A., Cr.
 Randall, Elisha N., Cr.

SECOND BRIGADE BAND.

Allison, James, Cr.
 Batchelder, Freeman D., Cr.
 Brown, Samuel F.
 Currier, Cyrus C.
 Currier, Lorenzo M.
 Gove, Nathan M.
 Hoffman, Frederick, Cr.
 Ingalls, Gustavus W.
 Lane, Andrew L.
 Lane, Jonathan C., Cr.
 Trussell, Samuel D.

VETERAN RESERVE CORPS.

Barr, Elbridge, Cr.
 Bean, Darius K., Cr.
 Bowen, James C.
 Bunnell, Lucius D., Cr.
 Cross, James M., Cr.
 Dorr, Simon L., Cr.
 Perry, Leonard L., Cr.
 Quinby, Elisha T., Cr.
 Robinson, Henry M., Cr.
 Rowe, David B., Cr.
 Severance, Benjamin, Cr.

U. S. COLORED TROOPS.

Billings, Liberty
 Cooper, Charles S.
 Dinsmore, Albert
 Drew, Enos G.
 Fuller, Henry W.
 Gerrish, Hiram F.
 Jones, Abraham, Cr.
 Kendall, Frederick A.
 Lotter, William
 Merrill, Rufus I.
 Moore, James B.
 Thompson, Joseph, Cr.
 Wiinston, George, Cr.

U. S. ARMY, U. S. VOLUNTEERS, AND ORGANIZATIONS FROM OTHER STATES.

Allen, Charles H.
 Baker, Charles E.
 Batchelder, John T.
 Bates, George
 Bethel, Richard
 Bradley, Charles O.
 Bresney, Dennis
 Brierton, Abraham
 Brown, Daniel
 Brown, Henry S.
 Bruce, Samuel C.
 Burnett, George
 Carleton, Charles A.
 Carleton, George C.
 Carpenter, Harrison
 Cass, Benjamin Q.
 Chandler, Horace W.
 Clifford, Joseph W.
 Cloutman, Thomas J.

Colby, Albert P.
 Corning, Warren H.
 Coyle, James
 Dadmun, Leander
 Dale, John
 Davis, Nathaniel W.
 Douglas, Charles A., Cr.
 Dowd, James
 Flanders, George C.
 Flynn, Dennis
 Gear, Alonzo S.
 Gerrish, Hiram F.
 Glover, Frederick
 Goodwin, William F.
 Gove, Jesse A.
 Green, Edward, Cr.
 Griffin, Daniel
 Griffin, Simon G.
 Haines, Samuel
 Haynes, Timothy
 Herbert, Charles H.
 Hildreth, Charles F. P.
 Huley, Peter
 Hutchins, Edward R.
 Hutchins, Robert A.
 Johnson, Benjamin F.
 Kendall, Frederick A.
 Kenneson, Josiah
 Kenniston, Charles
 Kerley, Charles
 Kimball, Hiram
 Kimball, Howard A.
 Kimball, Richard H.
 Leavitt, Jonathan D., Cr.
 Lee, Wallace
 Little, George W.
 Lord, James F.
 McCabe, J. T.
 McFarland, Henry
 McKinstry, Levi C.
 McLaughlin, John
 Merrell, John
 Miller, Henry
 Noyes, Charles H.
 Parks, James H., Cr.
 Perkins, Francis W.
 Pillsbury, Thomas A.
 Potter, Joseph H.
 Powell, Alfred D.
 Prescott, William H.
 Quinn, James H.
 Roach, Jeremiah P. W.
 Rolfe, Horace H.
 Sargent, Charles
 Sargent, Harrison S.
 Savage, John
 Somerville, Thomas
 Spearman, Frank
 Thompson, A. B.
 Thompson, George H.
 Tonkin, Gustavus D.
 Treadwell, Thomas J.
 Wentworth, George C.
 Western, William
 Willard, Person S.
 Winslow, Charles H.

DARTMOUTH CAVALRY.

Blodgett, John H.
 Clement, Nathaniel H.
 Gage, William T.

Graves, Frank W.
 Nutter, David R.

UNITED STATES NAVY.

Anderson, James, Cr.
 Baleh, Frank K., Cr.
 Barnes, William, Cr.
 Bradbury, James T., Cr.
 Bright, George A.
 Brown, George, Cr.
 Burns, Francis, Cr.
 Buzzell, Henry G.
 Cheney, William I., Cr.
 Chesley, George H., Cr.
 Clay, George H.
 Crockett, Waldo, Cr.
 Edgerly, Orin A. Cr.
 Elkins, Curtis W., Cr.
 Emerson, Israel, Cr.
 Emery, Alfred E., Cr.
 Emery, Asa
 Fernald, Charles C.
 Ferrin, Alvah C., Cr.
 Forrest, John, Cr.
 Foster, John, Cr.
 Gately, Richard K., Cr.
 Hackett, Philip
 Hadley, Austin W., Cr.
 Hayes, Ralph, Cr.
 Hazeltine, Edward C., Cr.
 Herne, Peter, Cr.
 Hildreth, Charles F. P.
 Hosmer, Charles T., Cr.
 Huteliins, Edward R.
 Ireland, William, Cr.
 Kendall, John A.
 Kenney, William H.
 Kenny, Peter, Cr.
 Kerley, Charles
 Laughton, John
 Lewis, Charles, Cr.
 Locke, Amos S.
 Lopez, Antonio, Cr.
 Low, William F.
 March, Joseph, Cr.
 Messer, John P.
 Messer, J. P.
 Minot, Henry C.
 Morrill, Ruel G.
 Packard, Robert A., Cr.
 Parker, Alfred W., Cr.
 Perkins, Hamilton
 Perkins, Roger E.
 Perry, Charles, Cr.
 Pidgeon, Joseph, Cr.
 Rand, Douglass M.
 Rand, Herbert J.
 Ranken, John F., Cr.
 Robinson, William, Cr.
 Smith, William, 2d
 Stewart, Robert, Cr.
 Sullivan, Thomas, Cr.
 Sweet, Henry, Cr.
 Tallant, Charles H.
 Thompson, Charles, Cr.
 Thompson, Joseph P., Cr.
 Trainor, Thomas, Cr.
 Treadwell, Pasmore, Cr.
 Vogler, John S., Cr.
 Ward, Thomas, Cr.
 Wells, Martin

Williams, Robert, Cr.
 Wright, James, Cr.
 Wyman, Horace G., Cr.

UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS.

Bowen, James C.
 Brannan, Thomas
 Gahagan, James
 Smith, Robert C.

STATE SERVICE.

Abbott, Warren S.
 Bartlett, Stephen H.
 Bickford, Charles W.
 Clark, George
 Clark, Horace
 Cooney, Stephen
 Carrier, Joseph H.
 Dorr, Simeon L.
 Drew, Frank P.
 Flanders, John K.
 Gilman, John H.
 Haines, Samuel
 Hildreth, William L.
 Hoyt, Jason R. C.
 Jones, Moses
 Leavitt, Charles S.
 Martin, Addison S.
 McClintock, Moses
 Miller, John R.
 Mining, Thomas W.
 Moores, Timothy G.
 Porter, Charles
 Pratt, Benjamin F.
 Quimby, Parchust D.
 Sawyer, Joseph
 Sleeper, James M.
 Thompson, James
 Ward, Thomas
 Whitney, James H.
 Young, George N.

N. H. BATTALION, FIRST REGIMENT N. E. VOLUNTEER CAVALRY.

Babcock, John C.
 Caldwell, William H.
 Chapman, Joshua
 Coffin, John S.
 Coffin, William H.
 Eaton, William H.
 Estabrook, George W.
 Prentiss, Charles B.
 Rand, David E.
 Sessions, Myron H.
 Shepard, John W.
 Thompson, George H.
 Thompson, Joseph P.

FIRST REGIMENT N. H. VOLUNTEER CAVALRY.

Bean, Leonard W.
 Belmont, John, Cr.
 Bickford, John W., Cr.
 Bradford, John, Cr.
 Burnes, James, Cr.
 Carter, James N.
 Clark, William, Cr.

Cressey, Willis E., Cr.	Rutter, John, Cr.	Dow, George W.
Cross, Ezra, Cr.	Somerville, Arthur, Cr.	Dow, William A.
Daney, Thomas, Cr.	Walsh, Henry A., Cr.	Drew, George W.
Downing, James L., Cr.	Willoughby, Fred'k J., Cr.	Scott, John
Driscoll, William, Cr.		
Estabrook, Aaron G.	N. H. VOLUNTEER LIGHT	SECOND COMPANY N. H.
Flint, Henry A.	BATTERY.	VOLUNTEER HEAVY AR-
Gardner, Freeman R., Cr.	Crowther, Robert	TILLERY.
Greenley, Frank L., Cr.	Dillon, James, Cr.	Brassau, John
Hide, William, Cr.	Ham, Joseph E., Cr.	Coffin, John P.
Hutchins, Benjamin T.	Morozoviez, Adelbert, Cr.	Cushon, George H.
Johnson, Caleb L., Cr.	Stevens, Charles, Cr.	Floyd, Mark
Marshall, John, Cr.		Hughes, Peter
Merrill, Charles H., Cr.	FIRST COMPANY N. H. VOL-	Lear, John L.
Monards, Jules, Cr.	UNTEER HEAVY ARTIL-	Leavitt, George M.
Pearson, Henry	LERY.	Merrill, John J.
Perley, Walter, Cr.	Bean, Thomas P.	Mitchell, George A.
Rankin, Oscar F.	Carter, Hiram J.	Quimby, Hiram M.
Raymond, Stephen L., Cr.	Carter, Orin T.	Sullivan, Morris
Ruiz, George, Cr.		Tilton, William

CHAPTER XV.

THE CITY OF CONCORD.—AFTER THE WAR.—IMPORTANT MEANS ADOPTED WHEREBY THE GENERAL ADVANTAGE OF THE COMMUNITY WAS SUBSERVED.

1865-1880.

Concord had reason to rejoice not only over the national result, but over an important local one, whereby its prestige and advantage as the capital of the state were maintained. It had saved the state house from removal to Manchester, though at an expense enhanced by the financial conditions of war. But this event has been fully treated in a special chapter, and requires here only passing mention. There was reason, also, to be thankful that the material progress of the city had not been seriously retarded by the war. Said Mayor Abbott, in his inaugural in 1866,—“Our city, while promptly furnishing her full proportion of men and money, has suffered financially but little, comparatively, from the ravages of war. The agricultural and manufacturing interests have received slight, if any, check; and but for those who will never cease to mourn their friends fallen in battle, and but for our heavy taxation, we might, in looking over our thriving, prosperous city, with the new buildings being erected, and other indications of thrift, almost doubt that a terrific conflict had been raging in our borders.”

Narration, in resuming the topics of peace, first names, for the sake of clearness, the mayors of the city and their dates of service, during the period of fifteen years, the events of which are now to be sketched. They were: John Abbott, 1866-'67; Lyman D. Stevens, 1868-'69; Abraham G. Jones, 1870-'71; John Kimball, 1872-'75; George A. Pillsbury, 1876-'77; Horace A. Brown, 1878-'80—serving, by the change to the biennial system, two years and eight months.

It will be recollected that in 1862 the first steam fire engine—the “Gov. Hill”—was obtained for the fire department. Four years later, upon a proposition of the board of engineers and a recommendation of the mayor, the purchase of another—the “Kearsarge,”—was ordered. This was accompanied by a reorganization of the department, with a reduction of its working force, and decrease in its expenditures; leaving the citizens of the fire precinct—or compact part of the city—to rely upon the steamers and hydrants for

protection against fire. On the 16th of October, 1867, the ordinance of reorganization was passed. It provided that the fire department should consist of a chief engineer, seven (subsequently for some years, eight) assistant engineers; with engine men, hose men, and hook-and-ladder men, to be divided into companies. The two steamers were to have twelve men each, including an engineer; the Eagle Hose company was to have twelve; of the two Hydrant and Hose companies, Nos. 1 and 2, the first was to have twenty-four men, the second, twelve; the Hook and Ladder company, twenty-four; of the engine companies outside the precinct, "Pioneer," in Ward 1, was to have not less than forty, nor more than fifty, men; "Old Fort," in Ward 2, and "Cataract," in Ward 3, not less than twenty-five, nor more than thirty-five, each. Under this system the first board of engineers consisted of Abel B. Holt, chief; John D. Teel, John M. Hill, Alonzo Downing, Joseph S. Merrill, Chandler Eastman, James Frye, and David A. Brown, assistants. The number of men employed under the old ordinance was three hundred fifty-three; and the amount of their pay, each man receiving twenty-five cents for an hour of service, was indefinite, being dependent upon the frequency of fires and alarms and their time of continuance. The slightest alarm frequently cost the city one hundred dollars. Under the new system the number of men became one hundred ninety-five, not varying much for years. Their compensation was a fixed annual sum not affected by length of service—an arrangement proving more economical than the old. After obtaining the second steamer, and under the ordinance of 1867, the hand companies in the precinct left the service, "sundering," as Chief Engineer Holt reported, "the pleasant ties cemented by an association of many years, with no expression of ill-feeling, but in a manner reflecting the highest credit upon themselves, personally, and upon their organizations."

After more than ten years' agitation as to locating and building a central fire station, one was so far completed as to be occupied on the 25th of November, 1875. On the 30th of May, 1874, a committee of the city council was appointed to purchase land adjoining the old No. 4 engine house on the north side of Warren street, between State and Green streets, where the steam fire engines had been kept for several years. The city council had appropriated ten thousand dollars, but the committee obtained, at a total cost of seven thousand seven hundred forty-seven dollars and fifty-two cents, the Warren street lot, comprising, with that of No. 4, other adjacent lots. It was about one hundred twenty-five feet in length on Warren street by ninety-eight and a half feet in width, with projection on the north-west corner for a tower twelve by nineteen and a half feet. After

some ineffectual opposition by citizens to the location, the city council, on the 3d of April, 1875, appropriated thirty thousand dollars for the erection of buildings for the Central Fire Station on the Warren street lot, and appointed Mayor John Kimball, James L. Mason, and Henry Churchill, as a building committee. Within seven months the station was ready for occupancy. The main building was sixty-two feet in length, fifty-two in width, and two stories in height, with a tower on the northwest corner twelve feet square and ninety feet high. A two-storied barn adjoined the east end, fifty-seven by thirty-

six feet, with a one-storied shed at right angles southward, of dimensions twenty-six by forty-six feet. All the buildings were of brick, as were those of the "Alert" and "Good Will" hose companies recently erected,—the former on Washington street, and the latter on the corner of Cross (afterwards Concord) and State streets,—and all well adapted to the wants of the department. In 1880, during the administration of Mayor Brown, an important need, long felt, was



Central Fire Station

supplied, when, at the expense of five thousand dollars, the Gamewell Fire Alarm apparatus was purchased and put in operation, whereby—at first, in its four districts with their twenty-one alarm boxes—through the subtle electric touch, the location of fires was to be instantaneously and exactly indicated.

During the period now under review, the highways, streets, and bridges felt the touch of improvement. The repairs of highways necessarily became more and more exacting and expensive, till it was found that systematic and economical effort in that direction required the abolishing of old highway district lines and constituting the whole territory of the city one highway district, to be in charge of an officer known as commissioner of highways and elected annually by the city council. This was done in 1878, and Mayor Brown became, by election, the first commissioner.

Concrete pavement for sidewalks and street crossings was introduced in 1867, in the administration of Mayor Abbott: and the next year his successor, Mayor Stevens, recommended the macadamizing of streets. Increasing amounts of concrete sidewalk were laid in 1868 and 1869; and Mayor Jones reported an unprecedented amount for each of the years 1870 and 1871. Mayor Brown reported

five thousand seven hundred thirty square yards of concrete sidewalk laid in 1878; two thousand feet of edgestone set; thirteen hundred thirty-five square yards of granite pavement put down on Main street; and fourteen hundred square yards of cobble paving laid in the gutters of various streets.¹ In caring for the streets, the sprinkling of those most frequented was not neglected, and in 1873, after the introduction of Long pond water, private subscriptions for street sprinkling, offset by expenditures for city teams, water, apparatus, and minor items, began to be annually reported by the superintendent of highways.

Bridges demanded large appropriations for repair and rebuilding. When the ice freshet of March, 1865, destroyed Horse Hill bridge on the Contoocook, and damaged more or less seriously the four bridges on the Merrimack, the first was rebuilt and the others repaired within a few months. When, in April, 1873, another freshet swept away Federal bridge, not only was a new bridge built, under the efficient agency of Mayor Kimball, within a year, but at the liberal expense of twenty-seven thousand dollars, the old structure of wood was replaced by one of iron—the first in Concord. In an earlier chapter, mention was made of the erection of the bridge over the Contoocook, at Fisherville, in 1823. This was succeeded by a new one in 1849, which remained in use about twenty-five years. The structure becoming somewhat the worse for wear and out of date, the city council, on the 31st of May, 1873, appropriated twelve thousand dollars for building another, and in October authorized Mayor Kimball to contract for a wrought iron bridge, which was completed on the 6th of November, 1874, at a cost of a little more than seventeen thousand dollars. The next day, the bridge was formally opened to use, by the city council, invited guests, and many citizens from the city and neighboring towns. It was to answer, to a good degree, for nearly twenty-five years, the purpose of its erection, but was finally to be superseded, in 1898, by a safer structure. About 1874, Sewall's Falls bridge was rebuilt for the second time, under an appropriation of fourteen thousand five hundred dollars.

The subject of Sewerage began in 1868 seriously to engage public thought. Mayor Lyman D. Stevens made the first official and practical recommendation upon this important matter. In that year he brought the subject of providing a proper system of removing the surplus water and refuse matter from that portion of the city comprised within the limits of the gas precinct to the attention of the city council, and urged immediate action. At once, on the 6th of June, 1868, in approval of the mayor's views, suitable provision was made

¹ Twenty-sixth Annual City Report, p. 28.

for a survey of the streets preliminary to the purpose of drainage. James A. Weston, of Manchester, a civil engineer, was put in charge of the survey. The engineer's report, accompanied by a plan embracing the territory to be drained, and profiles of the streets, showing size and grade of sewers, was adopted by the city council, and printed for examination by citizens.

At the commencement of his second official year Mayor Stevens did not fail to call the immediate and most serious attention of the city council to the subject of sewerage. "There is," declared he, "no part of the administration of civil affairs more important to the welfare of the city or the health and comfort of its inhabitants. And yet no subject is approached through more neglect and opposition than this. There is not a European or American city whose history does not show that serious evils have resulted from the neglect to provide complete and systematic sewerage. . . . The question now presents itself, Shall this new system of sewerage be commenced? I say commenced, because our financial situation would not allow us to do more than to begin this great improvement, the present year." There was, outside the city council, considerable opposition to the movement, for popular ideas of sanitation were somewhat crude, and fears of expense were exaggerated. But the work was soon begun, and, during the year, there were laid nearly thirty-seven hundred feet of brick sewer, of larger or smaller dimensions, as parts of the main sewer from Merrimack river through Freight street to Main, thence up Main to Capitol street, and up Warren street to the brook or ditch between Green and Spring streets.¹ The net cost of this work was nearly thirteen thousand one hundred dollars. Thus was started, in charge of Lyman R. Fellows, and under the engineering of Charles A. Lund, the work of a systematic, effectual drainage, with brick and cement to supersede the temporary, inefficient plank-ditching hitherto in use. For a short time after the introduction of sewerage, the attempt was made to exact an entrance fee, proportioned to the frontage of premises upon the sewer. But people naturally objected to being taxed for sewer construction, and then paying such a fee. Accordingly, the exaction was withdrawn. Years later, however, persons living along the line of a public sewer were required to drain their premises into it.

The system went on with varying expenditure, upon annual—occasionally special—appropriations by the city council; the minimum being one thousand dollars in 1872, and the maximum more than fifty thousand, in 1876. In the latter year—during the administration of Mayor Pillsbury—nearly nine miles of sewer were laid within

¹ Seventeenth Annual City Report, p. 80.

a sewerage precinct established in 1873, with the same boundaries as those of the gas precinct. The introduction of Long pond water greatly stimulated sewer construction; and the former was decidedly promoted by the latter. By 1880 the precinct had been nearly permeated by the system's invisible contributors to the convenience and health of the people.

The question of providing a proper Water supply for the compactly occupied portion of Concord waited long for a satisfactory answer. Wells were early, and to some extent late, the means of supply. In 1829, the springs at the base of Sand Hill were thought of as sources of supply, and William and Joseph Low, Jacob B. Moore, Stephen Brown, and others were incorporated as the "Concord Aqueduct Association," with a capital of two thousand dollars, and empowered to take water from them, and deliver it to customers at such price as they deemed expedient. What, if anything, this association accomplished is not known; but not a great while later, Amariah Pierce was supplying customers through an aqueduct of white-pine logs, twelve feet in length and six or eight inches in diameter, bored with a pod-anger. In 1849, Nathan Call obtained for himself and others a charter for the "Torrent Aqueduct Association," with a capital of twenty thousand dollars, and did business under it successfully. The conduct of the enterprise then came into the hands of James R. Hill, who finally sold his interest to Nathaniel White. After the death of Henry M. Robinson, who had begun to supply water from the locality afterwards to be known as White park, and from other sources, Mr. White purchased the rights of the heirs therein: and made strong efforts in the Fifties and Sixties towards meeting the increasing demand for water. Down to the year 1859,—it may here be remarked,—the municipal fire department depended upon reservoirs only for its water supply,—too often scanty and uncertain: but, that year, the city organized and incorporated, as a portion of its fire department, the Concord Railroad and Hose Company, No. 1, for the purpose of operating the hydrants and hose connected with the Merrimack river, and belonging to the railroad corporation as a part of the means which it had independently provided, at an expense of ten thousand dollars, for its own protection against fire.

On the 16th of December, 1859, a committee, previously appointed by the city council, and consisting of Joseph B. Walker, John Abbott, and Benjamin Grover, to inquire as to the feasibility and cost of abundantly supplying the compact part of the city with water, for fire and other purposes, reported that the population was then supplied in part from wells, and in part by aqueduct companies,

the two principal of which were the Torrent Aqueduct Association, and that of Nathaniel White; that these furnished with water some six hundred families and the hotels, besides supplying large amounts to public buildings, stores, shops, stables, and the Old Cemetery; and that there were several others of more limited capacities, each supplying from one or two to forty families. As to the fountain of supply, the committee gave the preference to Long pond; and estimated the cost of the introduction and distribution of the water therefrom, at one hundred seventy-two thousand four hundred seventy-five dollars and thirty-five cents. The cost of execution seemed to the committee the most serious objection to the immediate accomplishment of the project. Eleven years later, on the 30th of July, 1870, in the administration of Mayor Jones, the city council, realizing that the supply of water furnished in the compact part of the city was insufficient in quantity, and much of it so impure as to be wholly unfit for use, appointed a committee of seventeen consisting of Lyman D. Stevens, David A. Warde, Benjamin S. Warren, Jesse P. Bancroft, Abraham G. Jones, Asa McFarland, James S. Norris, Josiah Minot, Nathaniel White, Daniel Holden, James N. Lauder, Edward A. Abbott, John Kimball, John M. Hill, Benjamin A. Kimball, Moses Humphrey, and Benning W. Sanborn, to report the most proper course to be taken to secure the early introduction of an adequate supply of pure, fresh water from Long pond. The citizens of Concord were becoming thoroughly convinced that the safety, health, prosperity, and growth of the city absolutely demanded a greater and better supply of water than it then had, as they expressed themselves in resolution, at a full meeting in Eagle hall, on the evening of October 1, 1870. On the 29th of the same month, the committee of seventeen reported in favor of Long pond as the source of supply; by reason of the remarkable purity and softness of its water; its sufficiency to afford a constant and abundant supply; its elevation great enough to force the water over all the buildings, except a small number on the highest points, and into most of those; and the comparative ease with which the water could be conducted by aqueduct over the three and a half miles from the outlet of the pond to the state house.

The committee found that nothing hindered the immediate beginning of the work but the failure to make any satisfactory arrangement with the owners of the mills at West Concord, whereby might be secured the right to divert, for the purpose of the aqueduct, a part of the water hitherto used exclusively by the mills. Hence, active operations had to await state legislation. The committee accordingly reported the recommendation that measures be taken on

behalf of the city to obtain the necessary legislation, and that in the meantime plans and details be prepared ready for the work when the proper time came for commencing it. The recommendation was referred to Josiah Minot, Benjamin A. Kimball, John M. Hill, and David A. Warde, who, on the 10th of August, 1871, reported that the necessary legislative action had been procured. They also submitted an ordinance placing the management of the city water-works in a board of commissioners, to consist of six citizens and the mayor *ex officio*. After strenuous opposition and long discussion in both branches of the city council, the ordinance passed on the 30th of December, 1871. The mayor and aldermen, in January, 1872, appointed as the first board of water commissioners, John M. Hill, Benjamin A. Kimball, Josiah Minot, David A. Warde, Benjamin S. Warren, and Edward L. Knowlton; Mayor Jones serving *ex officio* till March, and thenceforward Mayor Kimball. James A. Weston, who engineered the sewerage system, was appointed chief engineer, and Charles C. Lund, assistant. The dispute with the owners of the water-power having been settled by referees in the unexpectedly large award of sixty thousand dollars, the city obtained the right to draw three hundred sixty-five million gallons yearly from the pond. The city purchased the stock of the Torrent Aqueduct association and the water rights of Nathaniel White for twenty thousand dollars; and paid for other water rights and for land damages, the sum of twenty-one thousand three hundred thirty-four dollars. The American Gas and Water Pipe company, of New Jersey, contracted to construct the main line from Long pond to the northerly end of Main street, and all the distribution pipes therefrom through the main portion of the city, and to set gates, hydrants, and other appendages, for the sum of one hundred forty-three thousand eight hundred eighty-two dollars. Within eight months after the contractors commenced work, water was, on the 14th of January, 1873, admitted into the pipes from the pond. By the last day of that year, twenty miles of piping had been laid and were in use. Under the act of June 30, 1871, authorizing the establishment of water-works, a water precinct was established having the same boundaries and containing the same territory as the gas precinct. On the 1st of January, 1875, the board of water commissioners thought it proper that the construction account should be closed at the amount of three hundred fifty thousand dollars, and that the indebtedness for the works, which had not already been provided for by the issue of bonds, should be likewise funded. And thus it was that the quiet waters of Lake Penacook began to be utilized in multiform benefits to the city.¹

¹ See Analysis of Long Pond Water, in note at close of chapter.



Board of Trade Building.

By October of the year 1873—the year of the first abundant inflow of “pure sweet water”—the subscription of members of the Board of Trade, recently organized, had erected on the eligible corner of Main and School streets a stately business edifice, handsome without and pleasant within, with its convenient illuminated clock in sightly tower, and its mellow bell of steel,—the latter, the generous individual gift of George A. Pillsbury. Though that building was long to outlive the organization under whose auspices it was erected and whose name it bore, yet, in any just appreciation, it should stand as a monument of an honorable attempt “to promote the prosperity of Concord.”¹

Attention to the subjects of Public Health and the prevention of disease was specially awakened in connection with the introduction of sewerage and the new water supply. Concord, however, from the beginning of its city government had had its health officers. About the year 1866, Dr. Granville P. Conn began to advocate sanitary improvement, and so far gained the ear of the city council that an ordinance was passed providing for a house-to-house inspection,—the first in the state, if not in the United States,—this measure having been the more readily adopted in view of the ravages of cholera in Europe. Hygienic considerations were thenceforward, year after year, impressed upon the people in annual reports of city physicians and health officers—especially in the Seventies—until the city came to be laudably progressive in the matter of sanitation, and more and more ready to adopt scientific means and methods for warding off disease and death.

The historic glance may now be turned from topics especially pertaining to the material progress and physical well-being of the city to others of importance, but having less direct reference thereto. The beginning and early growth of the City Library have been recorded in a previous chapter. The city appropriation of three hundred dollars for this institution was continued for four years, or until 1867, when, the burden of war being somewhat lightened, it became five hundred. This continued till 1876, when, in accordance with a suggestion of the trustees, the library was removed to the board of trade building, after having had its home in the city hall building for nineteen years. In its new rooms, its six thousand seven hundred volumes found a more convenient situation. The city appropriation was doubled to one thousand dollars, and the library was kept open every afternoon

¹ See Board of Trade Festival, in note at close of chapter.

and evening—Sunday excepted—for the exchange of books, and its privileges were extended to persons residing out of town upon the annual payment of one dollar each. The next year the reference library was assigned a separate room, while the adjacent reading-room of the Young Men's Christian association became available for the patrons of the library. It had received, in 1863, a legacy of one thousand dollars from Gardiner P. Lyon, a publisher and statistician; and in 1870 another of the same amount from the estate of ex-President Pierce.

With the means of intellectual improvement thus and otherwise maintained, there were also opportunities for the cultivation of fraternal benevolence in addition to those already afforded by Masons and Odd Fellows. It was sought to teach practically the lesson of the friendship of Damon and Pythias, as told in history and sung in poetry, through the ritual of a secret fraternal order instituted at Washington in 1864, and styled "The Knights of Pythias." According to its declaration of principles, this organization is "intended solely to disseminate the great principles of Friendship, Charity, and Benevolence. Nothing of a sectarian or political character is permitted within its portals. Toleration in religion, obedience to law, and loyalty to government are its cardinal principles."

On the 18th of November, 1870, a Lodge was instituted in Concord as Concord Lodge, No. 8, Knights of Pythias. The ceremonies of institution took place in an upper room of the Cyrus Hill block, known as Memorial hall, and occupied by the Post of the Grand Army of the Republic. These ceremonies were performed by Grand Chancellor Stillman S. Davis, assisted by Joseph L. Dow as Grand Recording and Corresponding Scribe and other Grand Lodge officers, and in the presence of visiting brothers from Manchester and Nashua. The fifteen charter members thus initiated and organized were: Curtis White, L. K. Peacock, A. H. Morrison, W. H. Buntin, D. E. Howard, J. W. Saul, Moses Ladd, E. N. Doyen, A. W. Smith, J. B. Colby, J. L. Green, J. S. Merrill, C. H. Peacock, W. A. Webster, and F. H. Newman. Officers were at once elected and installed.

During the year 1871 thirty-six members were added. In January, 1872, the quarters to be permanently occupied by the Lodge as Pythian hall—then known as Central hall—were leased, and possession taken, with a public dedication held on the evening of Washington's birthday. The hall was much the worse for wear, and the furniture the plainest of the plain. As for paraphernalia, the members had only the things they could not get along without, and many of these made by the members themselves were rather crude. The membership was only fifty-eight, and the exchequer was low. "But

the members," writes the historian¹ of the Lodge, "were active, earnest, and full of faith. They gave of their time and of their money; they labored with their hands, and furnished most of the material for arranging the Castle Hall as we now have it." By such efforts and from the proceeds of a fair and of two presentations of the play of "Damon and Pythias," the Lodge could show a hall that the grand chancellor, in 1876, pronounced "an honor to the Order." From the first, the meetings were held on Wednesday evenings, and have been reported as rarely missed for thirty years. Section No. 11 of the endowment rank, composed mostly of members of the Concord Lodge, was instituted on the 7th of December, 1877, and had paid, up to the year 1900, the sum of nineteen thousand dollars to the families of deceased members. At the latter date, too, the active membership of the Lodge was one hundred thirty-three.²

During most of the time in which were occurring the events since the war, thus far narrated, one day each year was specially observed throughout the North as sacred to the memory of those who had served in the military defense of their country—an observance arising from the formation of a national fraternal order of Union veterans under the name of "Grand Army of the Republic." In 1866 the idea of establishing the Order was suggested and urged by Major Benjamin F. Stevenson, of Illinois, and under his supervision its ritual was prepared and its first Post immediately instituted at Decatur, in that state. Other Posts were speedily established throughout Illinois and other states, and Departments organized, so that, on the 20th of November of the same year, the first national convention or Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic was held at Indianapolis, which was attended by representatives from ten states and the District of Columbia. During the year 1867 the Order spread rapidly, and state, county, and town organizations were formed.

In 1868 a Post of the Grand Army of the Republic was established at Concord—the second in the state, and bearing the name of its honored hero and martyr, Edward E. Sturtevant. Early that year, General John A. Logan had been chosen commander-in-chief. To him belongs the honor of first designating a day on which the Grand Army should observe the beautiful ceremony of decorating, with flowers and otherwise, the graves of the Union dead. He appointed the 30th of May, 1868, as the day for that purpose. The Concord Post readily proceeded to comply with the order of the commander-in-chief. Mayor Stevens, on May the 29th, made proclamation in the following appropriate terms: "The Grand Army of the Republic having extended to the people of Concord an earnest invitation to

¹ Frank J. Pillsbury.

² See Connected K. of P. Organizations, in note at close of chapter.

unite with them to-morrow in offering a floral tribute to the memory of the Union soldiers who died in defense of Liberty and the Government, it seems highly proper that it should be accepted; I therefore recommend that on to-morrow the citizens of Concord close their places of business from two to four o'clock in the afternoon, and participate in the ceremonies at Eagle Hall and at the Cemeteries, and thus aid in the inauguration of a custom which should be observed while we continue to enjoy the blessings secured to us by the achievements of the heroic dead."

On the morrow came the first Memorial Day, and with it due manifestation of popular interest and sympathy. As recommended, business was suspended for two hours in the afternoon. Eagle hall, fitly decorated, and which earlier had received in profusion bouquets and wreaths tastefully arranged by young ladies of Concord, now received the people in goodly numbers to participate in the first regular exercises of the day. Pupils of the high school and of the grammar schools, with their teachers, and Benjamin B. Davis, who led their singing, were among those in attendance. The comrades of the Post, headed by their commander, Colonel James E. Larkin, were the last to enter the hall, and were received with acclaim.

Each carried a wreath or bouquet, and wore upon the left arm crape bound by a knot of red, white, and blue.

The exercises were opened with prayer by the Post chaplain, the Reverend James F. Lovering, followed by "America," sung by the school pupils and the audience. Having read General Logan's order, Commander Larkin called upon Mayor Stevens to address the meeting, who did so, and also read with effect Lincoln's classic speech at Gettysburg. These exercises were the introduction of the day's programme, of which the decoration of graves was the conclusion. A line of march in procession was taken to the burying grounds. The grave of Lieutenant Charles A. Walker, one of the first victims of the war, was the first to be decorated with flowers and marked with flag. At seven other graves in the Old North cem-



State Street, rear of State House—1880

etery, and at ten in Blossom Hill, the same ceremony was performed. To the nameless graves of seven soldiers in the latter cemetery like honors were paid. The solemn service of decoration having been completed, a dirge sung by the school children, and the benediction pronounced by the grand chaplain, closed the first observance of Memorial Day in Concord.

Only the graves of those who had served in the recent Civil War then received such decoration; but later those of others who had served in any of their country's wars were to receive the like token of grateful remembrance. Within eleven years two other Posts of the Grand Army were established within the city limits: W. I. Brown, No. 31, at Fisherville, or Penacook, in 1877, and Davis Post, No. 44, at West Concord, in 1879. About the year 1880 the city council appropriated one hundred fifty dollars, distributed to the three posts, towards defraying the expenses of Decoration Day. The appropriation gradually increased to four hundred dollars, as it stood in 1900.

In 1870 the "Ancient Order of Hibernians," and the "St. Patrick's Benevolent Society" were organized; the latter to answer its humane purpose for twenty-five years; the former to find itself, at the end of the century, prosperous, and giving promise of an indefinite future of usefulness. For the Irish element of population had been growing in numbers and importance for twenty years or more, and was furthering, as it would continue to further, the progress of Concord. Nor should it be forgotten that it had readily supplied its quota of good men and true to serve their adopted country in the late Civil War. In connection with the mention of Irish mutual-benefit societies, the fact should not be overlooked that the later and smaller element of French immigration had, as early as 1868, its permanent and useful "French-Canadian Association."

It may be well here to add, in their chronologic order, certain detached facts arising under topics more fully treated in previous narration, and to note others not hitherto mentioned, but treated in a special chapter. In 1868 a new feature was added to the Pauper system, in the appointment of an overseer of the poor in Wards 3, 4, 5, and 6, to supply upon application provisions, fuel, rent, and other necessities to needy persons not at the Poor Farm, and who, with a little timely aid thus rendered, might never be there. Charles F. Stewart, city clerk, was the first overseer, and so remained for many years, until succeeded by Joseph A. Cochran, his successor in the city clerkship. The same year (1868) a structure of wood was erected, at a cost of two hundred dollars, in connection with the poor house, for a house of correction. It was subsequently destroyed

by fire. As early as 1869 the committee on the city farm suggested "the impropriety of sentencing criminals to the present house of correction;" adding, "that the honest poor should be compelled to labor and associate with such criminals, we believe to be unjust and unnecessary."

In 1873 the limits of Blossom Hill cemetery were enlarged by the purchase of twenty-three acres of additional land for a little more than three thousand five hundred dollars. Long pond water was introduced into the cemetery the same year. In 1874 the Catholics purchased, as a site for Calvary cemetery, land adjoining Blossom Hill on the north.

The restraints of the prohibitory law and the efforts of moral suasion continued in these days to co-operate in promoting the cause of temperance and sobriety. Lecturers were in the field; the columns of newspapers were open to appeals; the reports of city marshals and of the police court contained reminders and warnings—all of which tended to keep public attention awake to the evils of intemperance. Organized effort was continued and enlarged. The St. John's Catholic Temperance Society, with branch at Fisherville, was formed, and, under the discreet and earnest Christian guidance of Father John E. Barry, accomplished noble results. It is stated as a fact that for some years there were only three Catholics in Fisherville who were not total abstainers from the use of intoxicants. In 1873 the women of Concord were moved by the impulse of reform then sweeping the country to try the effect of concerted action against intemperance in their own vicinity. Correspondence was held with ladies in other places relative to forming temperance leagues, and finally a call was issued for a woman's temperance convention to be held at Eagle hall, in Concord, on the 11th of November, 1874. The call—sent out on postals—was signed by three Concord ladies, as follows: "Mrs. N. White, Mrs. J. H. Gallingier, Mrs. Elisha Adams, Committee." Nearly one hundred women responded to the call, and the result of the meeting was the formation of the New Hampshire Woman's Temperance League, with Mrs. Nathaniel White of Concord for its first president. Three years later the name was changed to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to be in harmony with the national organization. The W. C. T. U. was to grow till in 1900 there should be reported one hundred fifteen local "Unions," with a membership of eight thousand two hundred three, being the largest, in proportion to population, of any state in the country.

In 1868 the charge of the Concord Post-office was given Dr. Moses T. Willard, who retained it till 1870. Colonel James E.

Larkin succeeded him, holding the postmastership four years, or until 1874. By reappointment, Dr. Willard became in turn his successor for three years, or until 1877, when, by reason of his failing health and ensuing death, the office again fell to Colonel Larkin. The second term of the latter continued four years, or from 1877 to 1881. Between those dates the post-office was removed from the location on School street, which it had occupied since 1863, to White's Opera House block, recently erected upon the site of the historic American House. The removal occasioned considerable excitement, and wordy warfare in which the old rivalry between the North End and the South End seemed for a while to flame anew.

Amateur theatricals had all along been a favorite form of literary recreation in Concord. In the Sixties a histrionic club existed. In 1874 the Concord Young People's Union was organized—at first under the special auspices of the Universalist society—and flourished for several years. Among those prominent “upon the boards” during the existence of this organization and of the Concord Art Club that grew out of it, were Nathaniel C. Nelson, Frank Cressy, Charles N. Towle, Miss Belle Larkin, and Mrs. Belle Marshall Locke. Miss Maude Dixon, who afterwards became the wife of Salvini, the younger, sometimes appeared upon the stage. Among the many dramas acceptably presented were “Ingomar,” “The Octoroon,” “The Lady of Lyons,” and “Damon and Pythias.” The popularity of such theatricals, usually given in Eagle hall, was a prime inducement for Nathaniel White to provide an opera house.

The receptions, respectively, of President Grant, in 1869, and President Hayes, in 1877, as well as Concord's celebration of Independence Day, in 1876, having been fully described in a special chapter, need to be given here merely their chronologic place.

Concord, before the national Centennial of 1876, fitly commemorated, on the 17th of June, 1875, her third semi-centennial, one hundred fifty years having elapsed since her original township grant in 1725. The day was celebrated by a musical entertainment given by the Concord Choral Union, and a public dinner; but especially by the discourse of the Rev. Dr. Bouton, who, upon invitation of the city council and the board of trade, addressed the people assembled in city hall upon the subject of the moral, social, and civil progress of Concord during the last fifty years. This discourse was the last of the venerable author's many contributions—and one of the most valuable—to the history of his beloved town.

When the centennial year came Concord made observance of it, not only in its own home celebration of a century of national independence and progress, but in contributing to the display of the

grand "exhibition of American and foreign arts, products, and manufactures," held at Philadelphia. The exhibits of Concord made especially in the departments of education, agriculture, and manufactures, though not numerous, were highly creditable, and secured an honorable share of awards. Interest in the Philadelphia exposition had been increased through the efforts of Miss Elizabeth S. Stevens, of Concord, a member of the Woman's Centennial Committee for New Hampshire, who raised, in her own city, in the winter of 1875-76, more than six hundred dollars towards the erection of the Woman's Pavilion. In this beautiful structure were exhibited the results of woman's taste, skill, and industry, and as to which the testimony has been borne, that "it contained the fullest representation of woman's genius and skill ever made in one collection."

In course of the same centennial year Christian benevolence founded in Concord a home for the aged. The thought of such an institution first shaped itself into action when, in January, 1876, a contribution of one hundred ten dollars to the Concord Female Charitable Society was set aside as the beginning of a fund for the proposed home. In the following February a large meeting of the women of Concord was held, and a society organized to promote the desired purpose. The officers of this pioneer organization were: President, Mrs. Nathaniel Bouton; recording secretary, Mrs. William H. Bartlett; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Charles C. Pearson; treasurer, Mrs. William M. Chase. The draft of a constitution was presented by Mrs. Nathaniel White, committees were designated, and an advisory board of gentlemen

was selected. A charter having been obtained from the legislature in June, 1876, incorporating "The New Hampshire Centennial Home for the Aged,"—an institution for the support and maintenance of aged people of both sexes,—the society, in July, accepted the act of



First Centennial Home for the Aged.



Present Centennial Home for the Aged.

incorporation, organized under it, and adopted a constitution. The former officers of the society were re-elected, and fifteen trustees—ten men and five women—were chosen. On the first day of January, 1879, the Home was opened upon premises—at first hired but subsequently purchased—eligibly located on Pleasant street. Two years later the permanent fund reached more than eighteen thousand dollars, through the generous gift of ten thousand dollars contributed thereto by Mrs. Nathaniel White in memory of her husband. Within twenty-five years the little fund of one hundred ten dollars was to be increased to ninety-seven thousand, a more commodious residence erected, and sixty-four aged ones enrolled as permanent dwellers in a happy home.

As during the Civil War the Republican and Democratic parties in the North had been arrayed against each other, so were they during the era of Reconstruction. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments of the constitution were of Republican initiation, adoption, and ratification against Democratic opposition. The same was substantially true of other measures adopted to enforce those amendments in their purpose of securing to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" the unabridged "privileges and immunities of citizens," as well as of maintaining "the validity of the public debt," and upholding the financial honor of the nation against any form of repudiation. Herein were involved the vital and absorbing issues that divided parties during the period extending from 1865 to 1880.

New Hampshire met these issues as they rose, and helped to forward their settlement in accordance with the views of the Republican majority of the country. She was the second state of twenty-seven to ratify the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment; doing so by the Republican vote of her legislature in the early summer of 1865. In four successive presidential elections she cast an average majority of four thousand for the four successful tickets headed respectively by the names of Grant, Hayes, and Garfield. To that majority Concord steadily contributed an average of one tenth, or four hundred; while the number of voters gradually increased from twenty-four hundred to thirty-five hundred. With the exception of the two detached years, 1871 and 1874, the state government was, throughout the period, in full Republican control. Nor did the circumstances under which that control was then broken denote any vital change of popular sentiment as to the great national issues of the day.

In 1870 the Temperance party appeared at the polls, and cast for its gubernatorial ticket eleven hundred thirty-five votes. Thence-

forward for the remaining ten years of the period its vote appeared in the election returns with fluctuations reaching the maximum of twenty-five hundred in 1874, and contributing that year to the brief anti-Republican ascendancy in the state government. Pending the resumption of specie payments the shorter-lived Greenback party arose. In November, 1878, at the first biennial election, when the Temperance party cast its minimum of ninety-one votes, this later organization cast its maximum of sixty-four hundred, drawing heavily upon Democratic strength. Greenbackism could not long survive the successful operation of the Resumption Act, which went into effect in 1879; its strength falling at the next election to five hundred, in its rapid decline to zero. But all the while Concord was little moved by side issues in politics. Its line of party division was not wont to veer much from that which separated the two leading parties; and in contests, national, state, and municipal, Republican strength was steadily predominant.

The attempt made in 1850 to secure amendment of the state constitution was virtually fruitless—as recorded in a previous chapter—but now another more successful was made in 1876. On the 6th of January of this year, a constitutional convention of three hundred seventy delegates assembled at the state house. To this number Concord contributed the following fifteen: John S. Brown, Daniel W. Fox, John L. Tallant, Abijah Hollis, A. B. Thompson, Jacob H. Gallinger, Benjamin E. Badger, Jonathan E. Sargent, John Kimball, William E. Chandler, Joseph Wentworth, Benjamin A. Kimball, Lewis Downing, William W. Critchett, Isaac W. Hammond. During a session of ten days thirteen amendments were agreed upon for submission to the people at the March election of 1877. These, numbered in order, were: 1. Omitting the word “Protestant” in the Bill of Rights; 2. Authorizing “the trial of causes in which the value in controversy does not exceed one hundred dollars, and title to real estate is not concerned, without the intervention of a jury;” 3. Establishing “the biennial election of governor, councillors, members of the senate and house of representatives, and biennial sessions of the legislature;” 4. Basing the house of representatives “upon population;” 5. Constituting “a senate of twenty-four members;” 6. Providing for “the election by the people of registers of probate, solicitors, and sheriffs;” 7. “Abolishing the religious test as a qualification for office;” 8. Prohibiting “towns or cities to loan or give their money or credit to corporations;” 9. “Changing the time for holding the State election from March to November;” 10. Providing “that appeals from a justice of the peace may be tried by some other court without the intervention of a jury;” 11. Increasing “the

jurisdiction of justices of the peace to one hundred dollars;" 12. "Prohibiting the removal of officers for political reasons;" 13. "Prohibiting money raised by taxation from being applied to the support of schools or institutions of any religious sect or denomination."

Eleven of these propositions were accepted by more than two thirds of the legal voters of the state present in annual town-meeting, and voting thereupon. The first—providing for the omission of the word "Protestant" in the Bill of Rights—and the twelfth—prohibiting the removal of officers for political reasons—were rejected. Concord, however, approved of both, but disapproved of the third, which authorized biennial elections in certain cases. Thus, not till after the lapse of eighty-five years did the people of New Hampshire consent to any material change of the revered constitution of 1792.¹

NOTES.

Analysis of Long Pond Water. In 1872, S. Dana Hayes, state assayer of Massachusetts, analyzed Long pond water, and found it to contain 1.80 per cent. of total impurities, mineral and organic, compared with the percentages of fourteen other water supplies of prominent places, as follows: Boston, Cochituate lake, 3.20; Charlestown, Mystic lake, 5.68; Lowell, Merrimaek river, 1.94; Manchester, Massabesic lake, 2.82; Lym, Flax pond, 4.08; New Bedford, Acushnet river, 3.18; Fall river, Watuppa pond, 1.80; Springfield, Chicopee river, 2.70; Providence, Pawtuxet river, 2.57; New York, Croton river, 4.98; Philadelphia, Schuylkill river, 3.50; Chicago, Lake Michigan, 6.68; Paris, France, Seine river, 8.83; London, England, Thames river, 16.38.

Board of Trade Festival. The occupation of new rooms in the new Board of Trade building was made the occasion for a social gathering of the members of the board, with their ladies and invited guests, on the evening of October 20, 1873. The music was supplied by Blaisdell & Ingalls's band, and a choir of nine male voices; an opening address was made by Lyman D. Stevens, president of the board, and the principal one by Asa McFarland, followed by a poem entitled "Concord," by Mrs. Abba Gould Woolson. After the exercises in Board of Trade hall, the company repaired to the Eagle hotel, where a banquet was served. With post-prandial sentiments and responses the happy occasion closed at midnight.

In the course of his historical address Mr. McFarland said: "But while speaking of this edifice as one which arose under the auspices of the board of trade, I should be chargeable with a serious omission

¹ See Concord Men in Official Positions, in note at close of chapter.

were it not stated that it is doubtful if the purpose of erecting a beautiful, commanding, and substantial edifice for business purposes, in place of a structure that had become a conspicuous blemish, would have been successful but for the earnest and persistent labor of Isaac A. Hill. It is not impossible but the enterprise would have been successful in the hands of some other one of our fellow-citizens, but I entertain the belief that most of the business men of the city would have thrown by the subscription paper before they had explored half the ground. For this edifice, and the costly and reliable clock in its tower, our people are especially indebted to Mr. Hill."

Connected K. of P. Organizations. In addition to the organizations mentioned in the text, others were instituted in the course of years, so that the following existed in 1900: Kearsarge Lodge, No. 48; Pillsbury Company, No. 3, U. R. K. of P., instituted in 1877; Supreme Lodge, Pythian Sisterhood; Grand Lodge, Pythian Sisterhood; Young Assembly, Pythian Sisterhood, No. 1.

Concord Men in Official Positions. In course of the period under review in the text, the following citizens of Concord held official position: William E. Chandler, first assistant secretary of the treasury for two years, 1865-'67; George G. Fogg, recent minister to Switzerland, U. S. senator from August, 1866, to March, 1867; Edward H. Rollins, serving his third term in the house of representatives of the thirty-ninth congress, 1865-'67, and as U. S. senator from March, 1877; Onslow Stearns, governor, in 1869, '70; Moses Humphrey, councillor, for the same years; Lyman D. Stevens, presidential elector, at the second election of General Grant, in 1872; John Y. Mugridge (1868, '69), David A. Warde (1872, '73), George E. Todd (1874 and 1876), Jacob H. Gallinger (1878, '79), members of the state senate, and all save the third serving as presidents of that body; Asa Fowler in 1872, Charles P. Sanborn in 1875 and 1876, speakers of the house of representatives; Nathan W. Gove, 1870, William Butterfield, 1874, Ai B. Thompson, 1877 (date of first election), secretaries of state; Peter Sanborn, 1857-'71, state treasurer; Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Bouton, 1866-'77, state historian; Granville P. Com, 1877, '79, railroad commissioner; Amos Hadley, 1867-'69, state superintendent of public instruction.



Concord, from Cupola of Court House.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CITY OF CONCORD.—TWO DECADES OF PROGRESS.—TOPICS, OLD AND NEW, TREATED TO CONCLUSION.

1880–1900.

The biennial system of electing city and ward officers had, under the amended charter, gone into operation in Concord on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November of the year 1878. On that day those officers were chosen for the two ensuing years, as thereafter their successors were to be. Horace A. Brown, who had already served in the mayoralty eight months under the old, or annual, system, was the first to be elected to the same office under the new. The amended charter also extended the term of office of the city council, elected in November, 1878, from March, 1879, to the Tuesday next after the day of the biennial election in November, 1880.

The mayors during the years of the next two decades were: George A. Cummings, 1881, '82; Edgar H. Woodman, 1883, '84, '85, '86; John E. Robertson, 1887, '88; Stillman Humphrey, 1889, '90; Henry W. Clapp, 1891, '92; Parsons B. Cogswell, 1893, '94; Henry Robinson, 1895, '96; Albert B. Woodworth, 1897, '98; Nathaniel E. Martin, 1899, 1900.

With the change of time for holding the municipal election, the date of organizing a newly-elected city government was changed from the third Tuesday in March to the fourth Tuesday of January next after the November election. Under an amendment of the charter, the city council in 1882 came to be composed of an equal number of aldermen and common councilmen, each ward having as many men in either branch as it had members of the general court. Hitherto the board of aldermen had consisted of seven members, and the common council of fourteen; now each had twelve until 1891, when the number was increased to fifteen. When, however, in 1894, the two new wards, eight and nine, were created, the total membership of the city council was not increased.

Of an important enterprise, the continued record of which comes in order here, the board of water commissioners,—John Kimball, William M. Chase, James L. Mason, James R. Hill, Samuel S. Kimball, Luther P. Durgin, and Mayor George A. Cummings,¹—made in 1882

¹ See Number and Tenure of Water Commissioners, in note at close of chapter.

the following report: "Our city has now been supplied with water from Long pond for a period of ten years. We can review these years with much satisfaction. No one at the present time doubts the wisdom of the undertaking. The original works were thoroughly constructed, so that only a very small sum has been required for repairs. The cement-lined pipe has been found adapted to our wants. The water supplied has been pure and generally abundant. Takers have increased from year to year and are still increasing; the rates have been reduced; large improvements have been made in the works, and with moderate rates the income is ample to pay interest charges on the bonded debt, and all charges for care and maintenance. The destruction of property in the city by fire has been largely diminished in consequence of the ample supply of water at hand to extinguish fires. Insurance rates have been correspondingly reduced. The great majority of our citizens have been abundantly supplied with water for family uses, and large quantities have been furnished for sprinkling lawns and for other purposes. By the recent improvements, it is believed that every citizen who desires the water can be supplied, and that the annoyances that have heretofore occurred at the high points in the city by reason of an intermittent supply will be remedied."

One of the "recent improvements" referred to in the report was the laying of "a second and larger main from the dam to a point opposite the entrance to Blossom Hill cemetery, and another large pipe from that point through Walnut street to its intersection with Franklin street." This work had been done in 1882 at an expense of nearly forty-five thousand dollars, for which the city council made cheerful provision. The enterprise continued to prosper. The advantages of an adequate water supply were so earnestly desired by the residents of West Concord, Fisherville, and Millville, that in 1887 they were admitted to the water precinct. The city council had with remarkable unanimity consented to the extension, though involving a large outlay by which forty thousand dollars was added to the indebtedness of the city.

The works were self-sustaining. Thus, in 1890, the income from reasonable water rates was sufficient to pay the expenses of maintenance, the cost of new pipes,—amounting to seven thousand seven hundred dollars,—and the interest upon the water-works, and to leave a balance of earnings amounting to six thousand two hundred dollars. But the low pressure in the most elevated parts of the precinct was a defect which could be remedied only by expensive means. In 1890 the commissioners had under consideration two methods of relief: One, to pump water from Long pond into a reservoir located

upon a convenient elevation, and to distribute it thence by gravity; the other, to depend still exclusively upon gravity by bringing water from the higher level of Walker pond in the town of Webster. Which method to adopt was long and seriously considered. Each involved large expenditure. Finally, in 1891, the board of water commissioners, then consisting of George A. Young, William P. Fiske, James L. Mason, Joseph H. Abbot, Willis D. Thompson, James H. Chase, and Mayor Henry W. Clapp, adopted the first plan, thereby introducing "High Service" into the Concord system. Before the season closed a good beginning was made. The Pumping Station was located upon land purchased of Moses H. Bradley, and situated at the junction of State and Penacook streets. This was to receive water from a main leading from Long pond and force it into the Reservoir. This was located upon an elevation of land on Penacook street purchased of Joseph B. Walker; and from it distribution could be made with adequate pressure. Contracts were closed for the various departments of construction and supplies. The pumping station, with coal shed, shop, and stable, was completed in 1892, under contract, by Eben B. Hutchinson of Concord, at an expense of seventeen thousand six hundred dollars. This structure had separate rooms for its pumping-engine and boilers. Its boiler-room, measuring thirty-eight by thirty-two feet, had its monitor roof, and was



Pumping Station.

connected with a chimney eighty feet high and twelve feet square at base. Two boilers were set in brick, each fifteen feet long and fifty-four inches in diameter. The pumping-engine was furnished by Henry B. Worthington of New York, for nine thousand two hundred dollars. The water was taken from the fourteen-inch main into the pump under pressure through a surface condenser, and then forced into the reservoir through a twenty-inch pipe. It was capable of delivering two million gallons of water in twenty-four hours.

The reservoir, constructed under the supervision of Engineer W. B. Fuller of Malden, Mass., had a capacity of two million gallons, and its grounds embraced nine acres. Water was let into it on the third day of December, 1892, its cost of construction having been about thirty-five thousand dollars. At the close of 1893, Superintendent V. C. Hastings could report: "The new high service system has worked very successfully during the year."

There had also been done, in 1892, in connection with the high service, a considerable work of laying pipes and setting gates and hydrants, involving, in labor and materials, an expense of about twenty-four thousand dollars. Indeed, the years 1892 and 1893 were marked years in the history of the water department, not only in perfecting the works themselves, but in securing for the city the absolute and unquestioned control of the water supply. Thus, in the former year, a settlement was effected with the Concord Manufacturing Company, whereby that company relinquished all right and title to the waters of Penacook lake for the sum of eighty thousand dollars. The next year, the commissioners, looking ahead to possible contingencies, secured of Charles H. Amsden, for five thousand dollars, his water-rights in Long pond, in Webster, favorably situated for giving the city an additional supply of water, should it be needed.

So this important enterprise went on through its first twenty-eight years—from 1872 to 1900—with an expense of nearly eight hundred sixty thousand dollars, but without financially oppressing the city.

“No city has purer water than this,” said the Board of Health, in 1881; “surely nine tenths of our people within the water-supply use the water from the main source.” “This city,” added the board, “has now invested in sewers seventy-five thousand dollars; we believe we have a very complete system.” Those statements were followed by the timely reiteration of suggestions as to the necessity of keeping the fountain of the water supply free from outside contamination, and of so laying, trapping, and ventilating sewer pipes as not to endanger health from noxious exhalation. The latter lesson, especially, needed enforcement not only then, but even in later days. Until 1888, the department of sewerage was under the care and direction of a committee on sewers and drains, composed of the mayor and two aldermen; the number of aldermen then becoming three, and later, four. The regular annual appropriation for sewers rarely exceeded five thousand dollars, but was sometimes aided by a special one; as in 1890, when a special appropriation of twelve thousand dollars—notwithstanding the unusually large annual one of seven thousand—was made for building the South End sewer, four thousand eighty feet long, extending from Allison street to the Merrimack river—an enterprise completed in 1891, and properly deemed highly important, since it relieved the Brook sewer of excessive pressure, and afforded drainage to the vicinity of Pillsbury street and Broadway, including the premises of the new Margaret Pillsbury hospital. Care was also wisely taken to provide newly settled localities with sewerage; as, in 1891, in the vicinity of Curtis avenue,

where tenement houses had been recently erected by the Concord Development Company.

Penacook, in 1887, West Concord, in 1892, and East Concord, in 1895, were constituted sewerage precincts by city ordinances that authorized loans on the credit of the city for constructing the system in those precincts; with provision that certain specified sums should be annually raised upon the taxable property therein, for paying the bonds as they should mature. Nor were the people of those precincts slow to improve the opportunities thus afforded them.

The continued and growing importance of the department was signified, in 1893, by creating the office of City Engineer,—the first incumbent being Will B. Howe,—and requiring that one of the duties of the engineer should be to act as clerk of the committee on sewers and drains. On the 31st of December, 1900, it fell to that officer to report that a total of nearly thirty-two miles of sewer lines permeated the city precinct—a fact denoting the interesting average of one mile of extension a year since the system of sewerage had its beginning in Concord a generation before.

For the six years ending with 1886, the Board of Health consisted of John Connell, city marshal, and two physicians; Alfred E. Emery for six years and George Cook for four years, with Sumner Marden and Herbert C. Cummings sharing the last two. This board kept a watchful and intelligent eye upon existing hygienic conditions, including water supply and sewerage, and, from time to time, suggested improvements. In 1887, the city government resolved upon a new departure in sanitation. A comprehensive and progressive ordinance “relating to the public health” was passed on the last day of March, prescribing that the city council should, before the 15th of April of that year, “by joint ballot, elect three health officers,”—one for three years, one for two, and one for one year,—“to be styled the Board of Health of the city of Concord;” with the further provision, that “annually thereafter” a person should be elected “for a term of three years to take the place of the member whose term expires.” At least one of the members was to be a physician. The board thus chosen was, within ten days, to organize, and make a nomination of a Sanitary Officer, subject to the action of the city council in convention. This officer was to devote his entire time, from the 1st of May to the 31st of October, to the performance of the duties of his office,—receiving two dollars and fifty cents a day therefor,—and should, during the rest of the year, investigate all complaints relating to nuisances, and do other service under the direction of the Board of Health, with compensation of fifty cents per hour; provided, however, that his charge for services in any one day

should not exceed the sum of two dollars and fifty cents. The members of the board were each to be annually compensated in the sum of twenty-five dollars.

The first Board of Health chosen under this ordinance consisted of Granville P. Conn, Edward N. Pearson, and Herbert C. Cummings. The first sanitary officer was Howard M. Cook, who served till 1889. Thence to 1900 there were two other incumbents of the office,—Henry A. Rowell and Charles E. Palmer,—with a yearly compensation increasing to eight hundred dollars.

The board and its sanitary officer went to work with energy and common-sense discretion. A house-to-house inspection was systematically conducted for six months; revealing, among other things, the somewhat startling fact that there were three hundred eighty-eight dwelling-houses which were using “surface drains, cesspools, old wells, or stable cellars for the purposes of sewerage.” “It seems strange,” said the sanitary officer in his report, “that any one owning a house on the line of a street sewer should continue to violate the law, and incur the liability of disease and death by the use of surface drains and cesspools. . . . There are two hundred eighty-five houses that are using these, and some of them are on what are termed the best streets in the city.” Efforts were also made to bring about the discontinuance of unwholesome wells and springs as sources of water supply; and, by timely warnings, to save Lake Penacook itself from pollution. The board, in its first report, declared “the house-to-house inspection” to be “but the taking of bearings for more effective work later.” In fact, it was to be a prominent duty of the sanitary officer during the coming thirteen years, sometimes reaching, as in 1900, five hundred cases, and covering nearly as many localities. Within its wide range the last-mentioned inspection embraced private and tenement dwelling-houses, stores, stables, meat and fish markets, schoolhouses, business blocks, alleyways, Penacook lake, and the reservoir. But all along, especially in the later years, this inspection had to yield somewhat to other more pressing duties. To attend to hundreds of complaints against nuisances, to serve notices for their abatement, and to watch for the compliance of those notified; to enforce the laws, ordinances, rules, and regulations relative to sewers and drains; and—most important of all—to supervise cases of contagious disease, involving disinfection, and, frequently, quarantine, were some of the engrossing duties of the health department and its executive officer. Thus, in 1895, the sanitary officer examined more than five hundred nuisances complained of, and caused the abatement of most of them; personally inspected one hundred four sewers as to “connection

made and work completed;" visited eleven hundred forty-nine persons smitten with contagious sickness; placarded two hundred thirty-six houses; fumigated two hundred ninety-six rooms and two school-houses; burned fifty-three pieces of infected bedding; and attended fifteen funerals of victims of contagious disease.

After years of urgent suggestion, the wishes of the department were gratified in 1900, by legislation tending to abate the dangerous nuisance of defective plumbing. The sanitary officer became the inspector of plumbing; and provision was also made against the sin of ignorance therein by establishing a board of examiners to test the fitness of applicants for license to follow that pursuit. And it was the testimony of Officer Palmer in course of the first year's trial that the plumbers were accepting the new conditions "in a very fine spirit," realizing that the new laws were "working no hardship on them as a class." But another improvement, though persistently urged, was not secured. This was the providing of a hospital where diseases of a contagious character could be effectively treated. In 1895 there was some prospect that the scheme might prove successful; plans of a building were drawn, estimates of cost secured, and a suitable site granted the city, for a nominal sum, by the trustees of the Margaret Pillsbury Hospital.¹ But nothing practical resulted; and the pest house on the Plains remained a sorry apology for the desired institution.

In 1895 the Board of Health was, by state law, given the "charge of granting permits for the burial of the dead." Hitherto, since 1878, the city clerk had had, as registrar, exclusive charge of the department of Vital Statistics pertaining to births, deaths, and marriages—making annual reports to the city. Thenceforth, the records of vital statistics began to be given more frequent publicity by the board in the columns of newspapers, and to be sent in exchange to many cities of the United States and Canada.

The death rate during the two decades was moderate; hardly averaging 15 to 1,000 of the population, with a decreasing tendency in later years. At the close of the year 1900 the sanitary officer reported: "The general health of the city is good, and compares favorably with that of former years, also with that of other cities and towns in the state."

During the period from 1880 to 1900 the Fire Department felt the common impulse of improvement as it continued in its path of honorable and responsible duty. Its chief engineers in those years were: James N. Lauder, 1880, '81; John M. Hill, 1882, '83, '84, '85; Daniel B. Newhall, 1886, '87; Charles E. Blanchard, 1888, '89 (died

¹ The establishment of this institution is fully treated in the Medical chapter.

in office); Charles A. Davis, 1889, '90, '91, '92, '93, '94; William C. Green, 1895, '96, '97, '98, '99, 1900.

In the year 1883 the department had three steam fire engines. Of these two belonged to the precinct—the “Kearsarge,” that had seen continuous service for more than sixteen years, and the new “Gov. Hill,” exchanged for the old which had become practically unserviceable after having been in commission for more than twenty-one years. The third belonged to Penacook, having been purchased the year before for the company, whose name “Pioneer” it took. The “Gov. Hill” was assigned to Eagle Hose Company, and held as a relief. While the department was better supplied with water than ever before by the recent laying of the second, or eighteen-inch, main of the water-works; while it was kept fully equipped, thoroughly disciplined, and ever ready for duty—its services, fortunately, were but little needed for the four consecutive years, 1884, '85, '86, and '87. These were years of remarkable immunity from fire. In 1884 the losses by fire in the entire city were only sixteen hundred sixty dollars—with insurance of the same amount; in 1885 three fifths of the fire loss was twelve thousand dollars on the “Birchdale” property, four miles from the city proper; in 1886 the losses within a mile and a half of Main street reached only two hundred thirty-seven dollars and fifty cents—with ten thousand, however, in outlying



Engine House at Penacook.

districts, including West Concord and Penacook; in 1887 no serious fires occurred, though the losses aggregated somewhat more than the year before. But, as already suggested, no laxity in the fire service was induced in the department by such infrequency of conflagration. The corps stood ready for such severer duty as would occasionally fall to it in future years: as, when, in 1888, it fought the flames that devoured the High School building and the Unitarian church; and as, when, afterwards, with improved and improving conditions, it always made the best of the imperiled situation, and helped to keep at a remarkably low average the fire loss of the city.

Nor did the city government begrudge the expense of supporting the department, and of supplying it with whatever was deemed requisite to its highest efficiency. It not only built, in 1888, an engine house in Ward 3; but within the precinct, on Jackson street,

raised a wooden tower sixty-five feet high, in which was placed for the electric fire alarm a metal bell weighing three thousand seven hundred forty pounds; while the tower of the central station was increased in height and furnished with a bell of the same weight and for the same purpose. New alarm boxes and three gongs were provided—the latter located respectively at the Northern and Concord railroad shops, and the establishment of the Abbot-Downing Company. The two-circuit alarm was changed to one of four circuits—known as North, South, East, and West, and requiring four miles of new wire and twenty-five poles. In 1896 a storage battery plant with appurtenances was purchased. While no ideas of false economy were allowed to curtail the usefulness of the electric auxiliaries of the fire system, the essentials thereof, such as improved hose and apparatus, were liberally supplied. In 1890 the “Eagle” was obtained as the fourth steamer of the Concord system. Five years later the “Holloway Chemical Engine,”—quietly answering the “still alarm,” but surely extinguishing the flame—was introduced.

An ordinance passed in 1885, in revision of the ordinance of 1867, prescribed that the fire department should consist of a chief engineer, six assistants, and engine men, hose men, and hook and ladder men, appointed by the board of mayor and aldermen, with the following assignment into companies: Steamer Kearsarge and hose, sixteen men including an engineer; hose companies Nos. 1, 2, and 3, twelve men each; hook and ladder company No. 1, twenty men; steamer Pioneer, not less than twenty nor more than forty men; engine companies Nos. 2 and 3, not less than twenty nor more than thirty men each. Provision was also made for the appointment of a steward and assistant for the central fire station. The department continued under this organization until December, 1894, when another ordinance repealed that of 1885, and provided that the department should consist of a chief engineer, two assistants within the precinct, and one engineer each from Wards 1, 2, and 3; two steamer and hose companies of thirteen men each, including driver; one relief steamer of two men; two hose companies of eleven men each, including driver; a chemical engine company of two men; a hook and ladder company of twenty-one men, including driver; steamer Pioneer, of not less than twenty nor more than forty men; and hand engine companies Nos. 2 and 3, of not less than twenty nor more than thirty men each. The engineers and other members were to be appointed by the mayor and aldermen, with unlimited term of service; applicants for membership having been nominated by the chief engineer. Under this ordinance the former annual pay of the chief engineer was increased from two hundred dollars to nine

hundred fifty and house rent—that officer giving his entire time to his official duties. Compensation was allowed to others as follows: To the assistant engineers within the precinct, one hundred twenty-five dollars each, and to those in Penacook, West Concord, and East Concord respectively—in the order named—twenty-five, twenty, and fifteen dollars; to the permanent force at the central fire station, seven hundred twenty-eight dollars each; to drivers at Good Will and Alert hose houses, six hundred dollars each, per annum, paid monthly; to engineers of steamers, one hundred fifteen dollars each; members of steamer, hose, and hook and ladder companies, within the precinct, eighty dollars per annum, except foremen and assistants, who were to receive ninety and eighty-five dollars respectively; to engine companies Nos. 2 and 3, outside the precinct, two hundred forty dollars each, and to Pioneer steamer company, No. 3, five hundred dollars—said sums to be divided among the members as each company should direct. By 1900 the appropriation for the department trebled the seven thousand dollars of 1880.

In 1895 the Veterans' Auxiliary Company was enrolled in the department. It was composed of tried and true firemen, who still loved the department in which they had served their city well, and who now gladly placed themselves in liability further to serve it therein should occasion demand. It was well that at least they should thus stand together in brotherly sympathy. It was well, moreover, that they should remind a younger generation, through exhibitions of strength and skill in manning the brakes and handling the hose of their antique machine named the "Veteran," how once the fight with fire was won—and all this with not a little awakening of the public interest in a most important branch of municipal administration.

The Firemen's Relief Association, formed in the autumn of 1883, and destined to be permanent, was a natural manifestation of benevolent sympathy and interest, both on the part of the firemen themselves and of the community. The movement commended itself to the generosity of the public, and the fund of seven hundred dollars with which it started received liberal accretion.

The city ordinances provided sometimes for a general annual parade, and always for frequent company reviews. The annual parade was an interesting occasion, on which the department displayed its full strength of men, machines, and apparatus, marched in gay procession, and, at the appointed place, made skilful trial of hand-engines, in the earlier days, and of the steamers, in the later, to the delight of thronging spectators. Refreshments—sometimes a formal dinner—closed the exercises. Firemen's balls never lost the

favor of the firemen or the public. How they were regarded has been told thus by a veteran fireman:¹ "Who among the living members of the old Gov. Hill and Kearsarge steamer companies will ever forget the social pleasures and enjoyments of their firemen's life? The firemen's ball, the event of the winter, patronized by the best citizens and an honor to the department, was a pleasure for all, and ever spoken of with pride."

It remains only to be added in conclusion of this topic, that the history of fires—from the first recorded one, kindled by lightning in 1797, to the last in 1900, helped in its quenching by the same subtle agent—and of the means devised for their prevention and extinguishment, affords an almost unparalleled illustration of true progress.²

Until November, 1887, the streets and highways continued in charge of a highway commissioner, with an annual salary of six hundred dollars; this commissioner also being mayor, with a salary of five hundred dollars, to which it had been raised in 1868. During the first year of Mayor Robertson's administration the offices were separated. The salary of the mayor was made one thousand dollars per annum; that of the highway commissioner twelve hundred dollars—seven years later raised to fourteen hundred. James H. Rowell, who had been employed by Mayor Woodman as superintendent of streets, without fixed salary, became commissioner of highways. He held the office in 1887, '88; Daniel K. Abbott in 1889, '90; Alfred Clark from 1891 to 1898, inclusive; Henry H. Johnson in 1899, 1900. In course of Mayor Woodman's connection with the office, the one highway district embracing the whole territory of the city was for convenience divided into sub-districts, each of which was placed in charge of some person resident therein. The central district, mainly comprised within the compact part of the city, was in the special charge of the superintendent of streets. This arrangement, with modifications, continued some years.

In 1880 the appropriation for roads and bridges was twenty thousand dollars; in 1890, thirty-three thousand—including two thousand for sidewalks and crossings, two thousand five hundred for paving streets, and one thousand for repairing and re-coating concrete sidewalks; in 1900, thirty-five thousand for repairs, permanent work, sidewalks, and crossings, and all other necessary expenses. To promote macadamizing the streets, a stationary stone crusher, with engine, was obtained in 1881, under a special appropriation of twenty-five hundred dollars, and proved permanently serviceable, though reinforced in 1897 by a portable one at an expense of fourteen hundred

¹ David L. Neal, in *Concord Monitor*, 1892.

² See Detached Facts as to Fire Department, in note at close of chapter.

sixty-two dollars. A steam road roller of fifteen tons weight was procured in 1895 for twenty-seven hundred fifty dollars, and set in operation in June of that year upon State street, which was "picked up" and rolled from Thompson street to Franklin—more than a thousand loads of crushed stone having been used in the work. Crushers, rollers, and sprinklers were the most expensive items in the inventory of property belonging to the Concord highway department in the later years.

The mention of "sprinklers" suggests the fact that, as time went on, street sprinkling grew into such favor as to require an annual expenditure greater than the ordinary total expenditure for roads and bridges in the early years of the city government. Down to and including the year 1892, the expense had been partly contributed by the subscription of citizens. That year the amount raised was twelve hundred sixty-three dollars. But the next year (1893) a taxable sprinkling precinct was established, and five sprinklers were added to the four already owned by the city. The nine, Commissioner Clark declared, would do the work for which he deemed an appropriation of three thousand dollars sufficient. In 1894 the precinct was enlarged. In 1900, with appropriations, regular and special, amounting to somewhat more than four thousand dollars, and with ten sprinklers laying the dust and dispensing coolness over twenty miles of street, Commissioner Johnson reported: "The appropriation has always been too small to do the work properly. . . . The expense of sprinkling Pleasant street from Liberty street to St. Paul's School has been met by private subscriptions on the part of Christian Scientists and the School. Two additional sprinklers must be purchased before the next season to do the work necessitated by the inclusion of this territory within the sprinkled district."

Upon the appointment of City Engineer Howe, in 1893, more attention was paid to the scientific surveying of streets and grading of sidewalks; and this service was timely, for, as Commissioner Clark reported in 1894, the rapid growth of the city had resulted in a largely increased number of new residences, and a corresponding increase in the number of new streets. But in 1898, to check demands for new streets of doubtful public necessity, the mayor and aldermen declared, in amendment of their rules, that no petition for laying out a new highway should be considered unless accompanied either by a written agreement signed by responsible parties, that the said highway, if laid out, should be built at least fifty feet wide on a grade fixed by the city engineer, or by a certificate of the highway commissioner that it had been built of the width aforesaid, and graded to his satisfaction, and in either case without expense to the

city, unless two thirds of the board should decide the same to be of great public necessity.

The extension of Pleasant street eastward to Railroad square, over Railroad street, with the widening of the latter, was a vexed question for the four years from 1886 to 1890. In September of the former year, the last of Mayor Woodman's administration, the mayor and aldermen voted to increase the width of Railroad street, as an extension of Pleasant street, but subsequently rescinded the vote and discontinued the extension.

The matter was more or less agitated until 1889, the first year of Mayor Stillman Humphrey's administration, when, on the 13th of August, the mayor and aldermen voted to widen that part of Pleasant street formerly known as Railroad street, by forty-five feet, making its width seventy-five feet. This addition of width, all upon the north side of the street, necessitated the removal of the greater part of the Elm House, one of Concord's oldest hostleries. It was owned by James S. Dutton, and occupied by Merrick & Martin, lessees. On the 20th of August, 1889, the city council, by resolution, appropriated ten thousand dollars, "for the purpose of defraying in part the expense of widening Pleasant street"; and authorized the mayor to draw from the treasury "a further sum of ten thousand dollars to be used for the purpose of making a tender of damages to landowners for the completion and widening of the said street."

The tender of damages awarded by the mayor and aldermen was not accepted, either by the lessees for their broken lease and the enforced discontinuance of their business, or by the owner, for the destruction of the house, or that part of it which stood in the way of the proposed widening of the street. Appeals were taken to the supreme court. That tribunal referred the matter to the county commissioners, directing them to give a hearing, and decide the damages. The hearing was assigned for August, 1890. A settlement was effected with the owner (in the name of his wife), whereby he received seventeen thousand dollars instead of the fourteen thousand seventeen dollars awarded by the mayor and aldermen, he bearing the expense of removing the buildings. The county commissioners awarded damages to the lessees in the sum of twenty-eight hundred dollars. On the 18th of September, 1890, the city council, by resolution, appropriated thirty-eight hundred dollars "for paying additional damages" in the case. Finally, on the 9th of December, 1890, an ordinance was passed, authorizing the issuance of bonds to the amount of thirteen thousand eight hundred dollars, to cover the sums appropriated by the resolutions of August 13, 1889, and September 18, 1890.

The eastward extension of the "Hopkinton road" having thus been effected, a westward one, of itself expenseless, was accomplished in 1898, by establishing the street line on the same road, from Fruit street, west, so that the highway from Railroad square to St. Paul's School may properly be designated as Pleasant street.

In the Nineties seven new bridges replaced the old over the four rivers along and within the territory of Concord: over the Merrimack, the Lower, or Pembroke, in 1891, and the Free, or Loudon, in 1894,—the former of wood, the latter of iron; over the Contoocook, the Horsehill, in 1895, and the Boscawen and the Twin, at Penacook, in 1898,—all three of iron; over the Soucook, at Clough's mills, in 1896, one of wood; over the Turkey, at St. Paul's School, in 1898, one of iron. Both of the bridges at Penacook—the Boscawen of iron and the Twin of wood—had been condemned, but it was deemed safe to replace the latter by the former, building in place of the Boscawen or the main one, a new bridge of iron.

The figures of expenditure on account of roads and bridges during the two decades, though large, seem never to have been extravagant; rather, in fact, but the natural result of Concord's pleasant position upon the banks of useful rivers, its possession of three hundred miles of roads for easy communication, its political and business centrality, its steady growth in population, and its general prosperity and enlightened advancement.

It has been told in a previous chapter how the use of gas was introduced into Concord, and that in 1857 the city government ordered the streets of the city proper, at twenty-one designated points, to be lighted thereby at the public expense. The Concord Gas Light Company had continued its successful efforts to supply increasing private and public demands, and by 1881 the original public street lights had become one hundred thirty-three. Before long, gas found a rival in electricity, for by 1886 an electric light company had its plant in Concord. In May of that year the city council appropriated one thousand dollars "for lighting a portion of the city by electricity," and authorized Mayor Woodman "to contract for fifteen arc lights." On the 29th of April, 1887, the directors of the Gas Light Company, on motion of Colonel John H. George, voted it to be "expedient to put in an electric plant," and to make preparations to carry "the vote into complete effect the present season;" the president, John Kimball, and the treasurer, John M. Hill, being authorized "to procure any necessary legislation," and "to negotiate for any existing plant." Within a month later, however, it was decided not to take "immediate action."

In 1888, the city provided one hundred eighty-seven gas lights

and seventeen electric, under an appropriation of three thousand five hundred dollars for the former, and two thousand for the latter. Meanwhile, negotiations between the Gas Light Company and the Electric Light Company were continued, finally resulting in May, 1889, in the purchase of the latter's plant by the former corporation. The Gas Company had thus secured the exclusive field for furnishing both kinds of light, and that year it contracted with the city government to supply as many gas lights as the committee on lighting the streets should order, for eighteen dollars and a half, each, a year,—the same burning till midnight, twenty nights a month; and also to supply forty-seven electric lights for one hundred dollars, each, a year,—burning till midnight every night.

In 1892 the Concord Gas Light Company leased its plant to the United Gas Improvement Company, of Philadelphia, having a capital of ten million dollars, and already operating gas and electric works in forty towns and cities. It contracted "to increase the candle power 16 to not less than 20,"—thus affording an equivalent to a reduction in the price of gas,—and at once to make further improvements of the plant, involving the expenditure of fifty thousand dollars. As authorized, this corporation organized, under the laws of New Hampshire, a local company, known as the Concord Light and Power Company, which soon commenced operations.

About the same time the Concord Land and Water Power Company, being engaged in developing the utility of Sewall's Falls as a source of power, purchased the electrical plant formerly owned and operated by the Gas Company, and contracted with the city of Concord to furnish, for ten years from the 1st of July, 1892, arc lights,—to burn all night,—for seventy-five dollars each a year. Operations under the new arrangement were commenced before the middle of October, 1892, with sixty-five lamps, the current for which was supplied in two circuits, by two "50-light improved Wood dynamos," and transmitted over nine miles of wire strung upon three hundred poles erected in various parts of the city.

By 1900 the appropriation for the gas and electric lighting of the streets within the gas precinct reached ten thousand seven hundred fifty dollars. Mayor Woodworth, in 1897, had said: "The street lighting department shows a great increase in expenses during the past ten years, and I have no hesitation in declaring Concord to be now one of the best lighted of cities. This condition of things may be regarded as a great luxury, but it has come to seem to every one a strict necessity."¹

There never was indifference, in Concord, as to the varied applica-

¹ See Earlier Street Lighting, in note at close of chapter.

tion of electricity to the practical uses of life,—an application so wonderfully characteristic of modern progress,—and never was there negligence in improving its advantages. The introduction of the electric telegraph has received notice in its chronologic place; but now, in the Eighties and Nineties came the period of a comprehensive application of electricity to telephonic, illuminating, and motor uses, as well as telegraphic. In 1895, Mayor Robinson, in speaking of “an electrical department, with an acknowledged adept at its head,” then contemplated, said: “In a progressive city like ours, where a little forest of electrical wires is being reared through our business centers, blanketed with a rapidly thickening net-work of conflicting wires; with a growing electrical light plant in operation, a telephone system increasing in usefulness, an extending street railway, the lines of the telegraph companies, and the various other wires, alive and dead, with which our streets and buildings are bestrung,—we certainly require the superintendence of an electrical expert, who can give to the subject such attention as the safety of our people demands.”

Instead of a regular electrical department, Fred W. Landon served during the years, 1895, '96, '97, as “Inspector of Electric Wires,” and annually reported to the city government. His examination covered the fire alarm service and the following companies: Concord Land and Water Power; Concord Street Railway; New England Telegraph and Telephone; Western Union Telegraph; Postal Telegraph and Cable.

In 1899 Mayor Martin pronounced the system of “many poles and wires” as “dangerous and unsightly,” and recommended the passage of an ordinance requiring the wires to be placed in conduits under ground. No ordinance to that effect was passed; but, that very year, the New England Telegraph and Telephone Company set the worthy example of voluntarily removing, along North Main street, the dangerous inconvenience complained of, from its otherwise acceptable, and almost indispensable, service.

In 1890 the Concord Street Railway, or the Horse Railroad, as then designated, adopted, by permission of the city government, electricity under the single trolley system, as its motor. It had been operated nine years; at first by horse power, and later, by steam. The final change of motors, though deprecated by many as an undesirable experiment, and, at best, premature, was not long in verifying the zealous confidence of Moses Humphrey, the aged but wide-awake president of the road, that, with the change, Concord would be given “a better service than any other city in the state enjoyed.”

Soon after Concord became a city, the question of providing a Common or Park was agitated. From the first, there was in the city

council a joint standing committee on streets and commons; but on the 26th of August, 1854, a joint special committee was appointed "to make examination as to some suitable site for a Common." At the next meeting of the city government, held on the afternoon of Saturday, September 2, the members of both branches, in recess, visited, at the suggestion of the committee, a site for a common, "fronting upon and lying south of Thorndike street." Upon return from inspection, bills, each entitled "An ordinance providing for the purchase and location of a public Common," were reported by the committee to each branch. In the board of mayor and aldermen an amendment to purchase and locate in Fisherville, a common of not less than four acres, was rejected, and the bill itself was denied a passage by a vote of one yea to five nays. In the common council, the bill went to the committee on second reading, and got no farther. The day of parks in Concord had not yet come; nor was it to come for nearly twenty years.

In 1873 the water commissioners recommended the addition of a few acres of the city farm to the property of the water-works "to include those portions of the works situated on them." "Besides," said they, "the grounds can, with little expense, be improved, so that, in connection with the works, they will be very attractive and pleasant as a place of resort for our citizens." This practical suggestion did not go unheeded, and the next year (1874) the commissioners reported: "That portion of the city farm, which was placed under the management of the Board by an ordinance of the city has been fenced, and is now a part of Water Works Park; and "the Board would be pleased to receive private contributions for improving and beautifying the same." This wooded parcel of land, pleasantly situated near the dam of the city water-works in West Concord, and subsequently called Penacook park, began, by 1881, to receive appropriations from the city treasury for its improvement—one or two of these being one thousand dollars. A pavilion for musical and other entertainments was among the structures early erected within its enclosure. A small steamer plied the waters of the lake, contributing to the enjoyment of patrons. The street railway gave easy access to the grounds, and, incidentally, received financial advantage from visitors.

In 1882 the park was under the superintendency of Omar L. Shepard, and in 1883 came under that of Oscar F. Richardson, who held the place, by annual election of the city council, for twelve successive years. This first of the Concord parks was for years highly appreciated and largely patronized. It helped educate the public mind to the desirability of such resorts of healthy rest and recreation.

Rivals arose to engross popular favor, so that in 1895 it was reported of it: "Penacook park has been kept in a tidy and neat condition. Very few people visit these grounds at the present time. An annual appropriation will undoubtedly be needed for their maintenance and care."

The park tendency—as it may be briefly designated—became more and more decided, so that even the "Committee on Streets and Commons" of the city council became, by change of name in 1885, the "Committee on Parks and Commons." This tendency was encouraged by generous, public-spirited gifts of appropriate sites. In 1884 Mrs. Armenia S. White conveyed by deed to the city "certain premises on the northerly side of Washington and Centre streets for a public park." On the 27th of December of the same year the gift was accepted by ordinance, and the said premises were "established as a public park forever, to be known and called by the name of 'White Park.'" Thereupon provision was made that the mayor and aldermen should choose six legal voters of the city, to constitute, with the mayor *ex officio*, a board of park commissioners—two members to be chosen annually for three years, after the allotment of the first year. To this board were to be entrusted the care, improvement, and management of the park, with authority also "to receive the money proposed to be donated by Mrs. White." The first board, as constituted in January, 1885, consisted of Lewis Downing, Jr., John M. Hill, Joseph B. Walker, William P. Fiske, Benjamin C. White, Josiah Minot—with Mayor Edgar H. Woodman *ex officio*. It was not until the close of the year 1889 that the first annual report of the park commissioners, consisting then of Stillman Humphrey, John F. Jones, Benjamin C. White, Henry W. Clapp, Josiah Minot, and William P. Fiske, was made to the city council. In the summer of that year, the work of improving White park really began, the funds drawn upon being a gift of seventeen hundred dollars from Mrs. Nathaniel White, and another of five hundred from her daughter, Mrs. Charles H. Newhall, with two city appropriations of one thousand dollars each made in 1887 and 1888. Unightly features of the grounds were removed; surveys and plans were entrusted to Charles Elliot of Boston, eminent in landscape gardening; the fine springs, which, years ago, had been an important source of water supply for Concord, were carefully preserved, and the artificial pond constructed, upon which, before long, stately swans—the beautiful gift of Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy—were to glide with attractive grace.

How the work thus auspiciously begun was continued for eleven years upon a plan calculated to make of this park a blessing and an honor to the city cannot here be specifically told. The original area

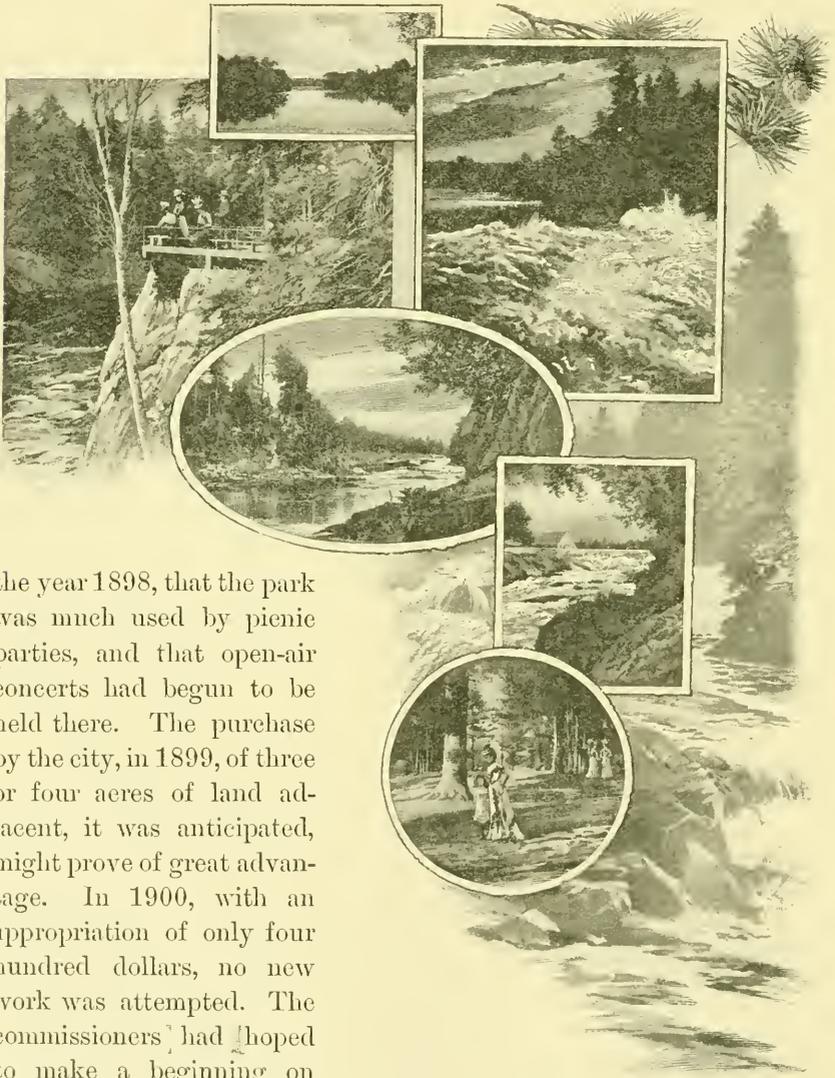
of the grounds was somewhat extended in 1890 towards Beacon street, by a strip of land purchased with proceeds arising from the sale of the "Boy's Playground," so called, situated on the interval near Free Bridge. Further extensions were made later, until the park was desirably bounded on all sides by streets. As just seen, the city had begun to appropriate in favor of the enterprise even before active operations therein commenced. The annual appropriation for the work was thenceforward regular. From the one thousand dollars of the previous years it became, in 1891, one thousand eight hundred; in 1892, two thousand five hundred; in 1893, three thousand—so remaining three years; in 1896, three thousand two hundred fifty—maximum figures which were retained two years. In fact, the city never failed to signify in its appropriations that it duly appreciated the high advantages, actual and possible, of White park.

Mayor Clapp, in his inaugural address in 1891, after speaking of "the most commendable development" of White park "during the past summer," as "a very delightful surprise to many of our citizens," said: "There is within our reach at the South End a very desirable woodland park. The trees on it are the growth of a century, and to save them from being cut down the tract has been purchased by some public-spirited gentlemen, and will, I understand, be offered to the city in memory of our late distinguished townsman, Hon. Edward H. Rollins." On the 15th of September of that year, Frank W. Rollins, trustee, tendered to the city, in writing, certain real estate for a public park. The premises thus tendered were accepted by the city council on the 20th of December, 1892, in a resolution promising that they should be kept entire, and forever known as Rollins park: the city further agreeing to enclose them with a suitable fence, lay out walks, introduce water, and, generally, to assume the future maintenance of the said premises in a proper and reasonable condition as a park.

This pleasant tract, of convenient situation, on Broadway below Pillsbury street, came, in 1894, under improvements looking to the important public use for which it had been set apart. The city made for it an appropriation of one thousand dollars, which was continued for the next two years, and the park commissioners, with enlarged jurisdiction, soon assumed the charge of it conjointly with that of White park. In 1895 they examined the grounds carefully, in company with James H. Bowditch of Boston, accomplished in park forestry, and came to the conclusion "that no special attempt at decoration or beautifying the grounds with choice plants would be wise, but rather to make it accessible by means of drives and paths, for a quiet, restful outing, where people could at once be ushered

into dense woods and study the beauties of a woodland park of natural growth."

The plan suggested was somewhat modified. In 1896 marked improvement of the premises was reported, an artistic bridge having been constructed; shrubs and trees planted; hundreds of ferns transplanted and rockeries built, and a stone wall, with entrance, begun along Broadway. In 1897 water was introduced, and a drinking-fountain provided; an artificial pond was constructed; tables and seats were placed in different parts of the grounds, and an attractive rustic shelter was erected in the center. It was reported, in



the year 1898, that the park was much used by picnic parties, and that open-air concerts had begun to be held there. The purchase by the city, in 1899, of three or four acres of land adjacent, it was anticipated, might prove of great advantage. In 1900, with an appropriation of only four hundred dollars, no new work was attempted. The commissioners had hoped to make a beginning on plans already prepared to

Contoocook River Park.

develop further the beautiful spot, but funds were not available at that time.

Meanwhile the park system had been extended to embrace smaller areas of idle ground. In 1895, under a general appropriation of five hundred fifty dollars "for Parks and Commons," the triangle of land on North State street, just south of the pumping station, was made a small but attractive park; needing for its proper setting out with trees and shrubbery only a slight additional appropriation, which it received, and also the name of Bradley park. About the same time another triangular bit of land at the West End was presented to the city for the same purpose. The desired improvement of this was nearly completed in 1900, under an appropriation of one hundred dollars, and the improved ground was named Ridge Avenue park.

The parks thus far described belong to the city system, but another here to be spoken of—the Contoocook River—is appurtenant to the street railway, of which, in an important sense, it may be said to have been a creation. In the Nineties the railway opened an easy approach to a region of manifold natural attractions along the banks of the Contoocook, and John Whittaker of Penacook, with characteristic enterprise, commenced running a steamer six miles up the river to Broad Cove. Forthwith the locality so beautiful and picturesque with its shady woods, quiet or plunging waters, and other charming features of river scenery, all hitherto but little heard of and as rarely visited, became a favorite park. By 1900 it had gained full recognition as a summer resort where thousands might daily enjoy its many recreative attractions in outings replete with health and delight.

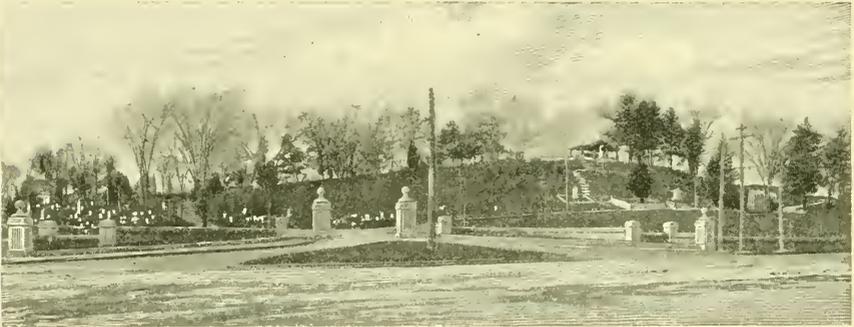
Other parcels of land in the city proper have also been designated as parks, such as those belonging to the state house, the city hall, and the state library. State Capital Driving park, which lay along Clinton street, finally became included in the State Fair ground.

In the earlier days, Centennial park, as one of the picnic places was called, lay near the highway at the Soucook bridge, some three miles from the state house, and consisted of several acres plentifully shaded with handsome elms, and having the river near by. For years this natural picnic ground enjoyed constant popularity, and attracted all classes for clam-bakes, chowders, and lunches.

While pleasant haunts of nature adorned by art were thus devoted to the enjoyment of the living, resting-places of increasing beauty came to be provided in sacred memory of the dead. The same artistic taste that beautified the Park, beautified the Cemetery; and thus the departments of park and cemetery found connection. Concord, as seen in former chapters, had never neglected her cemeteries.

Committees of her best citizens had for many a year been in charge of them; and town and city had from time to time answered suggestions of improvement by furnishing the means for its accomplishment.

In the Eighties the cemeteries of Concord, regularly in charge of committees of three chosen by the city council, were: The Old North and Blossom Hill, Woodlawn (at Fisherville), East Concord, West Concord, and Millville. Their relative importance, in 1887, was signified by the receipts and expenditures that year reported; those of Blossom Hill being five thousand six hundred eighty-three dollars; of the Old North, two hundred thirty-seven; of East Concord, sixty-four; of West Concord, twenty-five. There was entered upon in connection with the first a work requiring time, money, and taste, when, on the 16th of May, 1887, an ordinance was passed "for the improvement of Blossom Hill Cemetery." Under this a special com-



Entrance to Blossom Hill Cemetery.

mittee of twelve was selected to direct the contemplated work. At the head of the committee was Mayor John E. Robertson, who appointed Aldermen George O. Dickerman and John C. Ordway, with Councilmen Frank J. Batchelder and Josiah E. Dwight to be members of the same. The members of the regular cemetery committee selected James H. Chase to represent them upon the special committee; and finally the lot owners, at a meeting called by the mayor, recommended to the city council the six remaining members, who were confirmed; being Joseph B. Walker, Samuel S. Kimball, Gustavus Walker, William F. Thayer, Edson J. Hill, and Gardner B. Emmons. All were to serve for three years and without compensation. The committee organized with Mayor Robertson as chairman; Alderman Ordway, secretary; William F. Thayer, treasurer; Joseph B. Walker, Samuel S. Kimball, and James H. Chase, executive committee. After considerable deliberation "a front stone wall three feet high was agreed upon as the first work to be done."

Proposals were advertised for, and a contract made for building a part, but the city appropriation of three thousand dollars was not much drawn upon that year. In 1888 and 1889 the work was prosecuted under additional appropriations—three thousand dollars for the former year, and three thousand three hundred for the latter. In 1890 the city appropriated four thousand dollars, and the “front wall of Blossom Hill Cemetery” was—as reported by the committee, through Joseph B. Walker—completed with the exception of the “returns,” or “curved approaches to the proposed gateway” at the main entrance. This had been done upon less than half of the last appropriation; the balance being “deemed sufficient to complete ‘the returns,’ and to commence the extension of the wall along the front of the Roman Catholic cemetery, if such be ordered—as, in the opinion of the committee—it should be.”

By an ordinance passed November 11, 1890, the special committee was dissolved, and a board of commissioners of cemeteries was substituted. This consisted of six persons selected from Wards 4, 5, and 6—two from each—by appointment of the mayor subject to confirmation by the city council; the tenure of office being three years, with the Old North and Blossom Hill cemeteries in charge. The cemetery committee of three were retained in Wards 1, 2, 3, and 7. The first commissioners of cemeteries were Frank J. Batchelder, George O. Dickerman, John E. Robertson, Charles G. Remick, Joseph B. Walker, and Obadiah Morrill.

In 1891 the commissioners entered upon their duties. They gave finishing touches to the work upon the wall. Grading drew largely upon the appropriation of three thousand dollars for that year. The extension of the front wall along Calvary cemetery was begun, to be continued to completion in 1894, with special appropriations amounting to eighteen hundred dollars. But details of the labors expended and improvements wrought during the later Nineties, not only upon the larger cemeteries of the Old North and Blossom Hill, but upon Concord's smaller but no less sacred burial places, cannot be given here.

In 1895 the secretary of the board of commissioners, George O. Dickerman, wrote in the annual report to the city council: “While the city possesses a cemetery large enough to meet the requirements for several years, yet your commission would respectfully recommend that action be taken by the city council looking to the purchase of land lying between the southerly line of Blossom Hill cemetery and Penacook street.” And again, in 1896, the secretary wrote: “The occupants of this ‘City of the Dead’ are increasing rapidly. Our superintendent reports that the number of burials is but a little less

than two hundred a year." These suggestions were heeded; and in 1897 the city council authorized the purchase of the Bradley lot to enlarge Blossom Hill cemetery. The lot included about thirty acres, and the sum paid was five thousand dollars. Along with this instance of the city's foresight in providing ample burial grounds is to be recorded the honorable fact that in 1900 the city treasurer was in account with no less than one hundred and forty trust funds for the care and improvement of cemeteries—the accumulation of twenty years.

The town or City Farm, with its almshouse, after having been for fifty-five years the characteristic feature of Concord's pauper system, was in 1883 dispensed with. That year a state law was passed making any indigent person who had not acquired a town settlement since the year 1870 a county charge. On the 13th of September, 1883, when the change under the new law as to settlements went into effect, there were four county and two city paupers at the poor farm. But after that date no city paupers were left to be supported there; the two having become a county charge, subject to be removed, as they soon were, to the Boscawen county farm. Thereupon, the joint standing committee on the city farm—Mayor Edgar H. Woodman, Albert H. Saltmarsh, Gardner B. Emmons, Daniel B. Smith, and Jeremiah Quinn—became satisfied, after thorough investigation, that the city farm could no longer be retained with benefit to the city. The committee reported that the buildings were much in need of repair, and to make them respectable for the purposes of continuing the city farm would require a considerable outlay, or a larger outlay for the erection of new buildings. It did not seem judicious to tax the citizens for either of those purposes, unless there should be a sufficient number of city paupers to be supported at the farm to warrant it. There being none at that time, the committee were unanimously of the opinion that it was a useless expense to continue it; the published reports showing that the expenses above receipts averaged about five hundred dollars per year for the past four years, without considering the interest upon the investment.

The city council having authorized the committee to sell the farm and personal property at auction, a sale took place on the 21st of December, 1883, at which Harrison Partridge, a former superintendent of the farm, bought the portion of the premises east of the highway for five thousand dollars. The portion left unsold, including the pasture containing the quarries, and the timber lot adjoining Penacook park, was valued at about three thousand dollars. The sales of personal property amounted to about seventeen hundred dollars.

"It is believed," further reported the committee, "that there will

be no immediate need of purchasing another farm, as it is found that small sums used for outside aid will generally enable the poor to meet their present necessities, and thus prevent their becoming permanent charges to the city. This course is more agreeable to people in needy circumstances, as it enables them to retain their self-respect, and it does not destroy their ambition to help themselves." This view of the committee had already been verified by the overseer system, noticed in a former chapter, which for fifteen years had been effectively and humanely dispensing to the indigent the city's appropriated aid, exclusive of the aid rendered at the almshouse, and which, thenceforward to 1900, was to be of itself the sufficient department of the poor. After 1890 the average annual appropriation for the city poor, reported by Overseer Joseph A. Cochran, as distributed, was less than one thousand dollars.

The Police department shared in the progressive tendencies of other departments of the city government. Under its city charter Concord, from the first, had its police court, with its justice, "appointed and commissioned by the governor to take cognizance of all crimes, offences, and misdemeanors, committed within the city of Concord." The justice of the court was to receive annually from the city the sum of two hundred fifty dollars in full compensation for his services, while the special justice was to be paid two dollars for each day's service.

The six incumbents of the office of police justice from 1853 to 1900 were, in order: Calvin Ainsworth, Josiah Stevens, John Whipple, David Pillsbury, Sylvester Dana, and Benjamin E. Badger. The last three held the position forty-three of the forty-seven years: Pillsbury, five; Dana, twenty-four; Badger, fourteen. In 1868 the salary became by city ordinance four hundred dollars per annum. In 1874, by amendment of the charter, the police court became a court of record, with the salary of the justice at eight hundred dollars, and the justice was required to appoint a clerk thereof at a yearly salary of two hundred dollars. The gradual increase of compensation of the justice was the natural result of the growing importance of the police court, not only as a criminal but a civil tribunal; for the legislature in 1887, under the amended state constitution, gave it jurisdiction in civil actions involving sums not exceeding one hundred dollars.

The special justices of the court, in their order of service, from 1853, were Stephen C. Badger, Arthur Fletcher, A. B. Thompson, Luther S. Morrill, Arthur W. Silsby, Benjamin E. Badger, Reuben E. Walker, Robert A. Ray, and Amos J. Shurtleff. The clerks were Herbert S. Norris,—appointed by Judge Dana in 1874,—Rufus P. Staniels, George M. Fletcher, and Harry R. Hood.

The functions of the most important executive officer of the police department, the city marshal, were summarily defined in the amended city charter of 1859 in these words: "The city marshal shall, under the mayor, have the control and direction of the police of the city; shall attend upon the mayor and aldermen, when required, and shall be, by virtue of his office, constable and conservator of the peace." The original charter placed upon this officer the collection of taxes, and the first three city marshals of Concord performed that duty. The city marshals, from the beginning of the city to the year 1900, were, in their order, John C. Pilsbury, Jonathan L. Cilley, Benjamin F. Gale, Nehemiah G. Ordway, John Kimball, Jonathan L. Pickering,—with intermission between terms of service; William H. Buntin, in the intermission; John Connell, and George Scott Locke. The city marshal, his assistant or assistants, and other police officers were appointed by the mayor and aldermen, with compensation fixed by the city council. In course of the years to 1900 the salary of the marshal was increased from two hundred dollars per annum to twelve hundred.

Up to 1883 the whole police force never numbered more than nine—generally less. That year it consisted of the city marshal, assistant marshal, three regular police and night watch, and eighty special police appointed for the seven wards of the city, and also twelve for the railroad. This arrangement continued till 1889, though the personnel was somewhat changed, and the number of the police and night watch had become one more. George Scott Locke had, the year before, succeeded John Connell, resigned after eighteen years' service as city marshal. The salary of the office now became twelve hundred dollars per annum; a uniformed police squad of fifteen, with Charles L. Gilmore as captain, was organized, later to be known as special reserve officers, and of whom George H. Silsby was captain after 1896. The special police for the wards and railroad was continued with the addition of four for the Concord Horse Railroad. In 1890 the special police of the wards numbered one hundred, while, on the petition of the Concord & Montreal Railroad Company, two hundred policemen were appointed for that corporation, and at its expense. This large—sometimes larger—supply of police was yearly made for the railroad until 1896.

The number of regular police and night watch, including the captain, rose from four in 1888 to ten in 1892. In 1898 it became nine, and so remained through 1900. During the first two years of the period from 1892 to 1900, James E. Rand was captain of the night watch, but served for the remaining years as assistant city marshal, being succeeded in the captaincy by Daniel S. Flanders. Speaking

of the police force in January, 1889, Mayor Stillman Humphrey said: "The uniforming of our patrolmen has met with universal approval, and will doubtless be continued. The special squad organized during the past year, which has done escort and other duty in this city and elsewhere, has won the hearty favor of all, at home and abroad, by its gentlemanly bearing and excellent deportment."

Under a law passed in 1893, a board of three police commissioners was appointed by the governor, to which was assigned the power of appointing or removing police officers, hitherto vested in the board of mayor and aldermen. The commissioners were required to report quarterly to the city council, and annually to the governor and council. The first appointees upon this commission were Charles C. Danforth, Stillman Humphrey, and Giles Wheeler: but by 1900 the board had come to consist of Josiah E. Dwight, Giles Wheeler, and Myron J. Pratt. During the first year of service the commission issued a book of rules which, as City Marshal Locke reported, "proved valuable to the force." Mayor Woodworth, in 1897, at the close of his first year's administration, expressed this opinion of the commission feature of the police system: "Careful observation leads me to believe that the removal of the police department from the domain of politics has been a good thing for the efficiency of our service." On the contrary, Mayor Martin, in his inaugural in 1899, took this ground: "The people are fully as competent to choose their police officers as to elect other officers. They should choose their police officers, and remove them when occasion requires. There is no doubt in my mind that the police department would be more efficient under the control of the city than under a commission."

"Police Signal Service" was a desideratum supplied in 1898, when a police telephone line with twelve boxes at convenient points was constructed by the New England Telephone Company from the South end to Penacook, and proved to be an efficient aid to the department. The number of duty calls that were rung in by police officers during the year 1900 was twenty-nine thousand three hundred, besides a large number of emergency calls.

Eight years before, in 1890, the department had had occasion to express its gratification over an improvement in these enthusiastic words of its chief mar-



Police Station, Warren Street.



Police Station, Penacook.

shal in his report: "To Mayor Stillman Humphrey and the city council, the citizens of Concord should be grateful for the model police station which was so much needed. That we have one of the most convenient and suitable buildings for its purpose in New England, there is no doubt." The erection of this building for police and other purposes upon the city lot on Warren street had been preceded by not a little opposition from those who urged the disposing of the city's interest in the city hall property, and the building of a large and expensive structure in "some central location." But a progressive conservatism had prevailed; and now a suitably dimensioned, two-storied edifice of brick, granite-trimmed, and firmly built without extravagant ornament, arose,

where for fifteen years had stood the lobby, nicknamed the "St. James," unsightly, unhealthy, and unfit even for the detention of criminals, much more for the temporary lodging of innocent unfortunates who had no other shelter. Later a handsome police station was built at Penacook.

In connection with the police department may here be named the ten City Solicitors, who for forty-seven years held the position of municipal law officers. They were, in order from the beginning: William H. Bartlett, Lyman D. Stevens, William E. Chandler, Napoleon B. Bryant, Lyman T. Flint (two terms), John Y. Mugridge, Charles P. Sanborn, Robert A. Ray, Henry W. Stevens, Harry G. Sargent.

Previous narration left the City Library in the Board of Trade building, with nearly seven thousand volumes upon its shelves; with its librarian for more than twenty years—Frederick S. Crawford—still in custody; and with its annual appropriation of one thousand dollars from the city treasury. Early in the Eighties a movement was made in regard to the erection of a building for the state and city libraries. At the request of a citizens' meeting, Mayor Cummings appointed a committee of eighteen to take the matter into consideration; but no practical result followed. At another time, petitions numerous signed by business men were presented to the city council, representing that "the credit and welfare of the city would be greatly promoted by the establishment of a Public Library Building with a Reading Room and other suitable connections;" and that "a favorable opportunity now" presented "itself

for the successful accomplishment of those purposes. The premises of Mr. Lorenzo D. Brown, at the corner of State and School streets," were, "in location and other respects, very eligible and suitable for a City Library; and a comparatively small sum" would "be sufficient to place them in proper condition for present use. The whole cost of the premises and fitting up" would "probably be less than twenty thousand dollars." The petitioners therefore prayed the city council to "authorize the purchase and completion of the same by the city." This project did not succeed.

On the 29th of June, 1887, Lurana C. Brown—widow of Lorenzo D.—conveyed by deed to William P. and Clara M. Fowler the premises already mentioned as situated at the corner of State and School streets. The brother and sister had made the purchase with the intention of presenting to the city of Concord a building for the use of the public library, "in grateful and loving remembrance of their parents, Asa Fowler and Mary C. K. Fowler, for fifty years residents of Concord, and always active promoters of the educational and intellectual improvement of its citizens."¹ They soon made arrangements to alter the large brick dwelling-house into a library building. On the 6th of February, 1888, they formally communicated to the city government their intention, and requested the appointment of an advisory building committee, that should "also be authorized to agree upon the terms of the deed of gift, and to accept the same in behalf of the city." They also suggested the names of Benjamin A. Kimball, William L. Foster, and Charles R. Corning as members of the committee. The city council, in convention, so constituted the committee, with Mayor Robertson joined thereto. After deliberation the architectural plans, prepared by Walker & Best of Boston, were agreed upon, and the terms of the deed were accepted. On the 10th of October, 1888, occurred the dedicatory exercises of the Fowler Library Building. Mayor Robertson presided. An original hymn having been sung by the choir of the Unitarian church, an address was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Augustus Woodbury, of Providence, Rhode Island. The choir then rendered the anthem, "To Thee, O Country," and Mrs. Abba Gould Woolson, of Boston, read a poem. After the applause elicited by this effort, William P. Fowler, of Boston, presented the deed of gift to the trustees of the library in fitting words, to which William L. Foster responded in behalf of the trustees. Concluding prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Franklin D. Ayer, of the First Congregational church, and the exercises were brought to a close by the singing of "Auld Lang Syne," in which the audience joined.

¹ Inscription over entrance to delivery room.

Four days later—October 22—the removal of the books to the new library building was commenced; and on the 1st of November the rooms in the Board of Trade building were given up. By November the 12th the books for circulation were so far arranged in their new quarters that their delivery began.

A newspaper description of the building, given at the time, contains the following points: “There are two entrances, one from School and the other from State street, both of which are reached by granite steps, and both have porticos of handsome design. The School Street entrance is the main one, and opens into a large vestibule. This opens into a two-storied delivery-room, twenty-two by fifteen feet, lighted by triple windows; the delivery-desk being on the right of the entrance. . . . Opposite the delivery-room is the reading-room, eighteen by thirty feet, while the office of the Librarian

is on the right of the vestibule and adjacent to the delivery-desk. To the right of the desk is the library proper, twenty by twenty-seven feet, and two stories in height, with a winding iron stairway. It contains alcove book-cases with a capacity of twenty-three thousand volumes. An open gallery, with a handsome balustrade, ten by twenty-three feet, adjoins the upper story of the library, and is designed for the accommodation of foreign books. The second floor, which is reached from the vestibule by a broad oaken staircase, contains the trustees’ office, fourteen by twenty-five

feet; a room directly over the reading-room, which it is proposed to set apart for a ‘Shakespeare Club Room’;¹ and a cloak-room. . . . The interior is handsomely finished in hard wood, mostly oak, and, with the ceilings painted in oil, presents a rich and tasteful appearance. The contract for the entire work was awarded to Eben B. Hutchinson, and was carried out in a most creditable manner.”

The entire outlay for this gift of such auspicious import in the history of the library was twenty-five thousand dollars. It was met by a liberal increase of city appropriations. To be sure, these had been increasing till, by 1888, the sum of three thousand dollars a year had been reached; but from that date to 1900 the figures never—with the exception of those of 1899, and then but little—fell below five thousand dollars. For four of the twelve years, the

¹ See Shakespeare Clubs, in note at close of chapter.



The Fowler Library.

regular annual appropriation was six thousand dollars, and for two, six thousand five hundred—the latter being the maximum. In addition to the earlier Lyon and Pierce bequests, the institution received two in the Nineties from gentlemen who had been of its board of trustees: one, of five hundred dollars, from the Reverend Thomas G. Valpey, of St. Paul's School; the other (in 1895), of five thousand, from ex-Mayor Parsons B. Cogswell.

In 1888 the yearly charge of twenty-five cents for each card issued to patrons was abandoned, and the library became—as required by the laws of the state, and in accordance with the conditions of the Fowler gift—free for the use of all the inhabitants of Concord. The library had, for years, been open every week day; but now, under the terms of the deed of gift, the reading-room was to be “open at seasonable hours every day throughout the year.” By vote of the city council an arrangement was effected in 1888, whereby books might be transmitted twice a week for use in Penacook; and sometimes eight or nine thousand volumes a year were sent thither, and safely returned.

In 1882 Frederick S. Crawford, after nearly twenty-five years of faithful and acceptable service as librarian, resigned his trust. Daniel F. Secomb succeeded, and in the fourteenth year of work and duty to which he was eminently adapted, and which he loved, was called away by death. His successor, entering office in 1895, was Miss Grace Blanchard, as to whose official service, the trustees' report of 1900 bears the following testimony: “The trustees are gratified by the excellent work of the librarian and her assistants. Thoroughly business-like methods everywhere prevail, and especially to be commended is the solicitude with which the public are served and their wants anticipated.”

By this time twenty-two thousand volumes were upon the shelves of the institution, and more than half a thousand new patrons, or borrowers, had applied during the year for the right to use the library. Indeed, such privileges as it affords have been nowhere else more highly appreciated and improved than in Concord, where, in a single year, ninety thousand books have been given out at the delivery-desk.

Amid other activities, Literary Production, outside that of the newspaper press, continued to manifest itself after the Sixties as it had done before. Though literature has not been a profession in Concord, yet there has existed sufficient literary taste and talent to do creditable literary work. And such work has been done in various departments of letters—history, biography, travels, essays, fiction, and poetry. Some of the men and women of Concord—native or resident—whose writings can thus be classed, have already been named:

others find record here, with mention of the department or departments in which each labored:—

History and Biography—Frances M. Abbott, Franklin D. Ayer, Nathan F. Carter, William E. Chandler, Parsons B. Cogswell, Howard M. Cook, Charles R. Corning, Ebenezer E. Cummings, Sylvester Dana, Samuel C. Eastman, William L. Foster, Jacob H. Gallinger, John H. George, William F. Goodwin, Amos Hadley, Isaac W. Hammond, Otis G. Hammond, Walter Harriman, Alma J. Herbert, Howard F. Hill, George E. Jenks, John Kimball, John C. Linehan, James O. Lyford, G. Parker Lyon, John N. McClintock, Henry McFarland, Henry H. Metcalf, George H. Moses, John C. Ordway, Harlan C. Pearson, Jonathan Eastman Pecker, Chandler E. Potter, William Prescott, Henry Robinson, Joseph W. Robinson, Henry P. Rolfe, Frank W. Rollins, Harry G. Sargent, Jonathan E. Sargent, Daniel F. Secomb, John C. Thorne, Joseph B. Walker.

Travels—John Bell Bouton, Parsons B. Cogswell, Charles R. Corning, Jane Anthony Eames, Walter Harriman.

Essays—Frances M. Abbott, Granville P. Conn (medical), William H. Kimball, Edward P. Tenney, Irving A. Watson (medical), Abba Goold Woolson.

Fiction—Helen Mar Bean, Grace Blanchard, John Bell Bouton, Clara F. Brown, Samuel C. Eastman (translations from the French, German, and Norwegian), Charles H. Hoyt (playwright), Will Cressy (playwright), Frank W. Rollins.

Poetry—Helen Mar Bean, Laura Garland Carr, Nathan F. Carter, Alma J. Herbert (translations from the German), Edward Augustus Jenks, George Kent, George Frederick Kent, Daniel C. Roberts, Abba Goold Woolson.

Of these writers, some of whose productions have been published as books, are the following: Helen Mar Bean, John Bell Bouton, Clara F. Brown, Laura Garland Carr, Parsons B. Cogswell, Charles R. Corning, Jane Anthony Eames, Amos Hadley, Walter Harriman, Edward A. Jenks, John N. McClintock, Henry McFarland, Chandler E. Potter, William Prescott, Frank W. Rollins, Daniel F. Secomb, Joseph B. Walker, and Abba Goold Woolson.

Many productions in the departments of literature under consideration have found exclusive publication in pamphlets, society proceedings, magazines, reviews, and newspapers. But, outside these restricted departments, many minds have wrought with more or less of literary art upon scientific, educational, political, social, moral, and religious themes, and have helped to give Concord a good position in the domain of letters.

The Lyceum, with its courses of miscellaneous lectures, had been

for years well sustained in Concord. It was vigorous during the war period, and for some time afterward. At length, however, it went into decline, and ultimately became a by-gone. But the occasional lecture, from the lips of Beecher, Gough, Talnage, Fields, or other thinkers who had a message worth delivery, was still gladly heard. Short courses on special subjects pertaining to literature and science found favor with audiences more or less select. The Young Men's Christian Association also had well attended courses. A foothold in the general public interest in Concord was maintained by the lecture, even with so powerful a rival as the drama. The theatrical stage of the opera house never ceased to be a lecture platform. In 1890 the people of Concord signified their attachment still to the lecture system, by full attendance, in the spring of that year, upon a free course delivered by residents of the city, comprising Rev. Franklin D. Ayer, Joseph B. Walker, Rev. Thomas W. Illman, Amos Hadley, Samuel C. Eastman, Rev. Daniel C. Roberts, Rev. James K. Ewer, and Professor James W. Patterson.

On the 26th of December, 1891, died Mrs. Abigail B. Walker, widow of Timothy Walker,—a son of Judge Timothy Walker, so prominent in the history of the town,—leaving to the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane, the Rolfe and Rumford Asylum, the Free Lecture Course, and other public institutions of Concord, about one half of her estate. Under the bequest of the Timothy and Abigail B. Walker Free Lecture Course to the Citizens of Concord, courses of free lectures upon historical, scientific, literary, and other subjects have been given each winter since that of 1896-'97. They are supported upon the income of thirty thousand dollars left by Mrs. Walker. The drawing of seats for these courses has become an event in the life of the city, and the crowded audiences usually attending the lectures do honor to the intelligence of the people.

Nor was Music, as a science and an art, neglected. Progress in this department of culture was marked and constant during the five last decades of the century. In the church choir, vocal music—with or without organ accompaniment—reached high artistic excellence. It became, too, an indispensable constituent of the public school curriculum, while pianoforte instruction came to be deemed almost an essential feature of woman's training. Bands and orchestras flourished in meeting the demands of a music-loving community, and musical entertainments, offered by the best talent of the times, were received with merited zest.

In the early Sixties, the idea of organizing a State Musical Festival was conceived by three Concord teachers of music—John H. Morey, Benjamin B. Davis, and John Jackman. The festival, or conven-

tion, open to the attendance of singers from all parts of the state, was to be held annually at the capital. The idea met with favor, and at length ripened into a successful enterprise. On the 26th of January, 1864, the first festival convened at Eagle hall, and continued in session four days. The people of Concord welcomed with ready hospitality the numerous visitors in attendance, and thus, as well as otherwise, expressed their high sense of the value of musical culture. The convention was a busy one, with its daytime rehearsals and evening concerts in which a chorus of more than five hundred voices participated. L. O. Emerson, of Boston, was director; Mrs. Minnie Little, of the same city, vocal soloist; and John H. Morey, pianist, with Mrs. Martha Dana Shepard, of Holderness, accompanist. The successful beginning had been made; and twenty-two festivals followed in as many successive years,—all held in Concord, and in Eagle and Phenix halls, save the last, which came off in April, 1886, in the Granite State Skating Rink Building on Pleasant street. All the festivals had competent directors, well-trained choruses, talented soloists, and skilful pianists. The "Temple Quartette" and the "Mendelssohn Quintette," both of Boston, often lent *clat* to concerts by fine vocal and orchestral efforts. In the later years, the three originators of the enterprise were assisted in the management of the conventions by Henri G. Blaisdell, who organized an Orchestra and thus helped to train home talent in that branch of musical art.

Though the annual convention was discontinued, yet its influence in developing musical talent and cultivating musical taste could not perish, and the chamber and symphony concerts occasionally presented by Mr. Blaisdell helped to keep in healthy life the public interest. Within a few years, the Concord Choral Union was formed to associate the singers of the city for thorough study and drill in sacred and classical music, and to present the results of their efforts in occasional public entertainments. In this work Mr. Blaisdell was prominent, as also was Charles S. Conant, who had come into charge of the department of music in the public schools. During the latter days of April, 1892, a grand festival was held at the opera house, with Henri G. Blaisdell as conductor, and Miss Ada M. Aspinwall, the accomplished pianist of the organization, as accompanist. Five concerts were given, at the last of which was presented, in climax of success, Mendelssohn's "Oratorio of Elijah." Though artistically successful, the festival, unfortunately, left a debt upon the association, and the Choral Union attempted afterwards but little.

In January, 1899, some, who had been leaders in the Union's good work, uniting with others of kindred spirit, carried out a well-matured purpose in establishing a new organization, named the Concord Ora-

torio Society, with William P. Fiske for president; George D. B. Prescott, vice-president; Augustus D. Ayling, secretary and treasurer; Charles S. Conant, director; and Ada M. Aspinwall, pianist. A large membership was at once gained, and a promising chorus was soon engaged in the study of Haydn's "Oratorio of the Creation," under the direction of Mr. Conant. In May, 1899, was made a public presentation of the oratorio, at which Blaisdell's Philharmonic Orchestra and several acceptable soloists from abroad assisted. The venture proved so satisfactory that other entertainments followed in 1900; while the Society proceeded to initiate a system of annual festivals, the first of which was held the next spring. The signal success of this experiment, of which Handel's "Oratorio of the Messiah" was a prominent feature,—due credit being given for the assistance rendered by outside vocal soloists,—was essentially a triumph of home talent, to the winning of which the efforts of Blaisdell's Orchestra of twenty-five pieces, the piano concerto of Milo Benedict, and the crowning work of the chorus of one hundred sixty members, all but ten of whom were of Concord, notably contributed.

Such facts as these, in their briefest statement, afford gratifying historic proof that music has found in Concord a congenial home of progress, and of culture even the highest. Other organizations, particularly those designated as Bands,¹ reached a degree of artistic excellence, honorable alike to themselves and to the community whose musical demands they helped to satisfy, and whose interest in good music was further signified by providing, in later years, for "Open Air Concerts," supported by municipal appropriation.

It will be remembered that in the early Fifties the Concord Young Men's Christian Association was organized, but did not long continue in active operation. Fifteen years later, in the autumn of 1868, the thought of re-establishing the institution took actual embodiment in a permanent organization, in which Dr. Ezra W. Abbott, Luther P. Durgin, and Charles W. Moore were prominent, the last mentioned serving as president.

The first quarters of the Association were in what afterwards came to be known as the Fraternity rooms, in White's block, but subsequently they were changed to a rear room in the second story of Exchange building, on the east side of Main street. The care of this room, lighted at night by only one gas jet, was entrusted to Dr. Abbott, at the compensation of two dollars a week. Within two years—or about 1870—a city missionary was put into the field, but from lack of funds the scheme was short-lived, and the indebtedness incurred thereby "almost made a family jar." Books, however, soon

¹ See Bands, etc., in note at close of chapter.

began to accumulate, a book-case was procured, and, in 1872, from lack of a librarian, keys were furnished those who desired access to the library. Upon the erection of the Board of Trade building in 1873 the Association removed thither, and an employee took care of the rooms at five dollars a week, but funds were collected slowly, and usually the year ended with a debt. Afterwards, before 1900, the Association twice changed its home, returning to Exchange block, and thence removing to desirable and well-arranged quarters in a new building, bearing its name, and situated at the corner of State and Warren streets.

In November, 1873, the state canvass began, and was continued seventeen years. Two other associations were organized within the limits of Concord: one, at Fisherville, in 1875; the other at West Concord, in 1877. These, in course of time, were discontinued. In 1879,—or a little later,—when the condition of the Association was decidedly unpromising, a Mr. Watkins, coming from New York, received a pledge from zealous members to pay a general secretary for three months. The experiment proved satisfactory; and thenceforward the general secretaryship became a vital feature of organization. From that date, too, more prosperous years ensued.

The Woman's Auxiliary, which was indeed to be an effective helper, was established in 1887; and, in January, 1888, the Concord Young Men's Christian Association was regularly incorporated. On the 31st of March, 1895, the Boston & Maine Railroad Department was organized, with a chairman and other officers, and with its own special work; the final jurisdiction being in the directorate of the elder organization. Its comfortable quarters were located on Railroad Square, opposite the station. This department also had its Woman's Auxiliary; and though celebrating in 1900 only its fourth anniversary—with its chairman, John F. Webster, presiding—yet it could report its fair share of successful effort contributed towards promoting the object of the Young Men's Christian Association, of which it was a part,—that object being the physical, mental, and spiritual upbuilding of young men. This was what the Association sought to accomplish through the gymnasium, the reading-room, educational classes, lectures, entertainments, socials, debates, Bible classes, religious services, and other methods, recreative, social, and religious. All along, the organization was trying to furnish recreation to the young men of Concord without temptation to evil.

To the year 1900 the presidents of the Association were Darius L. Guernsey, Moses B. Critchett, Luther P. Durgin, Charles H. Thorn-dike, Howard L. Porter, Charles T. Page, and William P. Fiske; the general secretaries, Perley A. Griswold, Willard E. Waterbury,

Edward F. McIntosh, Walter B. Abbott, H. M. Purington, William J. Chadbourne, W. A. Fairbanks, and Albert B. Smith.

The moral and social activities from 1880 to the end of the century were well marked and progressive. In the work of promoting temperance by means of moral suasion, the labors of individuals and societies continued to be constant and effective, so that at one time there were eight local organizations engaged in this cause. Among these the Woman's Christian Temperance Union wielded a wide and beneficent influence. The remarkable work done by the Reform Club in the Seventies had now become manifest, not only among individuals, but in public life. That movement was started by Joshua K. Osgood, of Gardiner, Maine, who, coming to Concord in December, 1875, organized the first Reform club at that time. The club, from the first, met with success, and accomplished widely-spread and lasting good throughout the period of its activity. Prominent among the supporters of the movement were Nathaniel White and his wife, Armenia S. White, who gave liberally of their abundant wealth and personal influence to promote the work of the organization. Charity and moral suasion were the means employed to increase the membership, and so potent did these prove, that within a month of the first meeting more than three thousand persons had signed the pledge. Meanwhile the Concord Temperance Reform Club had been formed, with Jacob H. Gallinger as temporary president, who, shortly afterward resigning, was succeeded by John W. Drew, one of the recent signers of the pledge. Under Mr. Drew's leadership the club attained a rapid and remarkable success.

It was but natural that the influences of work of this character should permeate society and leave more than a transient impress on the community. Such proved to be the fact. Personal restraint began gradually to show itself as the years progressed. Official efforts, however, to restrict the sale of liquors, continued with varying result; but those efforts were supplemented by the vigilant aid of the Anti-Saloon and Law and Order League, a strong state society which approached the liquor question through prohibitory statutes rather than through moral suasion.

In Concord, as in every city and large town throughout New Hampshire, open bar-rooms had been for many years common sights. While the number of saloons had not been allowed to increase, there yet remained up and down Main street, during much of the period under narration, no fewer than fifteen public drinking places. But in 1888 Nathaniel E. Martin, solicitor of Merrimack county, administered a lasting shock to the liquor business by bringing to bear the whole force of the law, and for the first time in a generation Concord

did not have within her limits an open bar-room. Ten years later Mr. Martin, as mayor of Concord, continued the rigorous measures that had distinguished him as solicitor, and inaugurated that policy of suppression which eventually tended to rid the city of the open saloon.¹

Among the important social movements of the last twenty years must be mentioned the Woman's Club. This organization, formed on a broad and inclusive plan, soon became a strong and influential factor in the social and intellectual life of the city. The plan laid down and strenuously followed was the forming of a club which should include many women of widely differing characteristics in a common purpose, by widening their sympathies and enlarging their interests in various phases of life, by increasing their knowledge of current matters, and by stimulating their education through discussions, lectures, and concerts. Mrs. Lillian Carpenter Streeter, with her associates, Mrs. Lydia F. Lund, Mrs. Julia R. Carpenter, Mrs. Frances C. Stevens, Mrs. Ella A. J. Hill, and Miss H. Maria Woods, introduced the idea of such a club early in 1893, and in April of that year, Mrs. Streeter called a meeting at her residence for purpose of formal organization. A constitution and by-laws were considered and adopted, and twenty-seven members were enrolled. Mrs. Streeter was chosen president, and the club began its work. At first the number of active members had been fixed at seventy-five, with ten associate members; but so popular did the club become that the waiting-list soon presented a reason for enlarging the limitation imposed by the constitution. Accordingly this was done several times, so that in 1900 the active membership reached two hundred twenty-five, with forty associate members. Meanwhile the annual dues had been increased to three dollars, thus enabling the various committees to offer, year after year, to the club and sometimes to the public, the choicest series of lectures and entertainments. From the beginning the board of management has always aimed at securing the best talent and keeping constantly in touch with the best thought of the day. The work of the club is distributed among nine committees of three members each, comprising Art, Literature, Education, Current Topics, Economics, Science, Philanthropy, Music, and Social Entertainments. In 1894 the club became a member of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and has exercised much influence in its wider field of action. Succeeding Mrs. Streeter as president were Mrs. Susan C. Baneroff, Mrs. Mary P. Woodworth, and Mrs. Alice Nims, whose term of office ended in 1900.

Two things, the bicycle and the street railway, contributed greatly to club and out-of-door life during this period, and had much to do with those social organizations which have been so prominent

¹See *Liquor Agencies*, in note at close of chapter.

a feature of later Concord. This was seen early in the Nineties, and continued without abatement to the end of the decade. The old-fashioned custom of going into the country for a day's picnicking was superseded by the newer custom of resorting to some lovely spot conveniently accessible, upon which a club house had been built. So popular did this kind of recreation become, that toward the close of the Nineties half a score or more of club houses, delightfully located, might be counted within the city's limits. To strangers visiting the town, this feature of social life at once arrested attention and received favorable comment. The custom was by no means confined to men, for two among the largest and best known clubs were organized and conducted by women. One of them, the Outing Club, formed in 1896, is said to be the pioneer club of its kind. Fondness for snowshoeing and wheeling, together with love of nature studies, prompted the members to form this organization, and to build for themselves an attractive club house on a slightly spot near Bow Mills, overlooking the valley of the Merrimaek and the distant mountains to the North. To the house was given the name "Camp Weetamoo," in memory of a famous aboriginal princess of the tribe of Penacooks.

The charming scenery along the Contoocook, now rendered easy of access by the street railway and the river boats, at once caught the attention of pleasure seekers. By the close of the century, that locality had become the most popular and frequented of any in the city, both for brief outing and for permanent club-house settlement. There, in the course of the Nineties, were built several club houses and many summer camps and residences. In the spring of 1897, twenty-five ladies organized under the name of Country Club, and built a handsome house on the left bank of the river, near the Horse Hill bridge. The first president of the club was Ella R. Holden. Not far below, on the same side of the river, close to the water, was built the house of the Canoe Club, in July, 1895, when that organization was formed. The membership was limited to fifteen, and composed of lovers of canoeing and athletics. The original officers were Isaac Hill, president; Henry C. Holden, vice-president; Allen Hollis, treasurer and secretary. Above the railroad bridge, on the right bank, stands the modest Bank Clerks' Club, and still further up are several smaller club houses, and not a few well-constructed camps.

But among the organizations owning houses, the most famous and widely known is the Snowshoe Club. The beginning of this club may be traced to the love of snowshoe tramping on the part of Dr. Edward French, Edward W. Batchelder, Henry B. Colby, and a few companions, who, during the winter of 1888, had formed themselves into a little company for that purpose. The sport became

popular, and with the increase of snowshoers came the talk of putting up some kind of shelter, merely for rest and refreshment. The site finally chosen was admirably adapted. Montvue park, just to the north of Little pond, had been recognized for many years as remarkably favored in commanding an extensive view of the serrated mountain ridges to the north and west. There it was that the members built their unpretentious house. From that time, the history of the club was one of constant progression and development, so that the original house became transformed into a handsome and attractive

structure, thoroughly fitted for social life and residence. The membership, limited to twenty-five, comprises the leading professional and business men of the city, many of whom frequently pass the night at the club, and nearly every one of whom is present, with guests, at the regular Saturday dinner. The hospitality of the "Snowshoe"



View of Great Bend from Passaconaway Club.

is known far beyond New Hampshire, for counted in the number of its guests have been distinguished men in every rank of life; statesmen, governors, famous educators, judges, literary men, artists, and many others known to fame.

Across the Pembroke bridge, at a point on the river road, some three miles from the city, was built, in 1895, at a cost of eighteen hundred dollars, the Passaconaway club house. The site selected is singularly beautiful. On the high bank, where the Merrimack makes a broad bend, stands the attractive house with its view of the river for miles as it flows along the meadows and the wooded shores; of the distant city almost hidden, save the church spires and the state house dome, in thick foliage; of the shapely Kearsarge, and the far-away amphitheater of hills becoming more and more remote until confused in the mountain ranges to the north. The members of this club have made it a distinctive social factor. The membership, limited to thirty, has from the beginning been kept filled, and the dances and suppers of the club are a feature in the society life of the city.

The oldest club in Concord is the Webster, organized in Sep-

tember, 1868. The membership comprises gentlemen in every calling. While the purpose of the club is wholly social, its influence has been exercised beneficially on many public occasions, and its rooms have often been thrown open for the reception of distinguished strangers. The rooms at first were in the Cyrus Hill building, remaining there until the completion of the Woodward block, some eight years later, where more convenient quarters were provided. Among the presidents have been James N. Lauder, Edward L. Whitford, Gen. Michael T. Donahue, Edgar H. Woodman, and Jonathan Ware Butterfield. John A. White served as first secretary and treasurer for two years, and was succeeded by Charles C. Danforth, whose term of office has been unbroken since 1870.

Another of the old clubs, whose existence was prolonged from its formation in 1874 to its dissolution in 1899, was the Independent Club. The membership, limited to fifteen, was composed of Irish-Americans, and included some of the representative citizens of that race. The Independent was purely a social club. Among the members were singers and actors of rare ability, who frequently gave public entertainments for various charitable objects. Excursions formed another feature of the club life, and some of the largest and most remunerative excursions ever sent from Concord originated within this organization. The rooms remained in Central block during the whole period of the club's existence. Among the original members were William A. Happny, Cornelius E. Sullivan, James Ahern, William J. Ahern, John J. McNulty, Patrick H. Benson, Thomas Gallagher, James F. Kelly, and Michael H. Donovan.

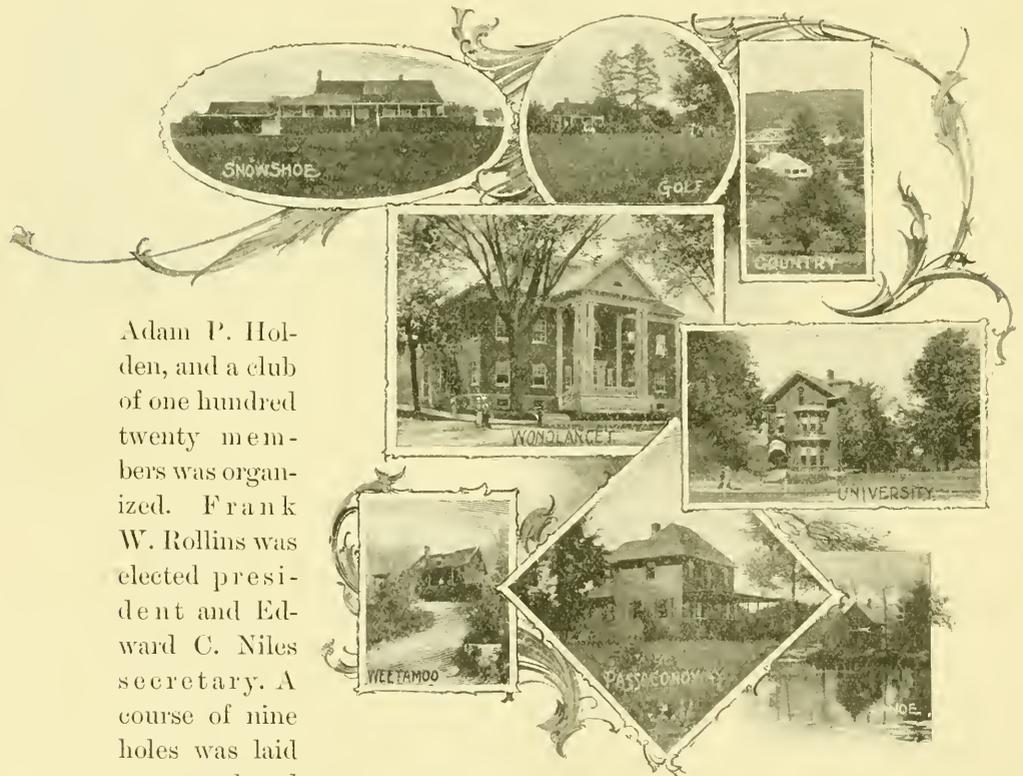
The Wonalancet, the largest club organization in the city, was founded in 1891. The membership, starting with eighty-nine, rose to two hundred and fifty-one by 1900. The first president was Frank W. Rollins. From the beginning of the organization to the completion of the club house, the home of the club was in Chase block. Athletics were a prominent feature, and the gymnasium was extensive in its appointments. Socially the club occupied a foremost position in the city. The need of a house becoming apparent, the Fuller property was bought in 1898, and a handsome structure erected two years later at a total cost of twenty-six thousand dollars.

The University Club, composed entirely of college graduates or of men holding college degrees, was formed in 1901, its officers being: President, John F. Kent; vice-presidents, Benjamin A. Kimball and Frank W. Rollins; treasurer, John M. Mitchell. The membership, inclusive of non-residents, soon reached upward of one hundred seventy. During the first year it occupied rooms in the New Hampshire Savings Bank building, whence it moved to the Stickney house.

Prominent among the clubs of the city is the Beaver Meadow Golf Club. Having for its sole object an out-of-door sport, it occupies a distinct place among other club organizations. Another distinction attaches to the club in that it was the first organization of the kind to be established in central New Hampshire. The beginnings of golf in Concord were simple and inexpensive. It was during the early autumn of 1896 that Miss Mabel Hill, Miss Harriet L. Huntress, Paul R. Holden, and a few friends, began playing over the old ball ground near the fork of the highway at West Concord cemetery. Here were set a few holes, but with little to suggest the regulation links. The novelty of the sport, however, began to attract players, so that by the end of the year golf had made an impression. The following spring a meeting was called to form a permanent golf club. The call was signed by the three persons above mentioned and by

Adam P. Holden, and a club of one hundred twenty members was organized. Frank W. Rollins was elected president and Edward C. Niles secretary. A course of nine holes was laid out on land owned by the

Sewall's Falls Company, and bunkers and hazards were constructed. In 1899 the club house was built and the course improved. The popularity of golf has made the Beaver Meadow Club one of the largest in the state.



Club Houses.

By the close of the century Lake Penacook had become a favorite outing spot in Concord; its shores were dotted with summer houses, and club houses belonging to different organizations. Among the latter is the well built and conspicuous Alert Boat Club House, situated on the east shore at the head of the lake and costing upwards of two thousand dollars. This club, organized in 1878, is composed largely of members of the Alert Hose Company, who, after a few years of camping, built a permanent house for their purpose. In 1897 a larger club house was dedicated, with boating as one of the objects of the association. Henry Tucker was president in 1900.

The Yacht Club was one of the later organizations, with a commodious house, and a membership representing lovers of sailing and rowing. The frequent regattas became novel features in Concord club life.

A popular amusement was introduced into Concord during the last months of 1882, and was continued with unabated interest for several years, when it suddenly waned and disappeared. It was the Roller Skating Rink. For months the sport held complete control over hundreds of both sexes, and attracted galleries of spectators. The first rink was opened in Eagle hall, in December. The novelty of the pastime assured a large patronage, which became further increased by polo contests between the Concord club and clubs from Manchester and other New England cities. On polo nights the crowds were frequently so great as to turn away many seeking admittance. Encouraged by the prospects which more than a year's experience seemed to indicate, a company, under the direction of Payson and Sellers, secured a lease of land on Pleasant street, afterwards to be occupied by Sacred Heart church, and erected a spacious wooden rink containing a skating surface of five thousand square feet. Around three sides of the structure were rows of seats for spectators, while on the Pleasant street side were offices and retiring rooms. A unique feature was the band seats, which consisted of a huge box suspended over the center of the skating floor, to which access was had by a ladder. On the opening night (the 31st of March, 1884), more than a thousand tickets were taken at the gate. But this proved to be the height of the "rink craze," as the sport was called; for two years later the rink was taken down and removed to The Weirs, to be used as a music hall.

Of the societies and orders, fraternal and social, not elsewhere mentioned, and existing before 1880, these were some: Knights of Honor, Kearsarge Lodge (Penacook), formed in 1875; American Legion of Honor, Merrimack Council, in 1878; United Order of Golden Cross, Concord Commandery, in 1879. Among others formed within the last two decades of the century were: Royal Arcanum,

Granite State Council, in 1887, with Edward N. Pearson as regent; Order Sons of St. George, Welcome Stranger Lodge, in 1887; United Order of Pilgrim Fathers, in three Colonies—John Carver (March 6, 1891), Merrimack, and Harmony (1894)—having its hall, and a membership, in 1900, of more than seven hundred ladies and gentlemen; Daughters of St. George, organized late in the Nineties; Knights of Columbus, Concord Lodge, in 1895; Red Men, Arosaguntacook Tribe; Independent Order of Foresters, Court Tahanto, in 1895; Daughters of Liberty, Armenia White Council; Foresters of America, Courts Concord, Penacook, Union, and Catholic Order; Improved Order of Heptasophs, Kearsarge Conclave; Knights of Malta, Profile Commandery. This summary statement, though it may not be exhaustive, suffices to indicate the prevalent spirit of fellowship and mutual helpfulness existing in the city.

Fourteen Labor Unions had been established in Concord by 1894. Of these the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was the first in the state to be organized (August 17, 1864); the next in age was the Concord Branch of Granite Cutters (March 10, 1877); four—the Stationary Engineers, the Locomotive Firemen, the Iron Moulders—were organized in the Eighties; the Barbers, the Boot and Shoe Workers, the Railway Conductors, the Machinists, the Painters and Decorators, the Printers, and the Tool Sharpeners, in the Nineties.

Though history has to record no flagrant oppression of labor by capital, nor, generally, any unreasonable demand of labor upon capital, yet the Labor Commissioner¹ was compelled to put forth the following statement in his annual report of 1894: "Without doubt the greatest labor struggle ever known in the state occurred in Concord, in May, 1892, where after considerable parleying between the stonecutters and their employers upon points at issue regarding bill of prices, and other matters pertaining thereto, the New England Granite Company and other firms in the city and elsewhere closed their doors and threw hundreds of men out of employment, not only in New Hampshire but throughout the New England states. No settlement of the trouble was effected for months, but eventually compromises were made, and the lockout was brought to an end."²

During the period under review those societies were instituted to which patriotism and filial reverence for the fathers supply the motive,—Sons of the American Revolution, April 24, 1889; Daughters of the American Revolution, Rumford Chapter, in 1898; Society of Colonial Wars, September 27, 1894,—and to which Concord has given her share of interest and efficient membership.

As elsewhere mentioned associated effort, through county and state

¹ John W. Bourlet.

² See Labor Day, in note at close of chapter.

societies, had been, for years before 1870, employed to promote agriculture in New Hampshire. That year the State Board of Agriculture was established to systematize and facilitate progressive efforts. It had its headquarters at the capital of the state, with Moses Humphrey as its president for twenty-seven consecutive years, and Joseph B. Walker, also of Concord, as his successor. But nearly three years earlier another agricultural organization, national in its scope, had come into existence in the capital of the nation; for on the 4th of December, 1867, the National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry was instituted at Washington.

In the course of eighteen years the Order gained strong foothold throughout the country. In New Hampshire it had its state grange and its more than one hundred subordinate granges. Its first organization in Concord was Rumford Grange No. 109, instituted at East Concord, on the 23d of December, 1885. Later, three others were established: Capital Grange, No. 113, in the compact part of the city, on the 30th of January, 1886; Penacook Park Grange, No. 184, at West Concord, on the 21st of April, 1892; and Dustin Island Grange, No. 252, at Penacook, on the 12th of March, 1897. All of these became permanent and prosperous.

Concord, within seven years after the institution of its pioneer grange, was the influential grange center of the thoroughly organized and powerful body of Patrons of Husbandry in New Hampshire, and its fame as such was abroad in the land. Twice within six years, once in 1892 and again in 1898, the National Grange did Concord the exceptional honor of choosing it as the place for holding its annual session. Those visits—each continuing more than a week—were occasions of great interest both to initiated Patrons and to their many uninitiated friends, as well as of great pleasure and advantage to the city that gladly received them.

In securing the first visit of the National Grange, Concord had won in sharp competition with other cities in New Hampshire and elsewhere. To this important winning, the Concord Commercial Club materially contributed by helping to secure from public-spirited citizens liberal inducements. This club was organized on the 18th of September, 1889, and was, virtually, a board of trade, tending "to unite the citizens in a common cause" looking "to the advancement of the material prosperity of the city." Its first president was ex-Mayor Edgar H. Woodman, and its membership, the first year, numbered one hundred twenty-nine, which was afterwards to be considerably increased. The club sought, from the first, to discern what was best to be done to promote the growth and prosperity of Concord, and stood ready to co-operate with grange or school board,

with city government, or any other proper agency, towards accomplishing that end. It assisted in securing a reduction in the cost of transporting coal from the seaboard. It urged the relaying of so much of the Portsmouth & Concord Railroad track as had been dismantled to the detriment of Concord. It was more successful in its efforts to secure from railroad authorities the long-desired accommodation whereby "manufacturers were enabled to ship freight to remote parts of the country on through bills of lading," with "important reduction of rates to the West and South."¹ In the early Nineties it declared the permanent location of the annual State Grange Fair in the capital city to be an object worthy of continued and persistent efforts, and at last, in 1900, a state fair of brilliant promise did find such location in Concord. The club encouraged and actively aided the three "Sleighbing Parades and Carnivals of Winter Sports," held in the month of February of the years 1891, '93, and '95, with their attractive displays affording popular enjoyment, and other incidental benefits. Under the auspices of the same organization, with Mayor Henry Robinson as its president, was also devised the celebration of Concord's "Trade Week," which was successfully carried out on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of October, 1896. The well-selected programme of that occasion emphatically illustrated, among other facts, the rapidly-attained popularity of a new means of locomotion, and of certain forms of athletics; for the Bicycle had its specially designated "day" for race and parade, while Baseball² and Football of modern style diversified the attractions of all three days of the festival.

In 1899, Governor Frank W. Rollins suggested the idea of "Old Home Week," or a festival season in late summer or early autumn, during which the sons and daughters of New Hampshire, resident elsewhere, might be specially welcomed to their old homes. The suggestion was in line with the purpose of grange, agricultural society, forestry commission, and other instrumentalities already in operation to promote state prestige and progress. The idea was urged as a practicable one, which, carried out, could not fail to awaken and keep awake a lively, widespread interest in the well-being of the Granite State.

A state association was promptly formed with the governor as president, Nahum J. Bachelder, master of the state grange, as secretary, and prominent citizens—men and women—as an executive board. Thereupon local organizations sprung up, so that each town might celebrate its own "Old Home Day." By the last week of August, selected for "Old Home Week," forty local associations had

¹ Secretary John C. Ordway's Report, 1892.

² See Baseball, in note at close of chapter.

been formed. That of Concord, the state capital, and the home of the governor who originated the experiment, naturally made the most extensive and elaborate preparations for the festival. In many places the granges were foremost in furthering the project, and everywhere they cheerfully co-operated. Successful celebrations resulted. On Thursday, the 31st of August, 1899, occurred the first observance of "Old Home Day" in Concord, filling all the hours from early morning to late evening with its interesting exercises and displays, the full description of which, as well as of those of the second celebration in 1900, is allotted to a special chapter.

About sixteen years after the organization of E. E. Sturtevant Post, No. 2, of the Grand Army of the Republic, early in January, 1868, was organized its auxiliary Woman's Relief Corps. On the afternoon of the 18th of December, 1884, in response to an invitation from a committee of the Post, several ladies came together in Pythian hall to meet Mrs. Adeline P. Kent, president of the State Relief Department,—then in the fourth or fifth year of its existence,—and to consider the advisability of forming a subordinate corps. After explanation of the purposes of the Order, several signed an application for a charter, and officers were chosen, with Mrs. Mary A. Pratt as president. In the evening the members were instituted as E. E. Sturtevant Woman's Relief Corps, No. 24, and initiated into the mysteries of the secret work. The corps entered upon its first year with forty-two charter members, and, within six years, had a membership nearly six times as large. The sisters of mercy thus enlisted in the corps—to be followed by hundreds of others in the lapse of years—went upon duty; contributing money, clothing, and other necessaries for the relief of needy veterans and their families; ministering, as woman only can minister, to the sick and distressed; and, among other labors of love and patriotism, hallowing Memorial Day with becoming preparation. In course of time their example was followed, in connection with the two other posts of Concord, by the institution of Relief Corps No. 45 at Penacook, and No. 77 at West Concord.

Two hundred veterans had mustered in 1868 with the E. E. Sturtevant Post on the first Memorial Day: on the thirty-third, in 1900, only one half that number participated in the exercises of the anniversary. At the latter date, the auxiliary Relief Corps retained the membership of more than two hundred which it had reached in 1890. Accessions could keep its ranks full, but not those of the veterans. The purpose of the auxiliaries, as expressed in word and action, was to perpetuate the principles for which the veterans of the posts had fought, and their hope was to carry on the work which death should

forbid veteran hands to do. Nor was the hope groundless, for organizations in due time appeared with which the helpers of the original posts might still labor. In the Eighties, there existed in the city proper of Concord a Camp of Sons of Veterans: and, at Penacook, J. S. Durgin Camp, No. 7, had been established in the early Nineties. For some reason the camp in the city proper was not permanent, but on the 17th of October, 1892, was organized, with thirty-seven charter members, the Thomas B. Leaver Camp, No. 2, Sons of Veterans, whose name denoted its mission of filial patriotism. And now woman again took hand in a good work, and the E. Florence Barker Tent, No. 3, Daughters of Veterans, was organized on the 11th of February, 1898, with a charter membership of forty-five, and directly auxiliary to the state department of the Grand Army.

Of interesting occasional Grand Army demonstrations in Concord one was the Funeral of General Grant; another, the Dedication of the Soldiers' Memorial Arch. The latter, which occurred on the 4th of July, 1892, has been described in a special chapter. The former was observed on the 8th of August, 1885, amid a general suspension of business, with the firing of sixty-three minute guns, and by memorial services held in the First Baptist church, under the auspices of E. E. Sturtevant Post, G. A. R. At half past one in the afternoon, into the church draped in mourning, appropriately decorated with flowers, and nearly filled with the waiting congregation, the Post, eighty strong, led by Commander Gilman K. Crowell, marched, accompanied by the Woman's Relief Corps and the Sons of Veterans, and took seats reserved for them. Professor John H. Morey opened the exercises with an organ voluntary, which was followed by a choir service of forty voices. Prayer having been offered by the Reverend Cephas B. Crane, the memorial service of the Grand Army ritual was performed by the commander assisted by comrades. This concluded, the Reverend Daniel C. Roberts, president of the day, successively introduced the principal speakers, Major Ai B. Thompson, William M. Chase, and Amos Hadley, with whose tributes to the memory of the great deceased the exercises of the solemn occasion virtually closed.

In 1888 Concord was the scene of another interesting Grand Army event, when, on the 2d of February, during the annual state encampment of the posts and the State Relief Corps convention, the National Commander-in-Chief Rea and the Junior Vice-Commander Linehan, were received with special honors by the E. E. Sturtevant Post and its auxiliary. In the evening Phenix hall was crowded. Major Ai B. Thompson, vice-commander of the New Hampshire department, presided, and Blaisdell's Orchestra opened the exercises of the

reception with a well-rendered overture. The Reverend James K. Ewer, department chaplain, offered prayer. Mayor Robertson extended the welcome of the city to the commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic of the United States, and to officers and members of the great organization, including the Woman's Relief Corps. Daniel Hall, of Dover, having, in behalf of the state department, also tendered welcome, the commander-in-chief responded in the speech of the evening. He was followed by Governor Charles H. Sawyer, Department Commander Wyatt, Mrs. Emma Stark Hampton, of Detroit, Michigan, president of the National Woman's Relief Corps, Mrs. Celia F. P. Foster, of Milford, president of the Woman's Relief Corps of New Hampshire, William L. Foster, of Concord, and John C. Linehan. The speaking, interspersed with Mrs. Louis F. Gillette's acceptable solos, with selections by the orchestra,—including the much applauded bugle call executed upon the cornet by Arthur F. Nevers,—and with the reading of an original poem by the Reverend Daniel C. Roberts, continued beyond eleven o'clock. The crowded audience remained to the close of the exercises, and many tarried half an hour longer, to exchange hand-shakes with the distinguished guests.

In the spring of 1896 James O. Lyford was employed by the finance committee of the city government to make an examination of the books of all city officials who handled funds belonging to the city. Prior to this there had been no systematic accounting by city officials. The first accounts examined by Mr. Lyford were those of the tax collector, and this examination speedily disclosed a large deficiency running over several years. The disclosure came as a shock to the public, and, profiting by this experience which occasioned considerable loss to the city, the city government, May 12, 1896, passed an ordinance creating the office of city auditor, and defining its duties. Mr. Lyford was immediately appointed by Mayor Robinson to this position, and thus became the first Auditor of Concord. In this position he served for a little more than two years, or until his qualification as Naval Officer of Customs at the port of Boston. His immediate successors were John B. Abbott and James H. Morris.

The New Hampshire National Guard was created by law in 1878. It comprised the force of active militia in the state, and consisted, for the three years, 1878-'80, of three ten-company regiments of infantry, with two troops of cavalry, and two four-gun batteries of two platoons each, all constituting a brigade. But an amendatory law, passed in 1881, reduced the maximum number of infantry companies to twenty-four, and the number of batteries to one. The Third regiment, commanded for some years by Colonel Joab N. Pat-

terson, who had served with distinction in the Civil War, contained two infantry companies from Concord: one, the State Capital Guards, becoming in 1881 the Rollins Rifles: and the other, the Pillsbury Light Guard. In the Third regiment, the first was designated as Company C, the second as Company E.

The annual encampments were regimental until 1881, none of them being held in Concord except that of the Third. But, at that date, they became brigade; and the First, Second, and Third regiments for the first time mustered together in Concord, upon the Fair ground, where had stood the historic Camp Union during the Civil War, and where the three were thus to muster annually for sixteen years. These yearly encampments were really schools for military instruction, and continued four or five days, in September at first, but afterwards in June. The premises chosen for them came, in the year 1885, into the full possession of the state by lease and deed from the Merrimack County Agricultural Society and the city of Concord, and in 1886 a much needed state arsenal was erected upon them. Subsequently, through the efforts of Adjutant-General Ayling, they were enlarged by the purchase of adjacent land, as well as otherwise greatly improved in adaptability to their important purpose as the camp ground of the active militia of New Hampshire.

Year after year came together from all parts of the state, upon that camp ground, the officers and soldiers of the New Hampshire National Guard, for drill and practice in the duties that might be required of them in active service. Upon that tented field, at stated intervals, through almost two decades of peace, preparation was making for war that seemed, indeed, a remote contingency. But in the encampment of June, 1897, though the duties of military practice and routine were still performed in peace, yet for a portion of the National Guard the efficiency of military preparation was nearer the test of actual service in war than it was then conceived to be. Within ten months, on the 23d of April, 1898, President McKinley issued proclamation calling forth one hundred twenty-five thousand volunteers, to serve for two years in the army of the United States for carrying into effect the purpose of the resolution of congress, approved three days before, and "demanding that the government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters." The Spanish-American war had come,—a war of American intervention against Spanish oppression,—a war long delayed, but finally hastened by the destruction of the *Maine*.

The quota of New Hampshire under this call was one regiment of twelve companies, with a maximum of eighty-four, or a minimum of

eighty-one officers and men, to a company, making, respectively, a total of ten hundred eight or nine hundred seventy-two. Of course the National Guard was looked to at once for supplying the required volunteers—and not in vain. Within its ranks was found the utmost readiness to enlist into the service of the United States; for the brave and patriotic spirit of the Sixties still glowed with undiminished fervor in the Nineties.

The Third regiment was selected by Governor Ramsdell as the basis of the new organization to be designated the First Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers. The selection was a reasonable one, inasmuch as its commander, Robert H. Rolfe, of Concord, was the senior colonel in the brigade; but waiving this consideration it may be said without disparaging the merits of the two other regiments, that the selection was one eminently fit to be made. The officers and men of the Concord companies were of the foremost to volunteer. By the 29th of April Captain Charles H. Staniels, of Company C, had upon his record book the names of one hundred twenty-two volunteers; and Captain Otis G. Hammond, of Company E, one hundred twelve. As the Third regiment had but eight companies, four were temporarily detached from the First and Second—two from each—and transferred to the Third to complete its organization as the new regiment of volunteers.

Under orders issued by Colonel Rolfe on the 30th of April, the twelve companies reported for active duty at the familiar state camp ground in course of the first week in May: beginning on Monday the 2d, when Companies C and E of Concord, Company D of Claremont, and Company K of Laconia, appeared. On that day, too, Colonel Rolfe assumed command of the state camp ground, and shortly afterwards named the rendezvous of the new regiment Camp Ramsdell. That week "the men were supplied with service uniforms and equipments, and with overcoats, blankets, ponchos, haversacks, canteens, woolen shirts, underclothing, shoes, stockings, meat cans, knives, forks, spoons, and tin cups. Buzzarcott ovens were furnished to each company; and a full supply of tents was issued to the regiment." Rifles were put into the hands of the men the ensuing week.

It happened that the second day of May, when the regiment began to come into camp, was the one succeeding that on which Dewey had won his signal victory in the distant Philippines. Concord fully shared in the general rejoicing over the auspicious event, and celebrated it at night by a bonfire and fireworks in Railroad square. Thousands were in attendance, and a hearty enthusiasm of joy over the decisive advantage already gained, and of faith in the final and early triumph of American arms, ruled the hour.

By the 14th of May the regiment had been mustered into the national service. The twelve companies of the regiment had been divided into three battalions, designated as the First, Second, and Third, and each commanded by a major. The two Concord companies being among the first sworn in found the following battalion assignment: Company C to the First—Major Edmund Tetley of Laconia; Company E to the Second—Major William Tutherly of Concord.

On Thursday afternoon, May 12th, the governor notified the war department that the quota of New Hampshire was full, and was in the service of the United States. A review, tendered by Colonel Rolfe to Governor Ramsdell, was held on the 14th of May, at the end of the first fortnight in camp. This revealed the wonderful improvement accomplished through the strict routine of camp duty which had been maintained—a routine rendered the more necessary from the large percentage of recruits in the ranks of the reorganized regiment. The numerical strength, too, of the regiment at this review, was within two hundred of the entire strength of the state brigade that had been wont, for years, to pass with honor the grand reviews of "Governor's Day" at June encampments.

Camp Ramsdell concentrated public interest as Camp Union had done thirty-seven years before. There was now the same eager thronging of visitors from all parts of the state as then. There existed now essentially the same spirit of kindly consideration for the "soldier boys" preparing for the uncertainties of war as then, though with less opportunity for its manifestation. The Soldiers' Aid Society was temporarily revived, and the women of Concord labored, with zealous haste, to supply with articles of comfort the Concord companies; not overlooking the Franklin company, the captaincy of which had been accepted by General Joab N. Patterson, who could not allow a war to pass without personal service therein.

Concord had upon the roster of the regiment standing ready to march to the front the following officers: Colonel, Robert H. Rolfe; lieutenant-colonel, William C. Trenoweth; major, William Tutherly; adjutant, George D. Waldron; assistant surgeon, Arthur K. Day; chaplain, Frank L. Phalen; captains, Charles H. Staniels of Company C, and Otis G. Hammond of Company E; first lieutenants, Arthur F. McKellar of Company C, Thomas F. Clifford of Company E, and Daniel H. Gienty of Company G; second lieutenants, Alfred L. Trenoweth of Company C, and Charles L. Mason of Company E.

On Tuesday morning, May 17, 1898, the First Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers, in the War with Spain, left Camp Ramsdell on their march to the front. As the column passed out, the final

salute was given to the garrison flag, and the volunteers marched westward over the river. When the regiment neared the junction of Bridge and Main streets, its escort was met, and the line was formed for the farewell parade through the streets of the capital. A platoon of police led, followed by Peabody's Cadet Band of West Concord, and Chief Marshal Major Hiram F. Gerrish with nine aids. E. E. Sturtevant Post, G. A. R., had the right of line, followed by Thomas B. Leaver Camp, Sons of Veterans. Then came the post-office foree, led by Postmaster Byron Moore, and, following in order, Grand Canton Wildey, Patriarchs Militant; Pillsbury Company, Knights of Pythias; Concord Council, Knights of Columbus; the Concord Fire Department; Concord Lodge, Ancient Order of Hibernians; the Wonolancet Club, and the High School Cadets.



Main Street, looking South from Park Street.

And now came the regiment itself, a thousand strong, with Colonel Rolfe at its head, leading the battalions in order along Main street, to the ehimes of St. Paul's bells, and between the densely crowded ranks of spectators enthusiastically cheering. In front of the state house halt was called, and the regiment, taking company formation, listened to impressive words of Godspeed, pronounced by Governor Ramsdell, as he stood by the Soldiers' Memorial Arch; to other words of timely reminiscence, uttered by Concord's war mayor, Moses Humphrey, who, a generation ago, had participated in more than one occasion like the present; and, finally, to Colonel Rolfe's appropriate and modest words of response. The line re-formed, the regiment marched through Main and Freight streets to the railroad station, amid cheers upon cheers, and other demonstrations of admiring good-will from a multitude, one of the largest ever gathered in

Concord; for business was suspended two hours, and the whole populace was out, while many from places near and remote thronged the city. The line of march was honored with elaborate decoration; flags were everywhere, floating from projecting points, swathing doorways, draping windows, and waving in a thousand hands.

Half an hour past noon the three sections of the railroad train, each carrying a battalion, steamed out of the station, within a few minutes of each other, and the First Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers in the War with Spain was on its way to the front, there to do whatever duty its country should demand.

The regiment, thus leaving Concord, with ten hundred and nine officers and men, reached Georgia within three days. On the 20th of May, it reported to Major-General John R. Brooke, commanding First Army Corps, Department of the Gulf, at Camp Thomas, Chickamanga Park, where it was assigned to the Third Brigade, Third Division of the Corps. Six days later, or on the 25th of May, the president called for seventy-five thousand additional volunteers to serve for two years. The state's quota under this call was three hundred eighteen men, who were enlisted as recruits for the First New Hampshire by a recruiting party detailed from the regiment and sent to New Hampshire by direction of the secretary of war. Recruits to the requisite number were secured, and by the 5th of August, embodied with the command.

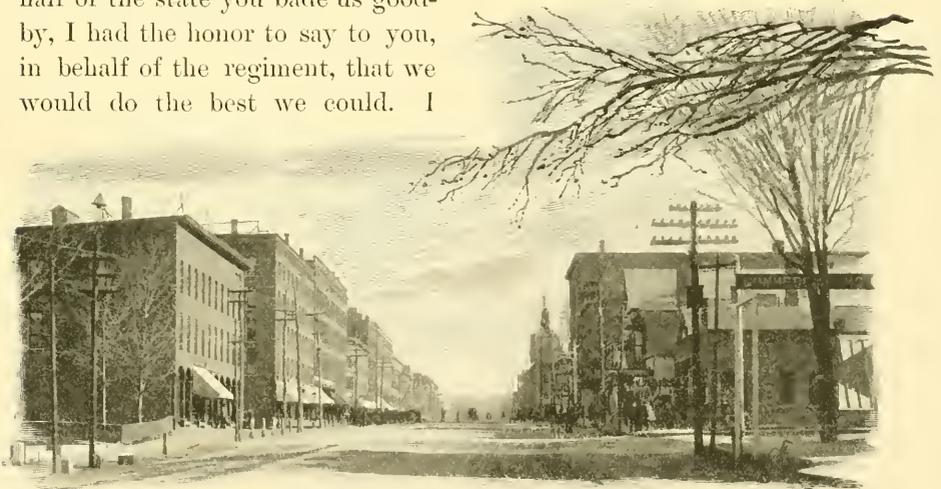
The encampment of the regiment was, for nearly three months, or until the 12th of August, at the southeast corner of the park, near Alexander's Bridge. On the 26th of June the command was ordered to be transferred to the Third Brigade, First Division, First Corps, in preparation for being sent to Santiago to reinforce General Shafter, but the order was soon revoked. On the 23d of July the regiment was put in condition to move to Porto Rico, with the entire corps, and on the 4th of August was assigned to the Provisional Corps under General Wade; but neither of these movements was carried out.

The place of encampment was changed on the 12th of August to Smith-White Field, near Jay's Mills, whence, on the 26th of the same month, the regiment marched to Ringgold, and from there moved by rail to Lexington, Kentucky. For the hostilities of the Spanish-American War had ceased in the complete triumph of the American cause on land and sea. Having remained at Lexington until the 6th of September, the New Hampshire Volunteers started for Concord, which they reached on the evening of the 8th, just four months from the day on which their mustering into the service of the United States had begun.

Not the entire regiment, however, numbering under the two calls some thirteen hundred officers and men, thus returned. Three of its officers and twenty-three of its men had perished of typhoid fever, and two hundred eighty of its members were already at home upon sick furlough, many of them being at hospitals in Concord, Manchester, and Portsmouth. Of the ten hundred eighteen who returned on that evening of the 8th of September, sixty-four came upon the hospital train, forty-five of whom were suffering from fever; so that fewer than a thousand able-bodied men, coming upon the three sections of the regimental train, reached the Concord station between the hours of five and seven in the evening.

The somewhat belated arrival was joyfully greeted by the waiting crowd, and by the welcome of cannon and bells. Having partaken of a substantial evening meal provided by the State Soldiers' Aid Society, and issued to the men massed in Railroad square, the regiment was formed in column for the march up town on its way to camp across the river. At the junction of Pleasant street extension and Main street, it met the escort, comprising Peabody's Cadet Band, the Wonalancet Club, the Concord Fire Department, and E. E. Sturtevant Post, Grand Army of the Republic. Under the direction of Chief Marshal Louis C. Merrill, with assistants, the line of march was taken up Main street, densely lined with loudly cheering spectators, amid the glow of red fire and the discharge of rockets, until the Soldiers' Arch in front of the state house was reached. There a halt was made, and Governor Ramsdell addressed the troops in words of cordial welcome.

Colonel Rolfe responded thus: "On the 17th of May, when, in behalf of the state you bade us good-by, I had the honor to say to you, in behalf of the regiment, that we would do the best we could. I



Main Street, looking South from Centre Street.

would most respectfully refer you to the reports of those officers of the First Army Corps who have commanded and inspected the regiment as to how well we have performed our duties."

The march was then resumed, and the tired men were ere long upon their old camp ground, and soon to be asleep in their blankets under quickly-pitched shelter tents. They remained in camp until the 12th of September, when, having been paid, they took furlough for thirty days. Officers and men returned on the 12th of October, and, after physical examinations and other details had been completed, were finally, by the 31st of October, mustered out of the service of the United States.

The brigade encampment of the New Hampshire National Guard was omitted in 1898, one entire regiment and portions of the other two being absent on war duty. The encampment of 1899 came off as usual; but before that of 1900 was held the brigade had been reorganized, so that two twelve-company regiments—the First and Second—replaced the three of eight companies each, the light battery and troop of cavalry remaining as before. Under this reorganization, the Concord Light Infantry and the Capital Guards became companies of the Second regiment, retaining their letters C and E which had designated them in the Third regiment of the original National Guard, and in the First Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers in the Spanish-American War.

Early in 1882 congress passed an act appropriating two hundred thousand dollars for the erection of a United States court house and post-office in Concord.

At the time this act was passed Concord was honored in having two distinguished sons in high offices at Washington, Edward H. Rollins in the senate, and William E. Chandler in the cabinet of President Arthur. Moreover, Senator Rollins held the chairmanship of the important committee on public buildings, and to his efforts must be ascribed the large appropriation and a subsequent one of thirty thousand dollars.

No sooner had the structure become a certainty than discussion and dissension arose respecting its location. Several sites were proposed and urged with persistency. Among these were the Fuller corner, afterwards occupied by the Wonalancet club house; the Russell corner, where the Christian Science church was later to stand; the Mead lot; the site afterwards taken for the State Library, and the Call's Block property. To those unprejudiced, the last-named location seemed the most desirable. Call's block was a wooden residence block with brick ends, built several years before the middle of the century, and in its day was an ornament to Concord. It

extended along State street facing the state house, and was flanked at each end by property belonging to other owners. In the rear, fronting on Green street, stood several dwelling-houses. Capitol and Park streets then terminated at State street. It was plain to be seen that the new structure ought to occupy a site bounded on all sides by public streets such as Call's block and the Green street property afforded, but the difficulty of acquiring that site lay in the cost of the land. Much correspondence now passed between Mr. Folger, secretary of the treasury, and the owners of the various parcels of land. Assistance was cheerfully lent by public-spirited citizens who were desirous of seeing Concord beautified with a federal building with appropriate surroundings. Meanwhile, the city government signified its intention to extend Capitol and Park streets through to Green, thus contributing to the plan of an open square. This the city did at an outlay of fifteen thousand dollars for land damages. The remaining land and dwellings were then conveyed to the United States at a cost not exceeding thirty-five thousand dollars. At the June session of the legislature, 1883, an act was promptly passed ceding to the federal government jurisdiction over the property thus acquired. Plans and specifications had been prepared by the supervising architect at Washington, and in July, 1884, bids were called for by Nahum Robinson, the construction agent representing the government. A year later the contract for the stone work was awarded, and the building went rapidly on toward completion. Owing to a change in the national administration, Mr. Robinson had retired, and Giles Wheeler succeeded him as agent in charge of the work. On the 20th of January, 1889, the building was formally occupied by the post-office force, and a few weeks later the pension office and the



Call's Block.

court rooms were put to their respective uses. Among the Concord firms employed in the construction were Donegan & Davis, Mead, Mason & Company (whose contract included the brick and stone work and the roofing), and James H. Rowell & Company. The granite came from the quarries of Sargent & Sullivan and the Fuller Company, and the million and a half of brick used in the construction

were made by Samuel Holt at his yards near the Margaret Pillsbury hospital. Before the structure was declared complete, the government found the need of a supplementary appropriation of thirty thousand dollars.

The post-office, which in 1889 found a permanent home in the government building, had, in 1881, Lysander H. Carroll as postmaster, appointed under the Garfield-Arthur administration. In Cleveland's first presidential term, George W. Crockett came into the office and held it until his death, in 1888, when Warren Clark became his successor. During the term of service of the latter, which continued into the year 1891,—the second of President Harrison's administration,—the post-office was removed from the Opera House block to its newly-prepared quarters. Henry Robinson succeeded Mr. Clark in May, 1890, and served till June, 1894. His successor, Byron Moore, appointee in Cleveland's second term, held the office until August, 1898, when, by appointment of President McKinley, Mr. Robinson entered upon his second term of service as postmaster of Concord.

As early as 1873 the local postal service had so far advanced that no fewer than fourteen hundred call and lock boxes were let at the office. About the year 1880, Postmaster Larkin borrowed from the postal authorities of Boston two small street letter-boxes and placed them on Main street—one at the corner of School street, and the other opposite the *Statesman* building. Collections were made from these two or three times a day by clerks detailed from the office. The experiment was received with so much popular favor that the City Free Delivery System was established with four carriers. These, by 1890, became nine, who daily—with fifty-two street boxes conveniently located—made from two to six collections and deliveries. Ten years later the collection and delivery of the mail required the services of more than twice as many men.

The operations of this successful system were mainly confined to the compact part of the city until 1899, when, through the well directed and enthusiastic efforts of Postmaster Robinson, effectively co-operating with the well directed purposes of the national authorities, the system of Urban Free Delivery found important development into that of Rural Free Delivery. Thereby the Concord post-office became a center of consolidated postal service in a wide and widening circuit of territory. By 1900 this circuit embraced Penacook, West Concord, East Concord, and portions of Loudon and Hopkinton; the



The Post-office.

post-offices of all of which having, by wise consolidation, become "stations" of the central Concord office, and their postmasters "superintendents, or clerks in charge" thereof, but without change of official tenure or responsibility. Other towns, as Boseawen, Bow, and Dunbarton, were also early in coming more or less directly under this system. The central office belonging to the first class, its stations became entitled to the equipments and advantages of their principal. The West Concord station was assigned one city and one rural carrier, and that of Penacook three carriers in each branch of the service. Generally the stations themselves were, wherever practicable, made delivery centers of other rural routes, for daily distributing more widely mail received from the carriers over routes directly radiating from the central office. Besides, the local rural system under the immediate supervision of the Concord office came to be closely associated with similar systems having other centers; and carriers frequently promoted facility of postal communication by interchanging mails. It was thus that what may be called the Concord Postal System came to comprise a city and rural-carrier service, covering hundreds of square miles, and accommodating thousands of gratified urban and rural beneficiaries with daily mail collections and deliveries made at their very doors. In all other branches of the postal service, the principal office was also abreast with the increasing demands of public convenience; as, in the instance of money order and stamp-selling accommodation, to help in supplying which required the establishment of three special sub-stations in the city proper. In fine, the closing years of the century found the Concord post-office a model one, ably directed and conducted in all its departments, one, indeed, of the "first class," in the broadest and best sense of that term, and enjoying the due appreciation of the Post-office Department at Washington, as often expressed in high commendation.¹

For ten years from 1881, the subject of providing new quarters for the State Library, hitherto occupying rooms in the state house, had been agitated at five biennial sessions of the legislature, when, in 1891, a definite practical solution was reached. A legislative appropriation of one hundred seventy-five thousand dollars was then made suitably to accommodate the state library, and the law court of New Hampshire. Of that sum, twenty-eight thousand five hundred dollars was expended for a convenient site at the corner of State and Park streets, over against the northwest angle of the state house park. The work of construction was placed under the general charge of four commissioners, one of whom was Benjamin A. Kimball, of Concord. The special superintendency was entrusted to Giles Wheeler,

¹ See Personnel of the Concord Post-office in 1900, in note at close of chapter.

also of Concord, who had performed similar service in the recent erection of the United States government building.

After the work was begun, it was found necessary to vary, by enlargements, the original architectural plans, and to meet the necessity, the legislature of 1893 made an additional appropriation of seventy-five thousand dollars. Nor was Concord remiss in contributing

to the best success of the undertaking; for, in June, 1891, the city council voted to acquire certain lands on Centre street to be used as a public park in connection with the state library lot. In April, 1892, the city proceeded to take those



State Library.

authority granted by the legislature, and finally, on the 20th of December of the same year, appropriated the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars for the payment of the amounts severally awarded to the owners of said property. This opening northward to Centre street much enhanced the eligibility of the library site.

The building—the erection of which was completed in 1894 at a total cost to the state of three hundred thirteen thousand six hundred eighty-seven dollars and thirty-nine cents—was fashioned after the architectural type known as the Romanesque; its main material was New Hampshire granite,—the red stone of Conway and the white of Concord, fitly conjoined for enduring strength and graceful ornament; and, in its finish and appointments throughout, the claims of beauty as well as of utility were duly recognized.

On the 8th of January, 1895, occurred the formal dedication of the completed edifice, in the presence of a large and distinguished assemblage, including members of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the government of New Hampshire—a brilliant function, creditable alike to city and state.

During the score of years ending with 1900 the field of politics in New Hampshire continued to be stiffly contested, and closely, too, until the last three biennial elections of the period. Besides the

two main contesting parties, others, upon special issues, such as Prohibition and Populism, came at sundry times into the battle of the ballots, but, generally, affected rather the immediate returns of an election than its ultimate results. Thus, in 1886, 1888, and 1890, the Prohibition vote, varying in round numbers from fifteen hundred to two thousand, overcame Republican pluralities at the polls only to have them turned into majorities by Republican legislatures.

The Republican candidates in five presidential elections all received majorities in New Hampshire, though in the years 1884 and 1892 a Democratic president was elected. As the state went in those national contests so went its capital. In the state elections, also, Concord always gave Republican majorities; but in the municipal elections of 1886 and 1898¹ Democratic mayors were chosen. During the whole period, New Hampshire's two seats in the senate of the United States were filled by Republicans, both of whom, it may be added, were, throughout the Nineties, citizens of Concord.

Another Constitutional Convention was held in January, 1889, consisting of three hundred twenty-one delegates, and continuing in session ten days. Concord supplied the following delegation: George H. Curtis, Benjamin T. Putney, Joseph B. Walker, Amos Hadley, Luther P. Durgin, Charles C. Danforth, Edgar H. Woodman, George H. Emery, Benjamin A. Kimball, James L. Mason, Isaac P. Clifford.

Seven amendments were adopted, and referred to popular decision in town-meetings to be held in March, 1889. They were: 1. Changing the time for the meeting of the legislature, and for commencing the terms of office of the executive and legislative departments, from June to January; 2. Compensating members of the legislature by a fixed salary; 3. Filling vacancies in the state senate by new popular elections; 4. Providing that the speaker of the house act as governor, in case of vacancies in the offices of governor and president of the senate; 5. Prohibiting the manufacture or sale, or keeping for sale, of intoxicating liquor as a beverage; 6. Amending article six of the Bill of Rights so as to make it non-sectarian; 7. Making new provision as to representation in classed towns. Of these propositions all but the fifth and sixth were approved by the requisite popular vote in the state; in Concord, majorities were cast against the first and fifth. The amendment as to the time of inaugurating the state government went into effect in 1891—and with the change the time-honored "Election Day" of June, elsewhere mentioned and described, became a thing of the past.

The figures of population have, as occasion required, been noted in

¹ See Mayoralty Vote, in note at close of chapter.

previous narration. Now, by 1900, they had come to count nearly twenty thousand. The increase during the one hundred seventy-five years of civilized occupation, though not rapid, had been a steady and healthy process. European immigration—Irish, French, English, Scotch, Swedish, and Italian—had contributed thereto, and, generally, with ready assimilation, and without tendency to deteriorate the quality of citizenship.¹

The period embraced in the twenty years from 1880 to 1900, and reviewed in this chapter, was one of much importance in the history of Concord. To it the advantages of earlier periods fell as a valuable legacy to be wisely improved; and Concord has not failed to meet the exacting demands of the progress of the age, in adopting new devices promotive of the public and private welfare. Improvement in old ways of doing, and the introduction of new and better ones have always been in order. The postal system and the several municipal departments—water, fire, sewerage, health, police, and highway—have all been bettered. The appliance of electricity to telephonic, to lighting, to heating, and to motor purposes has become an essential matter-of-course. The means of social, intellectual, moral, and religious culture have been improved and multiplied. Fraternal and benevolent effort has opened hospitals and homes for the sick, the aged, and the friendless. As population and resources have increased, the former has extended north and south, east and west, within the territory of Concord, greatly enlarging the area of comfortable—not infrequently elegant—habitation. Such are some of the conspicuous features of the city's progress during the two decades under consideration.

At the end of so important and propitious a period, this sketch of historic evolution for six generations comes to its close, and fastens its threads of continuous narrative at the opening portals of the Twentieth Century; while, through these portals, come gleams from the smiling face of a kindly Providence to promise a bright future for Concord.

NOTES.

Number and Official Tenure of Water Commissioners. An ordinance was passed in 1891, making the number of water commissioners eight instead of six, and their term of office four years instead of three. Until 1885 the term had been two years.

Detached Facts as to the Fire Department. In 1880 James N. Lauder held the office of chief engineer; his associates being Nathaniel H. Haskell, Charles M. Lang, William D. Ladd, Daniel B. Newhall,

¹ See Census, in note at close of chapter.

George L. Lovejoy (Precinct), George W. Corey (Ward 1), Cyrus R. Robinson (Ward 2), and Harrison Partridge (Ward 3). The apparatus of the department was enumerated as follows: Two steamers,—Kearsarge and Governor Hill, the latter out of commission: the Eagle Hose, the Alert Hose, the Good Will Hose, and the Hook and Ladder: with Pioneer (Ward 1), Old Fort (Ward 2), Cataract (Ward 3),—all hand machines. The total value of houses, lots, engines, hose, implements, clothing, in short, everything belonging to the entire department, was \$67,595.50. Another item of valuation, not included in the foregoing, was that of public reservoirs. Of these there were twenty-three: the largest and most important being the huge receptacle in the high school yard, with a capacity of three thousand cubic feet, and valued at seven hundred dollars. The importance of this reservoir consisted in the overflow it supplied to several other reservoirs in the vicinity. But the largest and most indispensable water supply was found in the tank of the great gas-holder in the rear of Rumford block, whose capacity was estimated at forty-four thousand cubic feet. The number of men on the rolls was one hundred eighty-seven, only seventy-five of whom belonged to the city proper. The cost of maintaining the department at that time came to about seven thousand dollars annually.

By 1880, Concord had outgrown Article 7 of the Regulations, which provided that the bells (church and Board of Trade) should at first ring a general fire alarm, and when the locality of the fire was known the number of the ward should be struck and repeated for at least ten minutes. Under the chieftaincy of John M. Hill, 1882–1885, the fire department was kept at a high standard and strengthened by improvements. From his boyhood Mr. Hill had manifested an active interest in it, and had served for many years as a volunteer fireman. He came to the office of chief with well-defined ideas concerning his duties and the nature of the service. The number of assistant engineers for the city proper was reduced to three, one to each central ward. They were Joseph S. Merrill, Daniel B. Newhall, and Benjamin F. Tucker. These officers carefully inspected business blocks and public buildings, examined dangerous localities, and prepared themselves to meet the unlooked for emergencies of fire. The “Governor Hill,” having been in commission for twenty-one years, now made way for a modern successor of the same name. The “Kearsarge” underwent thorough repairs, new hose wagons were added and also a supply wagon for the steamers: while at Penacook a brick engine-house was built and the hand machine replaced with a Silsby steamer. During Mr. Hill’s term of office the “Alert Company” introduced the hose wagon, an innovation which was soon to

supersede the old-fashioned hose reel and to contribute greatly to the efficiency of the department. To maintain the department during these years cost the people of Concord not far from eleven thousand dollars annually.

In 1896 the force and apparatus of the department were as follows: at the Central station a first-class Amoskeag steamer, "Eagle," with hose wagon, thirteen men; a second-class Amoskeag steamer, "Kearsarge," similarly equipped; a relief Amoskeag steamer, "Governor Hill," in charge of an engineer and fireman; a double 60-gallon tank Holloway chemical engine, with two men; a Hook and Ladder Company, twenty-one men; and nine horses with swing harnesses, and six permanent men. At the "Alert" house on Washington street was a modern hose wagon, a horse, and a permanent man, the company numbering eleven members. The "Good Will" house on South State and Concord streets contained a wagon and equipment and company membership similar in every respect to the "Alert." At Penacook, the steamer "Pioneer," a fourth-class Silsby, mustered a force of twenty-eight men who furnished the motive power in case of fire. West Concord had a Hunneman 6-inch cylinder hand machine and a four-wheeled reel. Here a horse was kept. The "Cataract" company numbered thirty men. The "Old Fort," in East Concord, had an engine not unlike that at West Concord. Of fabric hose the precinct had eighty-six hundred feet; Penacook, twenty-two hundred; West Concord, seven hundred fifty; and East Concord,—partial to home industry,—four hundred fifty feet of leather hose. The valuation of all property belonging to the department, including buildings, engines, fixtures, tools, hose, and fire alarm, was inventoried in 1896 at the sum of one hundred two thousand dollars.

Earlier Street Lighting. Before the introduction of electricity, the city essayed to light its streets with gas for a sum seldom exceeding \$2,500. On moonlight nights the lamp-lighter generally cancelled his rounds. The hours of lighting within the precinct, exclusive of Main street, usually comprised the time from sunset to eleven o'clock.

Shakespeare Clubs. By the deed of gift of the Fowler Public Library building, a room was devoted "to the accommodation of the numerous Shakespeare clubs of Concord." Therein was recognition of the gratifying fact that, in the Eighties and Nineties, a most commendable interest in the study of the best English literature prevailed in the community. By the many who enjoyed the refreshing privileges of the club seasons, such names as Stratford, Avon, and Warwick were ever to be remembered with delight.

Bands, etc. Fisherville early had its cornet band, later designated as Brown's; the city proper its brass bands, under various special

names. Upon the establishment of the New Hampshire National Guard, the organization, at first known as the Third Regiment Band, but, after the Spanish-American War, as the Second Regiment, was formed, and, under the leadership of Arthur F. Nevers, outlived the century, as also did Blaisdell's Orchestra, dating from 1865. Subsequently other orchestras, such as Stewartson's, and vocal combinations, such as the Schubert Quartette, arose to meet musical demands in Concord and elsewhere.

Liquor Agencies. When the Prohibitory law went into effect in 1855, two liquor agencies were established in Concord,—one in the city proper, the other in Penacook,—where might be lawfully sold liquors for medicinal, mechanical, and chemical purposes. These continued in operation until 1876, when they were closed: the one at Penacook, by the refusal of the board of mayor and aldermen to appoint an agent at that place; the one in the city proper, by an ordinance of the city council passed April 29, instructing Mayor Pillsbury and the committee on police and licenses "to close out and abolish the City Liquor Agency on or before July 1, 1876." The ordinance was carried out on the day appointed, and the liquors and other property of the agency were removed to the basement of the City Hall building. Concord, thenceforward for twelve years, had no liquor agency. On the 31st of March, 1888, the city council resolved "that it" was "inexpedient to appoint liquor agents for the city of Concord at present." But on the 28th of April, a joint resolution was passed repealing that of March, and requesting, in view of "the public necessity," the board of mayor and aldermen to appoint a liquor agent "at the present meeting." This action was hastened by a petition signed by all the clergymen of Concord. Nathaniel F. Lund was appointed agent,—entering upon duty in June, 1888.

Labor Day. The legislature of 1891 established a new holiday, entitled Labor Day. This was first celebrated in Concord by employed labor mostly organized: on Monday, the 7th of September, 1891, a procession of labor unions, with inscribed banners, passed through the streets in the morning, and was reviewed in front of the Eagle hotel by Governor Tuttle and Mayor Clapp. A trip was then taken by railroad to Lake Shore Park, where a programme of sports was carried out, and two concerts were given by the Third Regiment Band. There was also dancing at the pavilion, with music by the Capital City Orchestra. Thus was spent in much enjoyment the holiday, as similarly would be many another.

Baseball. This game dates back, in Concord, to 1869, when, and in the immediately subsequent years, Concord teams met such famous champions as the "White Stockings" and the "Rockfords." In

1884 the games were at first held on the camp ground across the river; but on the 4th of July the grounds at Fosterville were opened. Notable games were played, in 1885-'86, with Manchester. Two thousand people witnessed some of them, and the players, when they won, were honored with parades, fireworks, and banquets. Not much was done in the intermediate years till 1889, when new grounds were prepared and some professional games were played. By 1892 the Wonolancet Club, recently organized, had put a good team a-field, and, the next year, fine matches were played with the Young Men's Christian Association. The latter organization had, in 1894, an excellent "nine on the diamond." After a year's rest, a city league was formed, which played in 1896 and 1897.

Personnel of the Concord Post-office in 1900. The official list of persons employed in the central or home office of the Concord Post-office system was, in 1900, as follows; Postmaster, Henry Robinson; assistant postmaster, William I. Leighton; superintendent of delivery, William A. Nutter; secretary to postmaster, William M. Hagggett; chief letter distributor, William W. Elkin; paper distributor, Edward Saltmarsh; registry clerk, James J. Quinn; stamp clerk, John F. Cahill; letter distributor, John H. Wason; money order and registry clerk, Frank L. Lane; stamper, John W. Allen; general utility clerks, Harry H. Chase, Joseph G. Jones; registry clerk, Joseph D. Pendergast; substitute clerk, Edward F. Brooks.

Mayoralty Vote. The vote for mayor at the election in November, 1898, stood as follows: For Nathaniel E. Martin, Democrat, 2,269; John B. Abbott, Republican, 1,948; scattering, 70; Martin's majority, 251; total vote, 4,287.

Concord Men in Official Positions, 1880-1900. Secretary of Navy, William E. Chandler, 1882-'85. United States Senators, Edward H. Rollins, William E. Chandler, Jacob H. Gallinger. Member of Congress, Jacob H. Gallinger. Naval Officer of Customs, James O. Lyford. Governor, Frank W. Rollins, 1899-1901; Councilors, Lyman D. Stevens, 1881-'83; Benjamin A. Kimball, 1885-'87; John C. Linehan, 1887-'89. State Senators, John Kimball, 1881-'83; Charles H. Amsden, Henry Robinson, 1883-'85; Lyman D. Stevens, 1885-'87; Enoch Gerrish, 1887-'89; Charles R. Coming, 1889-'91; George A. Cummings, 1891-'93; Joseph B. Walker, 1893-'95; Frank W. Rollins, Edmund H. Brown, 1895-'97; Gardner B. Emmons, 1897-'99; Charles C. Danforth, 1899-1901. Presidents of the Senate, John Kimball, Frank W. Rollins. Speaker of House, Samuel C. Eastman, 1883. Secretaries of State, Ai B. Thompson, Edward N. Pearson. State Treasurer, Solon A. Carter. Bank Commissioners, James O. Lyford, Thomas J. Walker. Insurance Com-

missioners, Oliver Pillsbury, John C. Linehan. Labor Commissioners, John W. Bourlet, Lysander H. Carroll. State Librarians, William H. Kimball, Arthur H. Chase.

The Census. The following figures show the population of Concord from 1790—when the first national census was taken—to 1900: 1790, 1,747; 1800, 2,052; 1810, 2,393; 1820, 2,838; 1830, 3,727; 1840, 4,903; 1850, 8,576; 1860, 10,896; 1870, 12,241; 1880, 13,843; 1890, 17,004; 1900, 19,632.

Dedication of Odd Fellows' Home. In 1886 the historic site called the "President Pierce property," containing about five acres, passed into the ownership of the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows of New Hampshire. Work was at once begun on a State Home for aged members of the Order and was completed in the spring of 1887. The formal dedication took place on Thursday, the 16th of June. Great preparations had been made for the occasion, and the crowds streaming along the sidewalks brought to mind recollections of the old-



Odd Fellows' Home.

time Election Day. The Order was represented by organizations from all parts of the state.

The long parade started from Railroad square soon after eleven o'clock, under the chief marshalship of Captain S. S. Piper of Manchester, and marched directly to the Home. A platoon of Manchester policemen led the procession, consisting of high officers of the Patriarchs Militant of New England, the First Regiment, Patriarchs Militant of New Hampshire,—Loren S. Richardson, colonel,—Canton Wildey of Concord, Third Regiment Band, Canton Pawtucket of Lowell, with band, which, together with cantons from Manchester, Dover, Suncook, Laconia, Newport, Nashua, Keene, Portsmouth, and St. Johnsbury, Vt., composed the first division. The second division, commanded by William K. Norton, was made up from cantons representing Concord, Hillsborough, Laconia, Hooksett, Deerfield, Sun-

cook, Warner, and Candia. In this division were several bands of music. Then followed carriages filled with distinguished guests and national officers of the Order. Among the guests were Governor Charles H. Sawyer and his council, U. S. Senator William E. Chandler, Frank D. Currier, president of the state senate, Alvin Burleigh, speaker of the house, Daniel Barnard, attorney-general, Grand Sire John H. White of New York, Deputy Grand Sire John C. Underwood of Kentucky, John Kimball and George A. Cummings, trustees of the Home, Grand Master John A. Glidden of Dover, John H. Albin, judge advocate on the staff of General Underwood, Joseph Kidder of Manchester, grand secretary, Colonel H. W. Pond of Kansas, Luther F. McKinney, Horace A. Brown, Lorenzo K. Peacock, Benjamin A. Kimball, Peter Sanborn, and many others. On arriving at the Home, whither a large concourse of spectators had been drawn—the procession having formed in review—the carriages passed through the long lines to the platform erected beneath the shade of the beautiful oak grove. After music by the bands and the singing of an ode, John Kimball delivered an address of a historical nature, telling of the inception and building of the Home. Grand Master Glidden was the next speaker, who closed with introducing ex-Governor Underwood of Kentucky, deputy grand sire of the Order. An original dedicatory ode written by Benjamin P. Shillaber, “God Bless Our Home,” was then sung, after which the speaking was continued. Grand Sire John H. White delivered an impressive address, which brought to conclusion the dedicatory exercises of the home. The procession then reforming proceeded to City Hall, where a banquet was served. So numerous were the guests that a large tent was pitched west of the building, capable of accommodating several hundred diners. In the evening a reception to the invited guests was given by the Odd Fellows of Concord, after which an exemplification of the secret work was performed in Odd Fellows’ Hall.

Presidential Visits. Concord had, down to 1900, been visited by seven presidents of the United States while in office, namely, in order from the first, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, Pierce, Grant, Hayes, and Harrison. The visits have been fully described in sketch and special chapter.

Change of Names. In the Forties Long (earlier Rattlesnake) pond began to be known as Lake Penacook. In the Eighties the name Penacook began to be applied to the precinct known as Fisherville.

Long-Lived Societies. The Female Charitable, the Female Benevolent, and the Seaman’s Friend are the oldest benevolent societies living to the end of the century, and bidding fair to live many years

beyond. The first was founded in 1812: the second in 1835, the third in 1834. The purpose of the last mentioned organization is denoted by its name. Its social features have always been attractive, while, under its auspices, excellent occasional lectures upon miscellaneous topics have been heard.

The Bridewell. By a vote of the town, in 1830, the selectmen provided a bridewell. Its cost was thirty dollars and seventy-eight cents. It was situated in the basement of the wooden building opposite Gass's American House. This inexpensive place of detention for vagrants and disorderly persons arrested answered its purpose for years.

Tithing-men. Almost from the earliest years of Concord into the Twenties of the nineteenth century, tithing-men (or tything-men as anciently written) belonged to the list of town officers annually elected. They constituted a sort of Sunday police force, having the special function of helping to enforce Sunday laws and to preserve order during divine service. For some reason, at the town-meeting of 1807, no "tything-man" was elected distinctively as such; but care was taken to provide for the performance of one of the duties of such an officer, in the following final vote before adjournment: "That Samuel Butters take care of the boys in the meeting house on Sundays."

Corrected Military Lists. Here are added to the names of Revolutionary soldiers, as given in the notes of Chapter VIII of the Narrative Sketch, the following that may possibly belong there: John Anderson, John Austin, Benjamin Cate, Lieutenant William Chamberlain, Solomon Chapman, Pratt Chase, Josiah Eastman, Philip Harriman, Barnes Hesselstine, John Hinkson, William Lyons, Nathaniel Martin, James Moulton, William Perkins, Lieutenant Asa Potter, Jr., Ephraim Potter, William Ramsay, James Robinson, John D. Robinson, Benjamin Rollins, William Stone, William Symms, James Thomas, Cæsar Thompson, Henry Thompson, James Whittenmore.

In the tabulated list of Concord men serving in the Civil War, printed with the present chapter, the name of George A. Parker, assistant surgeon, United States Navy, who died on the *De Soto*, does not appear. His name is in the Adjutant-General's Report, but his residence is unfortunately given as "New Hampshire" only, "Concord" being omitted, consequently the name of Surgeon Parker was not found by the compiler of the tabulated list.

Erratum. On page 386, near middle of the fifth line from bottom, read *Tahanto* for *Rumford*.

CONCORD SOLDIERS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898.

Ahern, Charles B. F.	Gauthier, Alfred	Pitkin, Harry L., 2d Lieut.
Angwin, John H., Sgt.	Gee, Allen M.	Quinn, James J.
Atwood, Scott W.	Gibney, Frank E.	Quinn, William
Badger, Albert F.	Gienty, Daniel H., Lieut.	Reed, Harold S.
Barnes, William	Giles, John S., Corp.	Richardson, Edward W., 2d Lieut.
Batchelder, Luther H., Sgt.	Glennon, Edward J.	Robbins, Joseph C., Corp.
Battis, Ernest A.	Goff, Charles A.	Roberts, Nathan A.
Bean, Willis S.	Goodhue, Clarence A., 2d Lieut.	Roberts, John F.
Bennett, Harry P., Co. Q. M. Sgt.	Goodchild, Joseph	Rolfe, Robert H., Col.
Brown, Frank G.	Green, Fred L., Corp.	Roers, Charles J., Corp.
Brown, Frank W., 2d Lieut.	Halloran, Edward A.	Rowe, Frank A.
Brown, William J.	Hammond, Otis G., Capt.	Sanders, Herbert M., Corp.
Bullock, Isaac N.	Hartshorn, Grant R., Corp.	Sawyer, Willis J., Corp.
Burnham, William F., Sgt.	Herter, Fritz	Scales, Albert F.
Burnside, William E.	Henry, William	Scales, William O.
Burt, Clarence A.	Himes, Vaughan V., 1st Sgt.	Secord, Herbert W., Corp.
Buzzell, Herman H., Arti- ficer.	Hinds, Jesse G.	Seely, Henry A.
Brooks, Charles T.	Hinds, William L.	Seely, John P.
Cain, Juston H., Co. Q. M. Sgt.	Hill, Frank A.	Shaughnessy, Thomas
Carpenter, Alfred W.	Johnston, James H.	Shea, James W.
Carroll, William J.	Jones, Henry J.	Shricker, John F.
Carter, John	Jones, Richard, Corp.	Smith, James W.
Chase, John D.	Jordan, John E.	Smith, John J.
Clark, Edgar D., Sgt.	Keeler, Fred W., Corp.	Smith, Sydney F.
Clifford, Thomas F., Capt.	Kimball, Willis G. C., Jr., Sgt.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Cochrane, Robert W.	King, Thomas E.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Codner, James	Lane, Harry N.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Colbert, Daniel E.	Leighton, Archie M., Co. Q. M. Sgt.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Colby, Harry	Lewis, Stacy A.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Cole, Frank O., Sgt.	Lydon, Robert E.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Corbett, William J.	Malanson, Henry	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Cote, Louis	Marcie, Rodolph	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Cotter, William M.	Marshall, Albert D.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Corser, C. Herman	Mason, Charles L., 1st Lieut.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Creteu, Joseph A.	McDonald, William F.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Crockett, Micah D.	McKellar, Arthur F., Capt.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Currier, Arthur A.	McKenna, Frank P.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Currier, Edgar L.	Macleon, James T.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Day, Arthur K., Asst. Surg.	McLaughlin, John C.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Desaulniers, Philemon	McNulty, Frank J.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Donovan, Charles W.	McPhillips, Frank E.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Donovan, Henry	Miner, George W.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Dow, Levi S.	Miner, Napoleon N.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Downing, George H., Corp.	O'Neil, Eugene, Corp.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Driscoll, James H.	Palmer, Harry E.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Dudley, Gale	Pack, H. Leon	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Elliott, Fred W.	Parkinson, John T.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Emerson, Leon H.	Parsons, Frank L.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Fancher, George J.	Patterson, Allan B.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Ferrin, John E.	Patterson, Joab N., Capt.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Foster, Reginald S., Corp.	Perkins, Orrin	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Fyfe, James E.	Perry, Charles A.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Gage, Clarence J.	Phalen, Frank L., Chap.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.
Gault, Arthur L.	Phillips, George S.	Spaulding, Thomas, Jr.

CHAPTER XVII.

MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT.

CHARLES R. CORNING.

In the following petition, presented to the provincial assembly at Portsmouth in May, 1745, one finds an early and quaint description of Rumford as the settlement then appeared :

“The Memorial and Petition of Benjamin Rolfe in the Name and Behalf of the Inhabitants of the Town of Rumford in said Province—Humbly Sheweth, That the said Town has been settled by his Majesty's subjects about eighteen years, and a Gospel Minister ordained there upwards of Fourteen. That the Settlers had an Eye at Enlarging his Majesty's Dominions, by going into the Wilderness, as well as their own Interest: That many Thousand Pounds have been spent in clearing and cultivating the Lands there, and many more in erecting Mansion Houses, Fortifications, Out Houses, Barns and Fences; That the Buildings are mostly compact and properly form'd for Defense, and well situated for a Barrier, being on Merrimack River about a Days March below the confluence of Winipishoky and Pemissawasset Rivers both which are main gangways of the Canadians to the Frontiers of this Province, and within a weeks march at farthest from a very strong Fort built within these few years by the French at Crown Point which will be a place of Constant Retreat and Resort for the French and Indians in all their Expeditions against the English Settlements; That the breaking up of the Settlement will not only ruin the Memorialists, but in their humble opinion greatly disserve his Majesty's Interest by Encouraging his Enemies to eneroach on his direct Dominions, and be also hurtful to the Province by Contracting its borders and drawing the war nearer to the Capital: That it was by a long and importunate Intereession of this Province and not of the Memorialists seeking that they are east under the immediate care of this Government, which they apprehend gives them so much the better Right to its Protection: That as War has been declared against France for some time and a Rupture with the Indians has been hourly Expected, many of the Inhabitants of said Town by Reason of their being so much exposed to imminent Danger from their Enemies, have already moved from said Town, and the season of the year being such as to give the Indians an opportu-

nity of disturbing the Frontiers and the Dutch Mohawks having lately given occasion to fear that they would joyn in a War against his Majesty's settlements as mentioned in some late News Papers, your Memorialists unless they have speedy help will be soon obliged to Evacuate said Town how disserviceable so ever it may be to the Crown, dishonorable to the Government, hurtful to the Province and ruinous to ourselves. Wherefore your Memorialists most humbly supplicate your Excellency, the Honorable Council and House of Representatives to take the Premises into your wise and mature consideration and to grant them such constant and seasonable aids both with Respect to men and Military Stores as may enable them to maintain his Majesty's Dominions in so well situated a Barrier, and so ancient and well regulated a settlement, as well as to secure their own lives and Fortunes against the Ravage and Devastation of a Blood-thirsty and Mercylless Enemy, and your Memorialists as in Duty bound will Ever pray."

That this quaint petition was well founded the following year, 1746, sadly proved, for that was the year of the ambush and massacre on the Millville road. Rumford was at that time the most important frontier settlement in the province, and contained, according to a record, fully one hundred houses and ploughed lots. This, however, did not probably represent the number of permanent inhabitants. Successive periods of the town's growth saw the population of thirty settlers in 1730 increase to three hundred and fifty in 1746, then advance in 1767 to seven hundred and fifty-two, and in 1775, according to the census ordered by the Provincial Congress, the population rose to one thousand and fifty-two. In 1790 the population of Concord was seventeen hundred and forty-seven, and one decade later it was ascertained to be two thousand and fifty-two. And this represented the steady growth of almost pure husbandry, for manufacturing was but little known. Except in the few sawmills and grist-mills and the traders' stores scarce a man found employment other than on the farm; everyone lived by the sweat of his own brow, sustained by the produce of the soil, warmed by the logs cut with his own hand, clothed from the flax of his fields and the fleece of his flocks.

Broadcloths and cottons were only for the well-to-do; flour, hams, oil, were not imported, but like the flesh of the ox and the swine were raised at home; and any surplus was sure to be "sleighed" away to the ocean side, there to be exchanged for salt, molasses, iron, and other indispensable articles which the interior could not supply. In those days a mechanic was a man of importance, whose skill and craft were held in high esteem; for the carpenter, the mason, the tailor and the blacksmith, were the peers of any in the community.

The fortunate location of Concord in being central and accessible had a good deal to do with its growth and material advancement, and notwithstanding it was for many years a part of Rockingham county, it had repeatedly been dignified by the meetings of the general court.

Main street was in the early days, as it is now, the principal resort of business, yet no man could positively describe its limits or its exact boundary. Consequently, in 1785, a committee appointed at a town-meeting undertook to make a survey of this thoroughfare, which remains to this day substantially as they fixed it, but not until after the abutters had had their say respecting the width. The committee, consisting of Benjamin Emery, Joseph Hall, John Bradley, Reuben Kimball, and Joseph Farnum, laid out Main street with an eye to its future, making it ten rods wide, but encroachments began right away, continuing until the landowners on each side had all advanced their bounds at least two rods towards the middle of the street line. The original width of the street is shown more than a century later by the position of the Herbert dwelling, which alone remains to tell the story of the generous dimensions of ancient Main street. When Main street was laid out there was no street running parallel, though several incipient streets extended from it at right angles. Pleasant street, called the Hopkinton road, was the most traveled highway leading to Concord "street." One after another streets were made,—Washington, Franklin, School, and Centre were among the earliest,—but names were withheld for many years, many thoroughfares being designated by the name of some prominent householder that happened to dwell near by.

Not long after the beginning of the nineteenth century the peril from conflagrations was more than once brought home to the inhabitants of the main village, and an organization against fire was instituted. As yet there was only a small engine, called number one, so every householder was required to keep leather fire buckets on his premises, and to hold himself in readiness to respond to the call of the fire wards in case of necessity. It was not until 1818 that the March meeting voted one hundred dollars "towards the purchasing an Engine and the necessary apparatus for said Engine." There were now two "tub" machines, and to promote efficiency the town offered a premium of five dollars to the company first to arrive at a fire.

The second war with England tended to enlarge the business of Concord, for it has been estimated that fully five hundred soldiers, from first to last, made the town their headquarters. Two large buildings were fitted up as barracks, one at the lower end of Main street and one at the North end, the latter being called the Carrigan

barracks, from the owner of the property. The situation of Concord gave it a military importance, inasmuch as troops on their way towards Canada or on their journey to the sea-coast made it an assembling place during the whole period of the war. The town contained at this time not far from twenty-five hundred inhabitants, trade was brisk and increasing, the people were generally prosperous, and contented at the visible progress of public and private affairs.

That the town was increasing is shown by the action of the March meeting in 1812, when one thousand dollars were raised for schools, fourteen hundred to defray the necessary charges, and three hundred and fifty to pay for the preaching. And in 1814 these sums were considerably augmented.

In 1818 the citizens exceeded all previous records in the town expenditures, by voting fourteen hundred dollars for schools, as much more for town expenses, three hundred dollars for painting the meeting-house, and forty dollars for ringing the bell; and as evidence of the stricter moral tone of the community the selectmen were empowered to prosecute all persons caught retailing spirits "contrary to law except on public days."

At about this time a very important commercial undertaking which contributed materially to the advancement of local interests was the completion of the Middlesex Canal. An era in prosperity was surely begun when, in June, 1815, the first regular freight boat from Boston to Concord floated slowly to its landing-place laden with merchandise. The locks and the warehouse at the Concord (lower) bridge being completed, canal service was now regularly established and continued until the opening of the railroad in 1842. The number of boats in use was about twenty, of an average capacity of twenty tons, each worked by a crew of three men. The trip from Boston to Concord generally took three days and a half. The freight charges were at first twelve dollars a ton, but these were gradually lessened until within a few years less than half that sum was demanded for transportation.

It is not unprofitable to examine the votes of different elections and see what bearing they have on the progress and development of Concord. Assuming the popular vote to be an index respecting the whole number of people, one may trace the advance of population from year to year with pleasing results. In 1800 the vote for governor was Timothy Walker 124, John T. Gilman 104, and four scattering. Five years later the governor vote was as follows: John T. Gilman 183, John Langdon 190. In 1810 a very considerable increase is shown, John Langdon receiving 230, and Jeremiah Smith 239. The annual check-list did not show noticeable increases until

1816, when that year's election proved that the town contained upwards of six hundred voters, scattered, to be sure, yet the increase was principally in the vicinity of Main street. The federal census of 1820 gave the number of inhabitants as twenty-eight hundred and thirty-eight, a gain of almost a thousand souls since the beginning of the century.

While the market prices were never uniform, the current schedule for certain articles during the decade, 1805-1815, was not far from the following: Corn, \$1.12 1-2 to \$1.33; wheat, \$2.00; oats, 50 cents; veal, 4 to 6 cents a pound; while among the real estate values of that time was a lot of desirable property near what is now the site of State block, at the corner of Main and School streets, which was sold to Benjamin Damon in 1810 for four hundred dollars.

To a person visiting Concord in the period embraced in the years, let us say, from 1800-1820, and strolling along Main street from Horseshoe Pond hill to Butters' tavern, that person would probably have found the dwellings and the business places of the growing town nearly as follows: Starting from the point mentioned and proceeding towards the lower end of the village street, the first object that met his gaze was the Parson Walker dwelling, a historic place even in that day. Then, after a long break, came some wooden stores and Barker's tavern. Just below was the Carrigain house, then called the Carrigain barracks, a name derived from the War of 1812, and close by stood the residence of Dr. Peter Renton, one of the early celebrities of Concord. This house afterwards became the home of John Abbott, one of the city's first mayors. Farther down the street stood the Herbert property, a store and a tavern; while a few steps distant was the Herbert house, which now, after a lapse of more than a century, remains a venerable landmark of the ancient town. Samuel Sparhawk's house, built by Daniel Livermore in 1785, was then used as Concord's first banking institution; for in the north room the famous Concord bank had had its place of business since 1806, the rest of the house being occupied by the cashier and his family. Joseph West's store was not far away, and near by stood the dwelling of Samuel Morrill. The next neighbor to the south was the Reverend Asa McFarland, whose house was built in 1799. On the site of the present residence of Henry Robinson stood the house of Dr. Peter Green, which was destroyed by fire in 1846. Below was the John Whipple place, and its nearest neighbor was John Odlin's one-story house, set on the brow of a considerable ridge that crossed Main street in those days. The highway passed over this rise and then descended abruptly into the neighborhood long known as Smoky Hollow, where several tan-yards belonging to Captain Ayer were located.

In the depression were Ivory Hall's jewelry shop, Farley's store, and a blacksmith shop carried on by a Mr. Dewey. Then came the Chadbourne house, a very pretentious structure in its day, which later became the residence of Governor Onslow Stearns. A score of rods beyond was the old Stickney house and lot, through which extended a lane leading from the street to a well-used cider-mill and continuing on to the Merrimack, where a small ferry was maintained. This old lane has in our day become known as Bridge street. The site afterwards covered by the Stickney lower blocks was then partly occupied with small shops, such as McClure's barber shop, Jacob B. Moore's bookstore and printing-office, Hill's cabinet shop, and Engine

house No. 1. These buildings and William Gault's grocery store were all wooden structures, as was also Farley's block, built in the early twenties, and extended along the wide stretch substantially from Bridge street to Runford block. On the present Runford block site Joseph Low had his dwelling-house, and close by was the post-office, presided over by Mr. Low, while the upper story was occupied by Farmer & Morrill's drug store. The next lot was the homestead of Governor Isaac Hill, and adjoining stood the printing-office whence issued the redoubtable



The Chadbourne and Stearns House.

Patriot. The site and family name are preserved to-day in the Governor Hill block.

Proceeding along the street, the stranger came to the well-known firm of George Hutchins, the largest business house in the town, and probably the largest and widest known north of Boston. The next door was the Phenix, the original of the name, kept by Abel Hutchins, and already famous for its hospitality. Between the Phenix and what is now Depot street were two well-remembered buildings, one called Atwood's and the other Leach's, the latter famed for its unique bow windows and other architectural features. Osgood's tavern, afterwards Wiggins', renowned as one of Concord's earliest hostleries, stood about where the First National bank now stands. Dr. Thorndike had an apothecary store in this vicinity, while from what is now Pleasant street to the tan-yard opposite the residence of the late J. Stephens Abbot were half a score of dwelling-houses and shops. There then followed an extensive stretch of land from this point sloping towards the Merrimack and extending to the lower end of Main street, broken only by the Rogers house and Butters' tavern,

which in the days of our grandfathers was the virtual beginning of Concord to travelers coming from down the river. The Rogers house was a curiosity even in those times, for every boy knew the story of the famous Indian fighter, Major Rogers, and people paused to stare at the home of the son of the celebrated ranger.

Having reached the southern limits of business Concord, let the stranger cross Main street opposite West and stroll up the west side to the locality he started from and take notice of this part of the center village. There were a few shops and houses clustered at the south end of the street, among them Shute's store, which enjoyed a good acquaintanceship in and about Concord.

Then came the small wagon shop built a few years before by Lewis Downing, where the sight of half a dozen workmen under one roof prompted the stranger to pause a moment. The owner of the wagon shop lived next door, and the Harris house was his nearest neighbor. That was built of brick, as was Major Bullard's, which was the show house of that period. The Bullard house is to-day transformed into the residence of Benjamin A. Kimball. Near Fayette street stood the house and work-shop of Major Timothy Chandler, as celebrated a clock maker as there was in the state. His skill was merited, and the quality



The Rogers House.

of his work gave to Concord a wide reputation. Approaching the Hopkinton road (Pleasant street) were Wood's bakery,—now the site of Norris's large manufactory,—Harris's store, and the Deacon Wilson place, comprising a large garden and dwelling-house, afterwards purchased in part by the church society called the South Congregational, which erected thereon a large wooden meeting-house with convenient basement. Across Pleasant street, on the lot now covered by Masonic Temple and adjoining buildings, was the well-known corner so long occupied as a trading place, dating from the old McMillan store of about the time of the Revolution. In the twenties this corner contained several one- or two-story structures, the principal one being the store of Asaph Evans, a prominent citizen of early Concord. From Pleasant street to Warren were scattered buildings, all wooden, used as stores, among them that of William Kent, who kept hardware and groceries.

Next in local importance was the justly-celebrated "Anchor hotel," kept by Benjamin Gale, which stood on the site now owned by the State Capital bank and the land of Stevens & Duncklee. Then came

the famous Concord or Kent bank, rejoicing in a fine brick building, one of the few in town,—an object of pride to the townspeople and of wonder to visitors. Farther up the street was the jewelry shop of William Virgin: the shop of Quaker Sanborn, as he was called, a cordwainer and shoemaker; and near by was Chase Hill, harness-maker, while in the corner where State block stands was the garden and dwelling-house of Deacon Benjamin Damon. On the opposite corner, on the site of the Board of Trade block, stood William Low's mansion, and adjoining it was the well-known Columbian hotel. This neighborhood was the business center of the town, its busiest place and general open market for wood, hay, and country produce even to times very recent. There was the brick block erected by Isaac Hill, containing stores filled with West India goods and general merchandise, and the celebrated Franklin bookstore, separated from the state house yard by a high stone wall. Park street was not then in existence, but the northeast corner abutting on the state house park was occupied by the famous "green store" and the dwelling of Jacob Emmons. Proceeding northerly the stranger passed the drug store kept by Dr. Thomas Brown, and came to Captain Richard Ayer's cattle pen, as it was called. This property extended back from Main street nearly to State, and was opposite our Bridge street. Just north of the present Commercial House was Blanchard's first churn shop, with a dwelling-house or two, while on the corner of Montgomery street stood the Abbott house, remodeled and changed but still recognized as the birthplace of Concord's first child,—now the upper story of the barn attached to the house of the late E. S. Nutter, on the corner of Main and Montgomery streets. Next came the depression near the present court house, through which ran a brook, the site of Ayer's several tan-yards and curry shops, and a ruined mill once used for pressing oil from flax-seed, while in the hollow along the street stood the famous hay scales. In a corner of the present county lot, near Main street, was the small wooden structure serving both the county and the town as the only public building. Farther on, topping the elevation on the north side of Court street, was the well-known Stickney's tavern, with its quaint sign representing the Indian chief. Then came a blacksmith shop where W. P. Ford's office is, and beyond was the John West house, afterwards the home of Edward H. Rollins. Joshua Abbott lived near the site of the North church, and in the vicinity were Emerson's harness shop and one or two trading places. Nathaniel Abbott, one of the leading citizens, lived farther along, while at the corner of Franklin street was the residence of Charles Walker. Across Franklin street stood several stores, the principal one being

Pecker & Lang's, and near by were the dwellings of Robert Davis and Captain Seth Eastman. Next was the John George tavern, famous for its sturdy proprietor and his good entertainment. This property still remains in the George family. Benjamin Kimball, one of the town leaders in ability and business capacity, lived in the house just north from Captain George's, and this house is standing at the present time almost as its builder left it. At the junction of Main street and Church was the Fisk store, which was long an institution of early Concord. Then in imposing form rose the famous old North meeting-house, the scene of so much of New Hampshire's political history, while down the hill opposite the Walker house was the one-story building once used for state offices and legislative sessions.

The growing necessity for making a new county had for several years been manifest, not only to the inhabitants of Concord but to the inhabitants of many of the adjoining and neighboring towns as well, for as it then was every deed must be sent to Exeter, where the shire records were kept, and every juror and every suitor was compelled to make a long and expensive journey in order to reach the courts. So, in 1823, the county of Merrimack was formed, and Concord was made the shire town. This change was not without its advantages, so the town-meeting appropriated eight hundred dollars, which, together with nearly as much more raised by subscription, was expended in enlarging and re-arranging the town house so that it might be suitable for the holding of courts and for other county purposes.¹

At this period (1823-'24) the population of all Concord was estimated at about thirty-one hun-



Hay Scales in Smoky Hollow.

¹ The acre of land afterwards used as the City Hall lot was sold in 1756 for ten dollars.

dred and fifty souls, and contained the following number of stores and industries: General traders, twenty; sawmills, six; grain mills, seven; clothing mills, four; carding machines, three; bark mills, two; tanneries, seven. Besides these were eleven taverns and twenty schoolhouses, and other places of business, such as printing-offices, binderies, and small mechanical shops, among them the young industry afterwards to become famous as the Abbot-Downing Company.

Looking back at the central village, or "the street," as it appeared at about this period, one sees the locality as it was nearly a century after the town was settled. There were but two well-defined streets, Main and State, although Green street at that time contained two or three habitations, while running at right angles, then as now, were Franklin, Washington, Centre, and Pleasant streets, the last-named

"the Hopkinton road." The whole number of dwellings was estimated at less than two hundred, and business Concord comprised stores, taverns, printing-offices, and a considerable number of small shops giving employment to a few score of workmen. The population scattered over this area was reckoned at eleven hundred, or one third the entire census of the town, and of this the larger



House where First Legislature Met in Concord.

number lived north of the present city hall. Three schoolhouses furnished the educational facilities of the district, one a two-story brick house standing on the site of the residence of ex-Governor Frank W. Rollins, another—called the Bell schoolhouse—near the present high school, and the third a one-story house on South Main street.

South street of to-day was not then in existence, though a few years later Major Bullard, venturing into that remote locality, built a house for himself and freely offered large lots to any person who would follow his example. To the west there was nothing but the wooded hills, with here and there a few cleared spaces and pasture lands.

On looking toward the west from North State street, the eye in 1825 beheld a wide strip of swamp land, overgrown with alders and bushes, which extended from near the old state prison through the entire town to West street and beyond, then farther west was rising ground used for pasture and tillage, while beyond was Whale's Back and the Sand Hill.

In those days there was but little invested capital in any industrial pursuit; such mechanical industries as there were got along without machinery save of the rudest kind, and steam power was unknown in Concord street. What is now Penacook was a place with less than a score of houses. In 1825 the ratable polls in Concord were six hundred and ten; the amount of stock in trade was assessed at thirty-four thousand dollars, money at interest less than twenty-five thousand, while the assessed valuation of the town was about eight hundred thousand dollars. With the accessions in the way of public buildings and the increasing wants of a growing population, there came the necessity of larger appropriations, for in the outlay of that year were found these items: Portsmouth turnpike, five hundred dollars; bridges and roads, twelve hundred and eighty-six dollars; new town house, six hundred and fifty-four dollars; paupers, seven hundred and thirty-two dollars, and for the militia eighty-three dollars.

In 1834 the town-meeting voted "that whereas, from the great increase of inhabitants in the compact part of the town, new streets or highways may be required—therefore streets may be authorized by the selectmen . . . and that suitable names may be given." The committee designated to give names to the streets was William A. Kent, Abiel Walker, and Timothy Chandler. It is of interest to know that from that day to this scarcely a name has been lost, notwithstanding great changes in the use and destinations of the early village thoroughfares. In all, the committee gave names to twenty-seven streets, including one large square called Rumford park. This land, comprising five acres, bounded by Rumford and Merrimack streets, was presented to Concord by George Kent, a prominent citizen, who intended it for a public recreation ground.

A village directory, the first of its kind, was published in 1830, and furnishes an interesting glimpse of the central town as it then appeared. It contained the names of two hundred and sixty-four persons, designating them as the principal merchants, mechanics, farmers, and professional men of the period.

The following is the number of business places and firms then found in the center village: Apothecaries, three; lawyers, eight; bakers, two; barbers, two; blacksmiths, five on the street and as many in East Concord; boat builders, two; bookbinders, three firms; butchers, three; chairmakers, four; wagons, one; clockmakers, two; coopers, three; cordwainers (shoemakers), seven; distillery for New England rum, two; gravestone maker, one; hatters, six; jewelers, four; joiners, six; livery stable, one; masons, two; tailors, five; milliners, four; newspapers, three; painters, five; potters, two (on

Hopkinton road); printers, seven: harness makers, five: stereotype foundry, one: stoves, English and West India goods, sixteen: hardware, one: tanners, three, with four in East Concord; music teacher, one; truckman, one: wheelwrights, three.

Among the business names of that period were William Gault, opposite the state house, druggist; Hoag & Atwood, books and printing, three doors south of the Phenix hotel; Phenix hotel, Abel Hutchins, proprietor, with three commodious parlors and eighteen lodging rooms. "A pleasant asylum for the traveler and an agreeable residence for the man of business or leisure." The Columbian hotel, south of the state house, kept by John Wilson; the famous Eagle Coffee House, John P. Gass, who respectfully invites the public to call and "judge him by his measures." Stephen Brown, merchant tailor, opposite the Columbian, W. & R. Restieaux, drapers and tailors; John Estabrook, northeast corner of the state house yard, dry goods, also teas and sugars; George Hutchins, one door north of the Phenix hotel, English, American, and West India goods, crockery, glass ware, also geese and sea-fowl feathers; Lincoln & Emery, opposite the state house, English and domestic goods. Financial Concord was represented by two banks, each calling itself the Concord Bank.

That Concord at this time was keeping in touch with the outside world is proved by the fact that there were fifteen stages leaving and entering the town weekly, six of them running to Boston, and besides these there were other passenger vehicles plying from Concord to neighboring towns. As illustrative of the kind of trade which constituted a large part of the business in the thirties, this newspaper advertisement of William Gault may be cited:

GENUINE LIQUORS AND GROCERIES.

WILLIAM GAULT

(opposite the State House, Concord, N. H.)

Has just received the following supplies, viz.:

- 10 Casks Wines,
- 5 Hhds. St. Croix Rum;
- 4 Pipes old Cognac Brandy;
- 4 do pure Holland Gin;
- 2 Casks old Whiskey;
- 1 do Jamaica Spirit.

W. G. endeavors at all times to keep a supply of Old Liquors as good as can be found in the Capital of New England.

The annual appropriations for 1835 afford an insight into the constantly changing conditions of the town, and in the increase there

may be perceived the enlarging area of expenditures made incumbent by growth, maintenance, and improvements, yet the townspeople were frugal and discriminating in their public affairs, extravagance was unknown, and economy in the strictest degree was rigorously insisted upon. Yet the town voted fifteen hundred dollars for the schools, four thousand for roads, and two thousand for other expenses. This sum was considerable of an increase over prior years, but, on the other hand, the population was now estimated at forty-three hundred.

Sidewalks were not looked upon as necessary until many years later; pedestrians walked in the street summer and winter, but in the sixties and seventies Concord exceeded nearly every considerable city in New England in the extent and uniform excellence of its sidewalks, particularly those of concrete. This is an account of Main street during the period 1830-1850. The reminiscence is dated in 1862:

“There yet dwell upon this chief avenue of the city some inhabitants who remember when it was always dark at night, unless lighted by the moon; when artificial beams struggled out of the windows of scattered habitations and a few shops; when there were no sidewalks, and much of the locomotion of pedestrians was in the same track as that occupied by wagons, and other vehicles peculiar to the times. Then the building now bearing the sign, ‘police station,’¹ was the most substantial, commercial looking edifice, and Gale’s, Stickney’s, Mann’s, and Batters’ taverns the ‘hotels’ of the capital. The wooden Town Hall on the hill was the boast of the people, and the ‘old North Church’ was their Strasburg cathedral: its spire and rooster being the wonder of the boys and the pride of their fathers and mothers.

“About 1825 a few people contributed money with which to construct a plank sidewalk near the present residence of Dr. Thomas Chadbourne, in order that pedestrians might avoid the ‘Slough of Despond’ which the streets there became during all wet seasons. The walk had a rail on the street side, to prevent people falling off into the brook which ran at the side of this admired evidence of the enterprise of the people. The town then expended nothing for the benefit of pedestrians—highway work having reference only to cattle, horses, and their drivers. Main street, opposite the store of Messrs. Ford and the entrance to the Steam Mill of the Messrs. Holt, was only a causeway, where two carriages could meet and pass, and each side of the causeway was a gulf, of capacity sufficient to contain a modern-sized dwelling. The house now kept as a boarding establishment by Mr. Dame,² was once the stage tavern of Concord, and one of these vehicles, with four horses attached, leaving the house

¹ On Main street, opposite Phenix hotel.

² Stickney’s tavern.

before day, as was the custom of the times, was driven off the eastern side of the causeway, into the depth below. The only protection was round logs some thirty or forty feet in length laid at the brink of the gulf."

Park street, named in honor of Stuart J. Park, the architect of the state house, was opened in 1834, and the same year the energetic John P. Gass, recognizing the growth of the town, erected the American House, long a noted hostelry, at the corner of the new street and Main, an undertaking that astonished people because of the rapidity of its execution, for the hotel was completed and ready for guests in June, six weeks from the day it was begun.

In the midst of certain prosperity there suddenly came over Concord, as over the whole country, one of those periodical tempests of wild speculation which first turned people's heads and then turned their pockets, until, when the end came, wrecks were everywhere. Because Concord was enjoying material health and happiness, the visitation seemed the more severe; the well-to-do were struck with poverty, the rich became poor, all classes felt the stroke, few indeed, escaped the calamity. The situation was paralyzing, and many years passed before the direful effects disappeared. It was said that the people lost one hundred thousand dollars, but the worse loss was that of public and private confidence, and Concord suffered deeply. It was the first, but by no means Concord's last, lesson of this kind.

But town matters went on apace, courage was restored, bringing with it firm faith in the future, so much so that it was voted to purchase two hundred shares of the stock of the Concord Railroad, with money¹ already in the town treasury, and to subscribe for five hundred shares, and to borrow thirty thousand dollars to be invested in the road. The people were quick to see the great advantages to be derived from railroad facilities; and conservative opposition, if any there was, signally failed to accomplish anything until the excitement carried its advocates to an extreme of action,—then came the reaction. At one meeting it was voted to invest one hundred thousand dollars in the enterprise, but before the money was raised public opinion changed most decidedly, and the town practically withdrew from all participation in the matter.

The decade from 1840–1850 saw a decided increase in industrial pursuits, business energy, social influences, the acquisition of wealth, the enlargement of resources, and in general activity. In that period the population nearly doubled, and with it went material progress through its various avenues. In 1840 the census gave to Concord four thousand nine hundred and three inhabitants; in 1850, eight

¹ Concord's share of "Surplus Revenue."

thousand five hundred and thirty-four, a large part of this being distributed in what was called the main village. That this augmentation of population was unlooked for may be confidently asserted, for in 1843, when it became necessary to add more land to the old cemetery, the committee, in its report, after stating that the price paid, including the fence and labor, was five hundred and fifty-six dollars and eighty-three cents, congratulated the citizens that the quantity of land which had been purchased and added to the old graveyard would be equal to the public want for half a century. Yet in less than twenty years a larger and more lovely city of the dead was dedicated at Blossom Hill.

The opening of the Concord Railroad gave a great impetus to Concord, and contributed largely to the developments of this prosperous decade; and a few years later came the Northern Railroad with its well-marked influence on local affairs. Another public institution dates its birth at this time, the State Hospital, which was opened in November, 1842.

In still another direction was manifested the growth of the town in the decade of 1840-1850,—that was in the school statistics. In the former year the school appropriation was two thousand and seventy dollars, and the number of scholars in attendance was one thousand and sixty-two; in 1850 the appropriation was four thousand one hundred and seventy-four dollars, and the attendance sixteen hundred and fifty-three pupils. Besides the public schools an academy was established in 1835, known as "The Concord Literary Institution and Teachers' Seminary," and for several years enjoyed more than a local reputation. This undertaking was not without its beneficent influence, and did much towards giving to the town a prominence in educational leadership. In 1847 Concord was made the seat of the Methodist Biblical Institute, a well-conducted seminary, whose home was in the ancient North meeting-house, which had been purchased by the trustees, aided by a public subscription, and there the institute remained until removed to Boston in 1867. During a single year, 1843, there were built in the compact part of the town thirty-seven dwelling-houses, making more than fifty tenements, besides several business blocks for stores, shops, and offices.

By comparing the votes cast at elections from 1840 to 1850, one may easily see the constant growth of population, and with it the increase in wealth and resources. In 1840 the vote for president and for governor was as follows: Van Buren (Democrat), 545; Harrison (Whig), 524; Page (Democrat), 542; Stevens (Whig), 495. In 1842, for governor, Hubbard (Democrat), 301; Stevens (Whig), 284; White (Independent Democrat), 323; Hoit (Abolitionist), 34.

In the election results of this year are found the beginnings of the cleavage which was destined later to split apart the political sentiments of New Hampshire, and in that work Concord had already made a start. In just this political activity may be found another cause of Concord's growth. The place had now become a well-established headquarters for all political parties; conventions with hundreds of delegates assembled once or twice every year, legislatures convened, public meetings were called, and the name and fame of the town became widespread.

In 1846 the increase in Concord's vote continued and was as follows: Williams (Democrat), 604; Colby (Whig), 396; Berry (Independent), 218. The next town-meeting saw still another increase of the check-list, as follows: Williams (Democrat), 710; Colby (Whig), 592; Berry (Independent), 206.

Thus, in the yearly town-meetings, we have seen the names grow longer on the check-list, so that within ten years the local vote went from about one thousand to nearly sixteen hundred; although in 1850 there were not far from two thousand names of qualified voters on the list furnished by the selectmen, thus representing a population of more than twice that number, thereby advancing Concord to a foremost rank among the towns of the state.

The year 1850 may be, with propriety, selected as a point from which those changes which subsequently urged Concord forward in material progress may be compared and described. The town, as a town, had now attained that condition which called for such a reorganization as should conduce to a more convenient and more intelligent management of public affairs. The March meeting had now become an unwieldy assemblage, and frequently necessitated several successive adjournments before the regular business could be completed; and it had become a task beyond the capabilities of selectmen to manage functions so growing and perplexing, so important and diverse. Yet there was a strange reluctance to give up the old methods, and more than one meeting voted against any change. The charter to incorporate the city of Concord was granted by the legislature in 1849, but it was not until 1853 that the people adopted it.

The following, from an article printed in a Concord newspaper, gives a lively impression of the town as it appeared about the middle of the nineteenth century:

"Since the croakers persisted that Concord 'had got its growth,' 'seen its best days,' and 'would go behindhand,' very much new land has been possessed, and more remains to be brought into captivity to brick, wood, and mortar. The croakers have been at work, to our knowledge, above forty years, and there was never but one period

when their prophecies seemed in danger of fulfilment—1837 to 1842. It is not much above thirty years since George Kent, Esq., purchased the large estate of the late Judge Samuel Green for about five thousand dollars, and although we have no business that sets us ahead like some places, still there are more dwelling-houses upon that tract alone than there were on the entire length of Main street within the memory of men not yet old. It is not twenty years since Sampson Bullard, who had then built his dwelling¹ and felt his loneliness, offered John Leach an ample building lot, free, at the side of himself (Bullard) if he (Leach) would erect a two-story dwelling and occupy it, and now South street is filled up in a somewhat cozy way all along from Pleasant street to the farm of Jeremiah S. Noyes. So, since the croakers set at work crying down this political metropolis of New Hampshire what is the sixth ward, with two representatives in the legislature, has so largely increased that it is covered more compactly than any other equal surface in Concord with new and comfortable, and, in some instances, elegant, dwellings. It is almost wholly a ward of dwelling-houses, and more people sleep at night on twenty-five acres of ground in Ward 6 than upon any other equal surface in the city.

“One of the most agreeable circumstances attending the progress of the city is that the growth of the center has not been at the expense of the adjacent parts. We have grown with a uniform but not rapid growth ever since the damaging speculations, 1836-’37, but the outer portions of the city have kept a relative pace with ourselves. Fisherville is entirely the growth of the period named, it being but a cluster of a dozen or less unpainted dwellings near the old Johnson tavern and the falls, in 1836. East and West Concord and Millville have been improving for twenty years, and each is more populous and in better pecuniary condition than at any former period. Millville, through the establishment of St. Paul’s School, and the enlargement of the old brick mansion near the water, and the erection of the chapel, has become one of the most picturesque sections of Concord.

“And another circumstance of gratifying character in the progress of the city is that some reference is now had to the rules of architecture in the erection of public edifices and private dwellings, though there is yet, in the latter class, hardly a sufficient departure from a monotonous style. Architectural good taste, here as in other country towns, is a matter of recent growth. In public buildings we have at least one lamentable specimen, but we can console ourselves in that some good specimens have arisen, and one more is on its way up,—the Episcopal church. The new railroad station, it is evident,

¹The residence of Mrs. Alonzo Downing, 1900.

will be an improvement on its predecessor, and the chapel at Millville is a gem of its kind, for which the projectors deserve the thanks of all people who wish to encourage an advancing good taste."

The middle of the nineteenth century found Concord a wealthy and prosperous place with a population of eight thousand five hundred and eighty-four, a very considerable gain on the census taken ten years before—a valuation of real estate exceeding three millions of dollars, and a personal property valuation of nearly six hundred thousand dollars.

A town directory published in the early fifties affords us some interesting facts bearing on local business as it was in those days. The directory does not purport to give much information outside the central village, and its compilers regret that the streets are not only unnumbered, but are mostly unmarked by proper signs. "The present population," it says, "of the center village is five thousand and fifty-seven, while that of the whole town probably reaches full nine thousand." Among the well-known business places were the following, of which, in 1900, with two or three exceptions, no trace of original name or owner remains: H. A. Newhall, dry goods, Rumford block; Warde & Walker, hardware, Exchange building; H. A. Fay, crockery, paper hangings, Merchants' exchange; J. W. Little, dentist, C. W. Gardner, barber, Edmunds, Robinson & Co., tailors, Eagle Hotel block; Day & Emerson, marble works, School street; Austin M. Ward, jeweler; D. D. Garland, periodicals, newspapers, and Harper's, Graham's, and Godey's magazines, three doors north of Pleasant street; Joseph Grover, hatter, opposite Gass's American House; Kimball's Daguerrean gallery, Stickney's block (here is one old Concord establishment still conducted by the son and grandson of its first proprietor, and now famous throughout the country for the excellence of its work); Flanders & Eastman, stoves, tinware, opposite Free Bridge road; Cyrus Hill, hats, Low's block; M. C. Cutchins, gunsmith, opposite Free Bridge road; W. G. Shaw, clothing, opposite Columbian; Brown & Young, furniture, front of state house; Moore, Cilley & Co., hardware, Stickney's block; Bullock & Sargent, dry goods; George Main, sign and ornamental painter, Central block; John Wheeler, building mover; J. A. Gault, drugs, Exchange building; J. B. Stanley, jeweler; J. D. Johnson, harness maker; S. G. Sylvester, picture frames, also agent for Boston friction matches; Winkley & Abbott, tailors (E. W. Woodward, cutter); Tripp & Osgood, steam printing; L. L. Mower, printer, Athenian building; Milton Olds, tailor; Charles W. Harvey, dry goods; David Symonds, harness maker; Jacob Carter & Son, jewelers, south of Eagle hotel; Hutchins & Co., dry goods; Mrs. Woolson

and Miss Herbert, dressmakers and milliners, opposite Columbian; A. P. Munsey, boots and shoes; T. W. Stewart, tailor, Low's block; Nathaniel Evans, clothing; Daniel A. Hill, furniture; Morrill & Silsby, printers and bookbinders. Of these names Thomas W. Stewart alone remains in active business after half a century.

It became evident very early in the town's existence that Concord was not destined to be a large mill or manufacturing center; the people were chiefly farmers who were content to exchange their produce for the goods kept in the stores on Main street. While other places with inferior water power have become great cities, Concord has kept on her early course, adding slowly to her wealth and resources. What her people have done has been done in a small way, yet, after a century and a half, the results emphasize her social and material strength and influence.

It has been an aggregation of small undertakings and of close economies that has given to Concord its standing and prosperity. It has been steady work and perseverance, combined with insistence on education and order, that has made the town what it is. Individual Concord possesses more wealth than statistics can ever disclose, and it is largely the savings of one generation to another. Few pause to consider how great a source of income has sprung from the forests of Concord. Full forty thousand acres comprise the land surface of the town, and most of that area has borne several growths of the choicest oak, hemlock, chestnut, spruce, pine, elm, and walnut, all contributing their part to the wealth of our people. The present generation knows nothing of the lumber business of years ago. Compute three or four growths at only twenty-five dollars an acre, and see how vast a money transaction this has been. Like every calling, slowness was the characteristic; the results took years, but the end meant money and power. So with the factories and workshops, until one begins to see how Concord, with its want of big mills, can show so commanding a success. Peculiarly is it true in Concord that the laborer and the clerk own their homes, hence the absence of the poor quarter and the district of tenement houses.

At a period embracing the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Turkey river saw the days of its greatest usefulness in supplying power to grist, saw, shingle, and fulling mills, a chair factory and cutlery shop, and iron works. Theodore T. Abbott carried on a cutlery mill at St. Paul's dam in the thirties; and one year, at least, he supplied congress with its penknives and paper cutters. Near this spot was built one of the earliest grist-mills for the pioneers, and for that reason the vicinity has long been known as Millville.

For many years during the first of the century there was a fulling

mill carried on by Samuel Runnells, situated on Turkey river, between Great and Little Turkey ponds. It was a two-story building used for dressing cloth, while the carding was done in a building adjacent. On the other side of the river was a large shingle mill owned by Mr. Gooding. The ruins of the ancient dam are visible at this day, almost a century after its construction. The Iron Works, a locality celebrated in Concord annals, received its name from the forge erected in the land east of the present highway bridge a few rods west of South street. At one time during the Revolutionary War these works were in operation, but the undertaking was finally given up. Among its owners were Daniel Carter, Daniel Gale, and Philip Carrigain.

In 1835 Concord became the scene of a novel industrial undertaking in the formation of a company of townspeople for the manufacture of silk. The Hazeltine farm on the road leading from the Orphan Asylum in Millville to Silver Hill was bought, buildings put up, and a grove of mulberry trees set out. The expectations of the promoters were not fulfilled, and after a few years' experiment the business was abandoned. That the project was not successful was not the fault of such citizens as G. Parker Lyon, Moses Atwood, Isaac Hill, and Albe Cady, who were its leading promoters.

To Colonel Andrew McMillan must be given the distinction of being one of the first and most enterprising traders in the old town of Rumford. He came to America from Ireland about 1754, enlisted in the Colonial army then assembled near Lake George, and participated for several months as a member of Robert Rogers' celebrated rangers. Marrying a Rumford girl, Hannah Osgood, he settled here some time in 1761, and soon built a store on land now occupied by the Masonic Temple. Here he continued business for several years, one year in partnership with Timothy Walker, Jr., and afterwards with John Stevens, when the store was enlarged by the addition of a second story, which was used several times as the meeting place of the state house of representatives. The ancient ledger of this firm has been preserved, affording us of this generation an instructive and interesting view of the wants of customers and the way of doing business.

For the purpose of illustration let us produce the accounts of two or three of the prominent citizens of that epoch.

DEACON FARNUM, DR.

		£	s	d
1763				
Jan 15	To sundries brought from old ledger, p 196	121	11	06
" "	" 1 / 2 gall and pint of N. E. rum	2	19	00
" "	" 1 lb of Coffey, at 26s	1	06	00
" "	" 1 glass of brandy,	0	04	00
" "	" 1 qt of wine, at 25s	2	05	00

		£	s	d
Feb. 1	To 1 / 2 gall of brandy	4	10	00
	“ 1 pint of brandy	1	04	00
	“ 1 glass of brandy	0	03	00
“ 8	“ 2 lbs. of brown sugar, at 14s	1	08	00
“ 16	“ 1 glass of brandy	0	04	00
Mar 1	“ 1 1 / 2 gall of brandy at 9s	4	10	00
“ “	“ 1 / 2 lb of raisons	1	00	00
“ 14	“ 5 pare of men's gloves at 50s,	12	10	00
“ “	“ 2 pare of woman's black do, at 50s.	5	00	00
“ “	“ 1 pare of woman's white do,	2	13	00
“ “	“ 3 yards of hat crape, at 50s,	7	10	00
Contra				
	Rumford, January 15, 1763.		Cr.	
	By sundries brought from old ledger,	156	08	08
April 5	“ cash	124	17	00
June 6	“ cash, in full,	94	00	00

JOHN CHANDLER, DR.

1765

June 13	To 4 buttons	1	00	00
Mar. 11	“ 1 / 2 bowl of tody	0	07	00
	“ 1 1 / 2 yds. of blue broadcloth, 17s.,	25	10	00
	“ 2 doz. buttons, at 30s	3	00	00
	“ 8 jacket do.,	0	10	00
	“ 1 1 / 2 yds. of blue camblet,	6	00	00
	“ 1 qt of rum at 24s, and 2 bowls of tody	2	12	00
July 22	“ 1 gall. of W. I. Rum, 6s.,	6	00	00

REV. TIMOTHY WALKER.

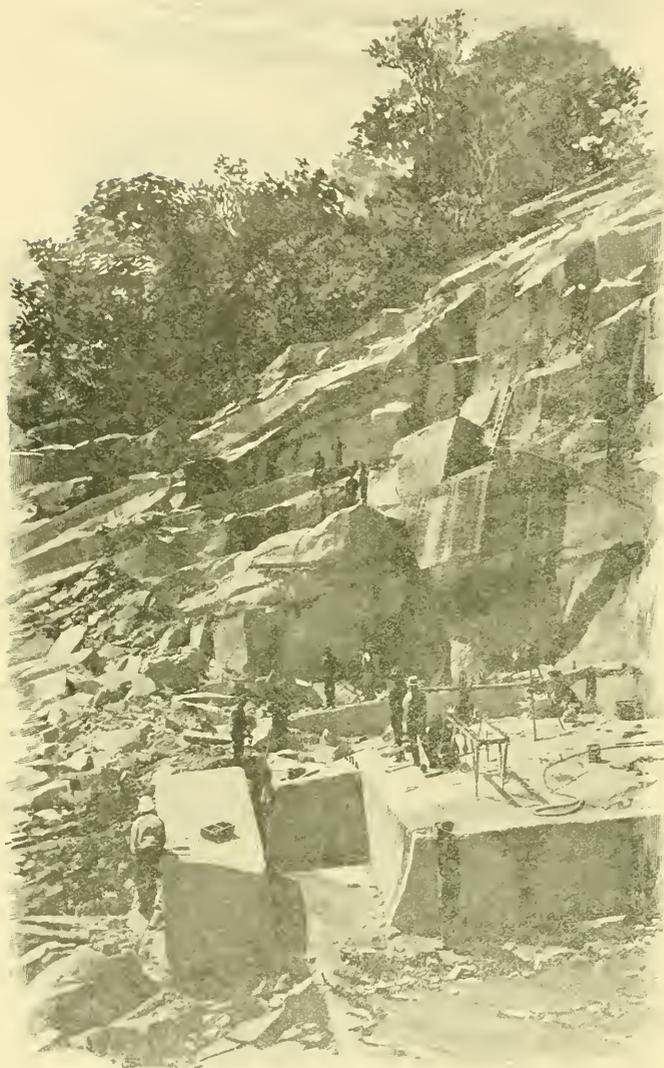
1763

Dec. 9	To the balance of your account	26	15	00
	“ 3 yds. of red shoe-binding, by Judith	0	09	00
Dec. 8	“ 1 1 / 4 lb. of chalk, at 40s.,	2	10	00
“ “	“ 2 qts of rum,	3	00	00

1764

Jan'y 2	“ 1 / 4 lb of pepper, 18s.,	0	18	00
Feb'y 2	“ 1 quart of W. I. rum, 35s.,	1	15	00
“ “	“ 1 / 4 of buckram,	0	12	00
“ 16	“ 1 gall. of W. I. rum, by Mr. Tim.,	6	00	00
June 2	“ 1 / 8 yd of cambrick, by Judith, at 11s.,	1	08	00
“ “	“ 1 punch bowl, at 15s.,	0	15	00
“ “	“ 1 / 8 yd of gauze, and to 1 / 2 skein of silk	1	04	06
“ 2	“ 2 qts. of rum,	3	00	00
Aug. 9	“ Sundries paid Mr. Paul Barbeen,	50	00	00
“ 11	“ 1 gallon of rum, at 6s.,	6	00	00

In a money point of view no industry has contributed more largely and more constantly to the material advancement of Concord than the granite business, and none can show more conspicuous evidences of aggressiveness and growth. From the Rattlesnake ledges have



Granite Quarries.

come many of the costly and stately edifices now adorning cities stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, while in the production of lesser but more endearing works, such as public shafts and private monuments, the number would be impossible to estimate. And yet the hidden wealth of the shapely hill was touched into life only a few decades ago. Simeon Abbott used to tell how his father bought thirty-six acres of Rattlesnake hill for fifty cents an acre, and how he sold a single rock for one hundred and ten dollars to Gass & Johnson, who in turn sold it on a contract at the state prison for fifteen hundred and forty dollars, where

it was hammered and sent to New Orleans for the United States custom house, and brought the sum of six thousand dollars. It is not an uninteresting incident to learn the process by which this particular "rock" was blasted, inasmuch as its contents formed one of the most historic structures in the country during the period of the Civil War.

Seam-shot blasting was then tried for the first time, a seam being made by wedges driven through the depths of the rock and sand poured in to fill the crevices. The workmen then put twenty-five pounds of powder in the middle and over that they spread sand compactly pressed. The fuse was inserted in a thistle-stalk and the slow match made of tow extended to a safe distance. The explosion was all that could be desired, for the result produced eleven thousand feet of dimension stone, besides a large quantity of cellar and refuse material. In 1819, in connection with the work of the state convicts, Gass & Johnson made contracts for supplying Concord granite to builders in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, water carriage being the means of transportation, as the Boston and Concord Boating Company had then begun operations. For many years this stone was almost wholly worked and cut in the prison, but after 1834 or thereabouts this trade gradually dwindled from among men serving time for public crimes, and very properly became the calling of many of our citizens. In the building of the Washington monument the block presented by New Hampshire was taken from our ledges, and measured when finished four feet and two inches in width and eighteen inches in thickness.

Granite, which is really Concord's one raw material, has had much to do with the prosperity of the people, both in its quarrying and in its working, and yet its history is not a long one. In a small and irregular way granite has been used by builders and monument makers for a considerable period, but its larger and more extensive use has only come about within the memory of many of Concord's middle-aged citizens.

The first considerable undertaking in granite building was the old state prison, built in 1812. A few years later, in 1816, the erection of the state house was begun and completed in 1819, the granite being quarried at Rattlesnake, and hammered by the convicts in the prison. In 1834 Luther Roby and William Green acquired what was known as the Summit ledge, and opened and worked, it is said, the first quarry; for before that time nearly all the granite had been taken from boulders. This original quarry, now filled in, was not far from the spring in the rear of the new state prison. Although Mr. Roby was first and last a printer, he gave considerable attention to this new industry, and during his ownership opened other good quarries, among them the one now operated by the Granite Railway Company. The quarry of this company is found on what is almost the highest point of Rattlesnake hill, not far from the village of West Concord, and about one thousand five hundred feet from the main highway.

This company, under the energetic and intelligent management

of Oliver E. Sheldon, in the sixties gave to Concord granite its great start as a distinct and beautiful material for building and monumental purposes. Among the imposing and excellent work from this quarry are the grand monoliths and capitals of our state house, the city hall in Boston, the Charter Oak building in Hartford, the Equitable and the Staats Zeitung building in New York. Between this quarry and the highway is the Hollis quarry, formerly carried on by Thomas Hollis, from which came the beautiful "Ether" monument in the Boston Public Gardens, whose figure representing the Good Samaritan is considered one of the finest pieces of granite sculpture in the world.

South of the Granite Railway quarry some twelve hundred feet, and about as far distant from the highway, is the Fuller quarry, long operated by Henry M. Fuller, Andrew J. Holmes, and Carlos G. Pressy, and bought in 1882 by Sargent & Sullivan.

This quarry, under the management of this last-named firm, furnished the stone for the Concord post-office and court house, the Manchester post-office, and also for the soldiers' monument in the latter city. Again to the south three hundred feet is the Blanchard quarry, long worked by David Blanchard, and close by lies the Donegan & Davis quarry. Southwest from here are the Runals, Davis, and Sweat quarries, which produced the stone for the Boston Masonic Temple.¹ South of these works and about two thousand feet from the state prison is the quarry now known as the New England quarry, No. 1. It was formerly the property of the Concord Granite Company, which under the management of E. C. Sargent furnished the material for the custom house in Portland, the Suffolk Savings bank, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and other well-known edifices in Boston. This afterwards came into the ownership of Sargent & Sullivan, who carried it on for several years when they sold it, together with the Fuller quarry, to the New England Granite Works of Hartford, Conn. This quarry will go down in history as the birthplace of the magnificent Congressional Library at Washington, for from here came the material, and in the shops of the company were cut and formed the graceful and beautiful features of that imposing structure. The contract involved was one of the largest ever known in the building world, calling for three hundred and fifty thousand cubic feet of granite and one million three hundred thousand dollars in money. To complete the whole contract required six years. The work kept more than three hundred men busily employed, and the money paid in wages was not far from one million dollars: while to transport to Washington the results of this vast

¹ Destroyed by fire.

labor called into use upwards of twenty-two hundred railway cars. The president of this corporation was James G. Batterson of Hartford, one of the foremost business men of America, a man of boundless energy and executive capacity, identified with insurance as well as marble, onyx, and granite interests.

Southeast of quarry No. 1 is the large quarry of Ola Anderson, while across the railroad are his cutting sheds. The soldiers' arch in front of the state house came from this quarry.

The extent of the granite industry is shown not alone by the great quarries with their lofty mast-like derricks, but also by the numerous yards scattered in the vicinity of Rattlesnake. From 1890 to 1901 the number of persons and companies engaged in cutting or polishing or in quarrying, or both, is considerable, including Frank R. Clark, John McGuire & Co., L. O. & H. B. Peabody at West Concord, who carry on both quarrying and cutting, Hanneberry & Halligan, William Hodge, The New Hampshire Granite Company, a co-operative company, C. Trenoweth & Co., Oliver Racine, Thomas H. Dunston, W. C. Fraser & Son, Thomas Nawn, George F. Clark, A. G. McAlpine & Co., Thomas Fox, W. S. Longee, John Tressider & Son, C. Dimond, LaRoche & Fauney, J. Rankin, John Swenson, The Capital City Granite Company, Orrin Whidden, M. G. Gannon & Son, W. N. Howard, Thomas Harrison, James Clancy & Company, M. McGuire, William Foley & Son, Charles McDonald, Sylvania and Andrew Smith, Otis Trussell, W. H. Perry.

Nutting & Hayden carry on a large tool manufacturing business, and in Penacook is the polishing shop of the Merrimack Polishing Company, and in the same ward machinery used in the granite industry is made by the Concord Axle Company.

In 1854 there were thirty men employed in our granite industries. In 1874 there were five hundred, with a pay-roll amounting to three hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars, and with an output of eight hundred thousand dollars: but the greatest activity followed the contract for the Congressional Library, when the industry gave employment in all departments to more than a thousand men, who with their families made Wards 3, 4, and 9 among the most active and prosperous sections of the city.

Whatever turn the future may take respecting the material advancement of Concord, carriage and coach making will always be inseparably associated with the name of the town itself. As a distinct trade, carriage building may be said to have begun with the coming to Concord of Lewis Downing in the early years of the last century, though prior to that time there were a few blacksmiths and wheelwrights doing repairs and mending. Among the wheelwrights were Thomas W.

Thorndike and John Titeomb, both of whom carried on their small business for many years, probably, before the following card was inserted in the columns of the *New Hampshire Patriot*, on August 3d, 1813:

Lewis Downing respectfully informs the inhabitants of Concord and its vicinity That he has commenced the wheelwright business in Concord, near Mr. William Austins' Store where he flatters himself that by strict and constant attention to business and the correct and faithful manner in which his work will be executed, to merit the patronage of the public. N. B. carriages of all kinds repaired on the shortest notice.

Lewis Downing was born in Lexington, Mass., the 23d of June, 1792, and there learned his trade from his father and an elder brother, both of whom were skilful workmen. He came to Concord in April, 1813, and opened his shop as stated in the *Patriot*, its situation being two or three doors south of the corner of what is now Main and Washington streets. Two years later he bought the "Duncan Estate," so-called, at the south end, and moved his business there in May, 1816. This property had a frontage of five hundred feet on Main street, and, like nearly all the "lots" on the west side of South Main street, at that time, extended through to what is now South street, thus comprising a territory that in after years developed into a rich and populous section of the city.

On the site of the large establishment of our day, Mr. Downing built his first shop, employing but few hands and using no power machinery. At that time he made Concord wagons and some heavier wagons for the freight traffic, then in its infancy, between Boston and towns in New Hampshire and Vermont. Soon was added the building of the famous two-wheeled chaise, the ancient vehicle of luxurious dignity—one of the first becoming the property of Nathaniel Bouton, who had then just entered upon his long ministry among our people. It is a record in the old day-book kept by Mr. Downing, that the first Concord wagon was sold to Benjamin Kimball, Jr., in November, 1813, for sixty dollars. Up to about the year 1826 there were not more than a dozen workmen, but from that time the business began to grow; for the possibilities connected with coach building suggested themselves to the energetic proprietor, and he determined to make stage-coaches a feature of his business. In pursuance of this plan he engaged a young and well recommended artisan of Salem, Mass., to come to Concord and build for him three coach bodies, the rest of the work being done by Mr. Downing and his workmen. The name of the young artisan was J. Stephens Abbot, and the first stage-coach, the joint product of his and others' skill,

was sold in July, 1827, to John Shepard, a well-known stage driver of the period. This was the first vehicle of that kind ever made north of Salem, and was the pioneer of that long train of coaches which penetrated to the remotest parts of the earth, to California, Australia, Peru, and the Transvaal; wherever venturesome civilization pushed its way the Concord coach was sure to be seen. A partnership was now formed (1828) under the name of Downing & Abbot, continuing until 1847, when it was mutually dissolved. Two firms resulted from this change. Mr. Abbot kept the shops and plant at the South end, taking as partner his eldest son, Edward A. Abbot, the firm becoming J. S. & E. A. Abbot, while Mr. Downing built new shops west of Main street opposite the Phenix hotel, and took into partnership his sons, Lewis Downing, Jr., and Alonzo Downing, under the firm name of L. Downing & Sons. Business increased largely with both firms, the help numbering upwards of two hundred, who were for the most part skilled workmen. The Civil War, calling for ambulances, baggage wagons, quartermasters' teams, and gun carriages, gave a great impulse to this Concord industry, while the opening of new countries increased the demand for stages and mail carts.

On the 1st of January, 1865, Lewis Downing, senior, after half a century of active labor, retired, the Main street property was sold, and the firm of Abbot, Downing & Company formed, which continued until 1873, when it was succeeded by the present corporation, the Abbot-Downing Company. The works at the South end were greatly enlarged, new power and machinery put in, and the capital stock fixed at four hundred thousand dollars. For several years prior to 1873 the firm of Harvey, Morgan & Co. (George P. Harvey, Rufus M. Morgan, and J. C. Harvey) had carried on the carriage-making business on the east side of Main street nearly opposite Fayette street, but their business and shops were now merged in the new corporation, and the members of the firm became shareholders and active factors in the conduct of the Abbot-Downing Company. The works covered six acres of ground, and two hundred and seventy-five men found employment. The workmen there have always represented the best product of New England, skilled and well-to-do, most of them owning houses and other property, men of consideration in the community, many of whom having been called to public office in the city and state governments. Some of these workmen have been connected with the Abbots and the Downings since youth, and at a dinner given to the foremen of the shops by Lewis Downing, Jr., the president of the corporation, in May, 1897, it being the sixtieth anniversary of Mr. Downing's connection with this business, three of those

present had seen more than fifty years of continuous service, while all had grown grey in the service of the company.

It is estimated that during the last half century the pay-rolls of the Abbot-Downing Company show that a sum aggregating eight million dollars has been paid for labor, nearly every dollar of which has been of direct value to Concord and its citizens. As nearly all this money came from out of the city it may readily be seen how powerful an influence the carriage-building industry has been in laying some of the foundations of the city's prosperity. With such a profitable industry as the example presented by Abbot & Downing, it was not strange that other shops for carriage making were started at different times. At West Concord, Chandler Eastman & Sons have carried on this kind of business for three generations, and their shops to-day contribute their share to the commercial energy of the city. At the North end, adjoining the North church, was for many years the carriage works of Samuel M. Griffin, and in the rear of State street, near Pleasant, were the shops of Flanders, Houston & White, all giving good employment to from sixty to one hundred men.

The Concord harness, like the Concord wagon, has brought fame and fortune to our people, and like the other industry, its beginnings were also humble. James R. Hill came to town in the early forties and began business alone, working day and night, and never failing to keep his engagements. One of his first shops was in the rear of what is now Exchange block, whence, driven by fire, he went to the west side of Main street, occupying several locations before building the present manufactory. In 1865 Mr. Hill formed a partnership with George H. Emery and Josiah E. Dwight, who finally succeeded to the extensive business. One hundred, and sometimes many more than that number, of skilled workmen found employment in this industry, and the pay-roll has had much influence in adding wealth to the city. As a curious fact it may be noted that a majority of the Canadian French families that first came to the city were represented by some member who found work in Hill's harness shop.

The manufacture of musical instruments has been one of Concord's oldest industries, one firm, that of Prescott, having a business career of more than eighty years. Abraham Prescott, the founder, coming to Concord in 1834, from Deerfield, where he had carried on a small business as a "cello" maker, continued and enlarged his trade by including reed instruments and organs. In 1845 the business name became Abraham Prescott & Son, afterwards Prescott & Brother, the elder Prescott having retired, and in 1858 Prescott Brothers (Abraham J. and George D. B.). In 1886 the manufacture of organs was discontinued, the entire attention of the firm being then given to the

making of upright pianos. The Prescott Piano Company was incorporated in 1891 with a capital of fifty thousand dollars; the officers at the present time being Willis D. Thompson, president, and George D. B. Prescott, treasurer.

The factory was for many years in Merchant's exchange, afterwards at the south end of Main street, near the railroad, which was completely destroyed by fire early in 1896, entailing a large loss and compelling a removal to the building erected by Samuel M. Griffin, adjoining the North church, as a carriage shop, and subsequently occupied by the Haley Manufacturing Company for drawing wire, skate making, and other purposes. The number of skilled workmen employed varies from thirty to forty, many of them having been connected with the shops for periods of twenty-five years and even longer. It is estimated that since the beginning up to the present time more than eight hundred thousand dollars have been paid as wages to these employees, and of this a very large part has been distributed at home.

Among others engaged at different times in the manufacture of organs, melodeons, and various parts of musical instruments, were Charles Austin, David M. Dearborn, Daniel F. Secomb, Morrison & Courser, Ballou & Curtis, Levi Liscom, A. F. Severance, Daniel B. Bartlett, Joseph W. Prescott, and Jacob B. Rand.

In 1850 James S. Norris bought out the bakery business of Ebenezer Symmes, and enlarging the plant by adding a confectionery branch, made his business one of the largest in the state. For many years the late George W. Crockett, former postmaster, was a partner, and since his death the business is conducted by James C. Norris & Company.

The Blanchard Churn was long one of the sterling products of Concord's industry, and for many years it occupied a foremost place among the dairy implements of this as well as foreign countries. The making of churns began in 1818 by Porter Blanchard, and continued by him and his sons, Charles P. and George A. Blanchard, for more than seventy years. Their last factory was in the brick building in the rear of Stickney's new block. In connection with this business the elder Mr. Blanchard made drums. Thousands and thousands of churns were manufactured in Concord, and the business gave steady employment to many workmen.

On the site of the *Statesman* building was once a busy factory, occupied by Joseph Palmer in the manufacture of wagon springs, known in commercial phrase as "Palmer spring." A score or more operatives found work in that industry, while across the street stood the silver-plating establishment of Smith & Walker.

The Page Belting Company, second to no industrial establishment

in Concord, has long exercised a deep business influence among our people. The site of the works on the highway leading around Horseshoe pond is on a spot used for one enterprise after another for several years before it passed into the control of the Page brothers; once there was a large steam sawmill on the premises, and afterwards the extensive tannery of Cyrus R. Robinson & Company, the last occupants, who sold the property to George F. and Charles T. Page in 1871. Since then the history of the property has been one of constant change and growth, until the plant became one of the largest in New England. The beginnings were small, but improvements began to be soon manifest in the enlargement of the plant and conduct of the business. In 1872 a charter was granted by the legislature and the capital stock fixed at seventy-five thousand dollars, which was subsequently increased to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, then to two hundred thousand dollars, and in 1891 to five hundred thousand dollars. In 1880 the capacity of the works was about five hundred hides a week, which was increased each year until it was doubled. In the meanwhile the number of hands employed kept increasing, going from eighty to one hundred and ninety, the pay-roll showing a similar increase year by year until it amounted to nearly one hundred thousand dollars annually. From power of fifty-horse rate the increase advanced to three times that, while the value of the goods more than doubled. The total capacity in 1899 was twelve hundred hides a week or some sixty thousand in a year, representing a quantity of leather equal to more than a million pounds. The employees of this company come from all nationalities, even Armenians are found, and the product of their united labors finds markets in every civilized country on the globe.

Concord has long been noted for the excellence of its iron work, and the foundries have done their part towards the city's growth. When William P. Ford came to Concord in 1837 there was a small foundry situated on Warren street, nearly opposite the Central Fire Station, carried on by Reuben Martin and Edmund Davis, who employed a few workmen. There Mr. Ford went to work as a moulder, and the next year became a member of the firm under the name of Martin & Company. In 1843 the firm was Ford & Pillsbury (Thomas W. Pillsbury), and so continued until 1846, when the latter retired and Theodore H. Ford was admitted. In 1850 the old foundry on Warren street was abandoned for a new building at the North end, and in 1860 the firm bought the large plant of John D. Cooper & Company, near the tracks of the Concord Railroad, carrying on both establishments until 1865, when the partnership was dissolved and two new firms succeeded. William P. Ford retained the foundry at

the North end, which became known as William P. Ford & Company (George H. Marston), John W. Ford being afterwards admitted, and so continued until the death of the senior partner in 1901. The South end business was made into a partnership consisting of Theodore H. Ford and Benjamin A. Kimball, which continued until 1892, when Mr. Ford dying and Mr. Kimball retiring, the present firm of Ford & Kimball (Jerome Ford and Henry A. Kimball), sons of the original partners, succeeded to the business. This firm has done a general foundry business, including brass mouldings, and has also been a large maker of car wheels, while that of William P. Ford & Company has confined its work to the making of stoves, sinks, and ploughs. Both firms do a large business, giving constant employment to about fifty men.

Furniture manufacture was at one time an important industry, for besides the shops engaged in this work at Penacook, the central wards had several establishments involving large capital, and giving employment to hundreds of hands.

For many years Isaac Elwell, who had long employed the state prison convicts in making furniture, had a large factory near the railroad at the South end, where he carried on the business for many years. Then Benjamin F. Caldwell entered into the same business, building a large factory and plant near the gas works (now occupied by the E. B. Hutchinson Building Company).

In the seventies L. H. Clough carried on an extensive commerce in bedsteads and chamber-sets, employing upwards of a hundred workmen. At the present time in Concord there scarcely remains a vestige of this once brisk industry, and, with the exception of the Caldwell factory, the buildings once connected with furniture making have all but disappeared.

Another Concord industry is the hub and spoke manufactory of Holt Brothers, established in 1872. This firm consisted of William H., Charles H., A. Frank, and Benjamin Holt. The Concord branch of the company was under the direction of A. Frank Holt until his death in 1889. The principal business is in Stockton, California, where the firm manufactures farming implements and wagon supplies, and employs several hundred hands. Holt Brothers is one of Concord's most extensive business houses.

The industrial policy of Concord, unlike that of so many New England towns, has always shown a conservative preference for diversity, as was strikingly proved in the introduction of shoe manufacture. There never was a time when the shoemaker did not ply his trade among us, but it was only for the local demands; no attempt to establish a factory was made until about 1884. Having in mind

what had been done elsewhere, a citizens' meeting was called and the question of building a shoe factory thoroughly discussed. An association was formed, subscriptions to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars paid in, and a spacious and well arranged building erected on the lot just east of the railroad on Bridge street, which the city government exempted from taxation for a term of ten years.

Howard L. Porter, a shoe manufacturer of Lynn, became the lessee, and in January, 1885, the shop was put in operation. Few factories of its kind surpass this in architectural and structural features, or in its equipment with the best and latest machinery. The latter comprises four full sets, with a capacity of forty cases or twenty-five hundred pairs of shoes a day. The entire output of the factory passes through the wholesale trade to every state in the Union, and to Mexico and the West Indies. In the first ten years under Mr. Porter's management the product of this industry was one million nine hundred and fifteen thousand three hundred and twenty pairs of shoes, the sales amounting to two million and a half of dollars. In the meantime the pay-roll of the successive Saturdays during that period reached six hundred and fifteen thousand six hundred and twenty-one dollars, nearly all of which found its way into the retail stores of Concord. This factory is now occupied by the Morrison Shoe Company and by the Peerless Manufacturing Company.

In the finer arts Concord has achieved a wide reputation by reason of the William B. Durgin silver factory. In the forties Mr. Durgin came to Concord and began the business of making spoons in a little shop opposite Free Bridge road, and in 1854 he added the manufacture of silverware in a small one-story wooden structure then standing on School street, not far from the site of his present factory. It was one of a row of similar buildings destroyed in the conflagration that swept away the Damon house in 1860.

In 1866 Mr. Durgin built his large brick factory on School street, and has enlarged it more than once, but so extensive has the business become that much of the work is done in the Insurance building opposite the factory. The output of this house is of the highest repute everywhere, and finds its way to the choicest customers. In the excellence of workmanship, and in the value of material used, Concord has nothing in the point of commerce that equals the Durgin silver manufactory. The number of artisans employed in the different branches of this trade is frequently as many as one hundred and twenty, some of the men receiving wages amounting to many dollars a day. The business is now done under the corporate name of William B. Durgin & Son, the latter, George F. Durgin, having charge as manager.

The direct and material good done to Concord by the railroads is

beyond estimation. The interests involved in these corporations have contributed in every way to the progress and permanent growth of the city. Aside from the history of railroads related in another chapter is that feature of their management which properly comes under material advancement. Fifty or more years ago Concord began to feel the impulse of new methods of transportation in the construction of a few railroad buildings and shops, mostly wooden, which after a short service gave way to larger structures of brick, the older buildings being used for car houses, paint shops, and storehouses. The new station was long considered an architectural ornament to the town, with its pillars and offices, its double track, and its large public hall, where social and political Concord was wont to gather to listen to lectures, music, and political speeches.

Among the new railroad buildings of a generation ago was a brick machine shop several hundred feet long and sixty-five wide, and a wood-working shop of smaller size situated east of the imposing passenger station of our time. The cost of the shops was not far from twenty thousand dollars, a sum thought considerable in the early days of railroading. The entire force of workmen—under the direction of a foreman who received three dollars and nineteen cents a day—was not far from forty, with a pay-roll of about three thousand dollars a month. A few yards northerly the Northern Railroad maintained its own machine, wood, and paint shops, employing a fewer number of mechanics and carpenters and workmen than the Concord corporation.

In our day the few miles of rails and the seventeen acres of land owned by the railroads in Concord yard in 1850 have increased to forty miles of side-tracks extending over a broad territory from the main rails to the very banks of the Merrimack, while passing over this domain are more than fourteen hundred cars daily.

The new shops at the South end are as complete as possible, and their influence on future Concord must be immeasurable. There are five and a half acres covered with workshops and construction plant, situated in an enclosed yard containing twenty-eight acres and six miles of track. In this undertaking alone may be read an interesting chapter of Concord's growth. Here in these great shops with arrangements made for further enlargement, are seven hundred operatives or more in place of half that number under the roof of the old Concord and the Northern shops of less than a decade ago.

From the time when one of the famous Rogers's Rangers, named Richard Elliot, built a rude sawmill at the outlet of the Contoocook river in the Borough prior to the Revolution, that part of Concord first known as the Borough, then Fisherville, and in our day Pena-

cook, has been singularly industrious in the utilization of its exceedingly good water power. Very much in contrast with the city itself has been the mill activity of Ward 1. According to tradition the Borough outlet was discovered by Ensign Elliot while on one of his scouting expeditions; at all events, the locality was favorable to sawing timber, and Elliot's sawmill marked the industrial beginnings of Penacook. Not long after building his mill (1770) he sold to his brothers, who continued to carry on the business for many years. The site of the first sawmill is substantially the spot now covered with the Amsden-Whitaker mill, conducted by C. M. & A. W. Rolfe. About 1789 Abel Baker put up a grist-mill not far beyond the Elliot property, and afterwards added a sawmill, running both till near 1816. The favorable location of the outlet soon developed a thriving lumber industry that increased year after year until it became a most important factor in developing the growth of the village. The country drained by the Contoocook river was plentifully covered with timber of the most marketable kind, and the felling of trees and the floating of logs to the local mills was for many years a considerable source of income, but it was nothing as compared to the vaster business of hauling logs from the Borough across the town to the banks of the Merrimack, whence they were sent on their journey to the big mills about Lowell.

For years the various parts of the lumbering business gave steady employment to wood choppers, river men, and teamsters, bringing ready money to the town and starting more than one family on the road to subsequent prosperity. Millions of feet floated along the river, the amount being as incalculable as the numbering of the leaves, but the supply was maintained for several generations, and even now one seldom fails to see booms of logs somewhere along the Contoocook.

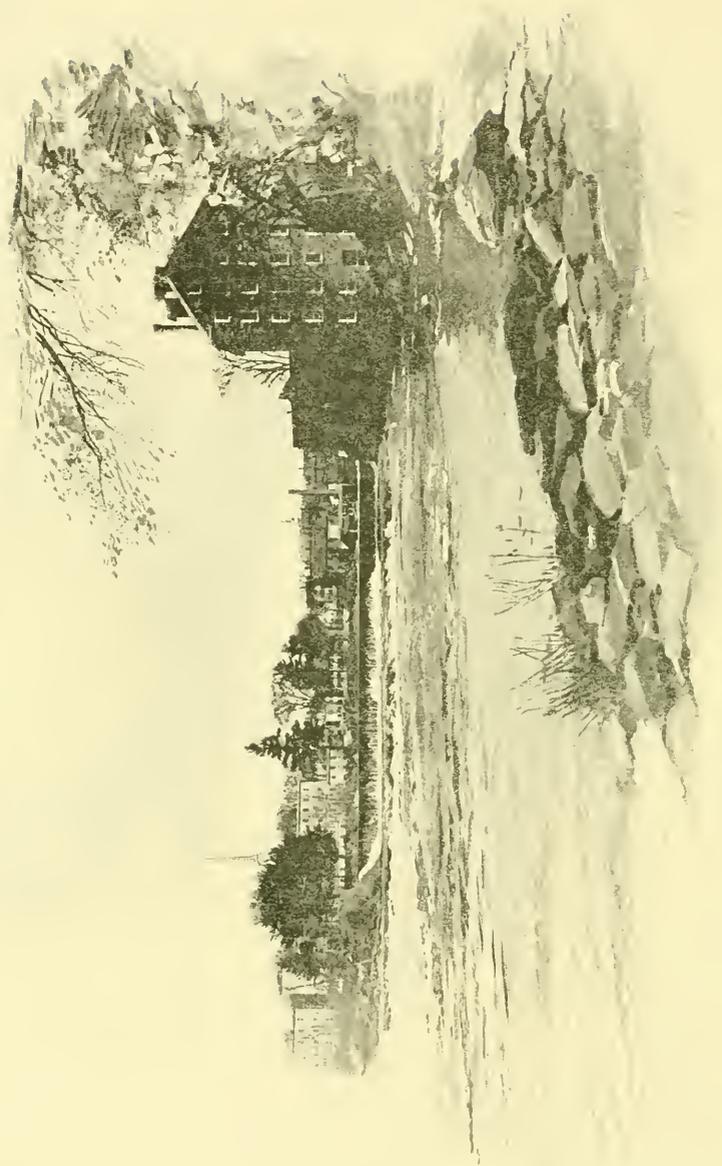
Some two decades after this sawmill was started in the Borough a grist-mill with two run of stones was built on the Contoocook near the site of the Harris woolen factory, and tradition has it that the builders were Isaac and Jeremiah Chandler. Near the grist-mill was a sawmill which was in use for many years and passed through several ownerships. To-day the site is covered by one of the most busy industries of Concord, namely, the flouring establishment of Stratton & Company. This business was started by John H. Pearson & Company, who erected a mill in 1858, which was run by that firm, and by the firm of Barron, Dodge & Company, until December, 1871, when the plant passed to the firm of Whiteher, Stratton & Company, and finally to the present proprietors,—Stratton & Company (George L. Stratton, William K. McFarland, and John W. Johnston). The flour mill and the corn mill are equipped with the most improved machin-

ery, the former having adopted in 1885 the Hungarian roller process with a daily capacity of three hundred barrels of flour; both employ thirty-five operatives, in day and night gangs. The corn mill was rebuilt in 1885, and its enlarged plant can grind five thousand bushels of corn every day. Both mills are in constant operation, and have been since the beginning, for the flour made by Stratton & Company is of the highest grade, and finds ready markets in the states of New England.

A blacksmith shop was opened in 1825 by Warren Johnson, and it was here that the first axles and edge tools were said to have been made. About this time H. W. Gage started a carding and cloth dressing mill to which farmers brought their wool and took away the finished rolls.

Another sawmill was built in 1825 by Nathaniel Rolfe, not far from the Merrimack, of which traces may be seen to-day. In this vicinity the Rolfe name and industry still continues, for in the busy sash, door, and blind factory of C. M. & A. W. Rolfe, Penacook has one of its largest pay-rolls. Forty to sixty men are employed by the firm in shaping into merchandise more than a million feet of lumber annually. Among the men that formerly owned mills turning out sash, doors, and blinds were William Blanchard and H. N. Harvey. The manufacture of kits for mackerel, once a West Concord enterprise, was removed here in the eighties. In 1847 Almon Harris started the woolen mills now carried on by his descendants. Another man of business was Benjamin Kimball, who built the dam at the second fall and put up a grist-mill about 1830. This property soon passed into the control of Calvin Gage and others, who sold to the Fishers of Boston (Freeman and Francis). The Fishers erected the Contocook mill, a granite building since used for various kinds of manufacture and now in active operation. Winn & Messenger made what was styled negro cloth in this mill. Then followed, in the early forties, an impetus in cotton manufacturing and the granite mill was leased to H. H. & J. S. Brown of Attleboro. The coming of these practical men was an epoch in the history of the place. A canal was dug and the Penacook mill erected. Both mills were conducted by the Browns, print cloths being the chief output. During the height of activity both mills had nearly five hundred operatives.

Another industry in Penacook has been furniture making. Probably the pioneer was a Mr. Robinson, whose mill was situated at the lower fall, but Benjamin F. Caldwell soon became the leader in the new business. In 1848 the business called for enlargement, consequently Mr. Caldwell secured control of a power at the upper fall and built his first factory. He soon took as partners Henry H.



View of Penacook, showing Dam and Stone Mill.

Amsden and Samuel Merriman, and the business became highly prosperous. In later years this industry grew to be the leading one in the village, and of its kind the largest in the state. After Mr. Caldwell and Mr. Merriman retired, the concern passed to the Amsdens, father and son,—the latter Charles H. Amsden. At one time the number of hands employed in the Amsden factory was two hundred, and the pay-roll averaged several thousand dollars weekly.

The J. E. Symonds Company (J. E. Symonds, George W. Abbott, Arthur C. Stewart), occupying extensive buildings on the island, do a large business in manufacturing tables, book-cases, and interior furnishings, employing fifty mechanics. Mr. Symonds and Mr. Abbott began business many years ago on the site owned by Jacob B. Rand, and used by him in the fifties for a piano factory. Moving thence in 1888 because of fire, they established their works on the island.

Not far from the iron bridge there used to be several industries that contributed to the growth of Penacook; among them was a small foundry, operated by Gerrish & Ames, also a peg factory owned by George Brett.

For more than half a century axle making has been carried on in Ward 1. The first person to engage in that business was Warren Johnson, who constructed a trip-hammer and set up the first engine lathe for finishing axles in the brick building on Water street near the flour mill, and used later as a stone-polishing shop. For several years little more than the local trade was supplied, and the business was carried on by several proprietors until 1864, when it came into the possession of D. Arthur Brown & Company. About 1855 L. & A. H. Drown started a similar business, which was afterwards conducted by A. B. Winn & Company, the Messrs. Drown giving up business and entering the army, one as captain, the other as quartermaster. The former, Leonard Drown, was the first New Hampshire officer killed in the Civil War. Since 1865 D. Arthur Brown has been the continuous manager of the business, the other members of the firm being H. H., J. S., and H. F. Brown. When this firm began operations the force consisted of three men, whose place of labor was a small shop. Constant growth has attended the business, so that there are now employed seventy-five workmen, with a product of seven hundred tons of axles, four hundred and fifty tons of iron castings, besides machinery of various kinds every year. To produce all this requires thousands of tons of bar and pig iron and steel, and a thousand tons of coal, besides water-wheels of large horse power. The works now occupy four extensive buildings with necessary store-houses. Since the beginning of this industry a careful estimate shows that more than a million dollars have been paid in wages. The com-

pany became a corporation in 1880, and is known as the Concord Axle Company.

During the last decade of the century just passed Penacook experienced its share of suffering, owing to a general depression to which were added local troubles, but at the present time its prospects are bright with new enterprises and renewed energy. The electric mill, so called, built by Charles H. Amsden in 1890, afterwards became the property of the Whitney Electrical Instrument Company. This corporation, under the management of Dr. A. H. Hoyt, is engaged in the manufacture of electrical instruments, and gives employment to a good number of skilled workmen. No factory in Concord has so many interesting features connected with it as this one has, for among its output are the most delicate electrical machines, x-ray machines, and automobiles. Not far distant from this interesting factory was erected, in 1890, a large woolen mill for the Concord Manufacturing Company (Holden & Sons). This mill, built on the most approved plans, contains six sets of machinery and employs upwards of two hundred operatives, whose influence is deeply felt in the community.

It was near the middle of the eighteenth century, or to be exact, in 1746, that Benning Wentworth, last but one of our royal governors, received a memorial from the hands of certain freeholders of Rumford which affords an interesting sketch of the first industry situated in the West Parish. The object of the memorial was to call the attention of the gouty and headstrong governor to the perilous situation of affairs and to ask for protection.

“The Petition of the Subscribers, Inhabitants of Rumford, Canterbury and Contocook—

“Humbly sheweth, that we, especially at the two last mentioned places, are greatly distressed for want of suitable Grist mills; that Mr. Henry Lovejoy has, at great expense, erected a good mill at a place the most advantageously situated to accommodate the three towns; that it is the only mill in all the three towns that stands under the command of the guns of the garrison;—that the ill consequences of abandoning the said garrison the year past has been severely felt by us; That the said Lovejoy appears desirous of residing there again, provided he might be favored with such a number of soldiers as just to keep his garrison with a tolerable degree of safety; and that as an additional encouragement to us to appear as petitioners on his behalf, and to your Excellency and Honours to grant our said petition, he will become engaged, with all convenient speed, to erect a forge for the making of Barr Iron which may also stand under the guns of the said garrison; which undertaking would prob-

ably be vastly advantageous to all the towns and plantations up this way as well as to the general interest of the Province."

This paper received seventy signatures, but nothing directly responsive appears to have been done. However, we know that West Concord had one of the first mills for grinding grain, and that an attempt was made to make iron. Some years after, Mr. Lovejoy did build a dam and erect a forge, obtaining the ore from a locality near the Soucook river, and in more recent times traces of the iron industry have been found along the site of the old mills.

Like all the subsequent water-wheels of this neighborhood, Lovejoy's mills were situated on Rattlesnake brook, which issuing from Lake Penacook swirls easterly through the woods, plunging over the hill and disappearing beneath the highway at Holden's mills, then emerging beyond the ancient foundations of the Renton mill, flows on to the Merrimack. Rattlesnake brook is to West Concord what Turkey river once was to Concord, and what the Contocook now is to Penacook.

About 1832, George Brodie, a Scotch millwright, persuaded Dr. Peter Renton and John Jarvis of the practicability of erecting a flouring mill at the falls near the highway in West Parish. The reason for choosing this site was because there was a steep and abrupt decline at this point which in reference to the brook furnished just the place for the wheel pit. This great cavern in the earth may be seen to-day, its huge foundation stones and massive side walls suggesting some old castle in Mr. Brodie's native Scotland. The mill was built and milling began, but the enterprise was not a success. In those days the flour was all shipped by the Middlesex canal, being drawn to the landing in large and cumbersome four-horse teams. The wheel pit was thirty feet deep, the wheel was of the overshot kind and turned four runs of stones. This Renton mill is still standing, a sturdy challenge to time and innovation. It is on the east side of the street, opposite the Holden residence, and is now used as a storehouse.

Where the new mill stands almost facing it there was once a small collection of industries now all but forgotten, yet in their day of some importance. A man named Dunklee carried on a silk factory there, making skein silk and dyeing it in hues most gorgeous. There were but few hands employed, yet so well managed was the business and so profitable the occupation that the owner left a large estate as measured by the rule prevailing in those days.

Near by was a pipe shop owned by Clough & Eastman, where lead pipe was made. The process of making was simple, for it was in the days before reels were used, so the pipe was cast in lengths of several

feet, very much as ordinary iron pipe. The business, however, was limited, few workmen were employed, as much of the labor was performed by the proprietors, and yet most of the water pipe used in town came from this shop. Farnum & Houston had a blacksmith shop, and during staging days did a brisk business, for the stage-coaches stopped at the tavern near by as did the traveling public. This shop was in front of the north end of Holden's new mill.

For years there was another industry somewhat peculiar to West Concord,—the making of mackerel kits. Moses Humphrey started this business in the forties, and carried it on successfully for many years, or until the water power passed into the hands of the city. This mill, said to be one of the oldest of its kind in New England, was situated at the foot of the hill east of the old Renton flour mill, and gave constant employment to many workmen. The output was some seventy-five thousand kits a year, and the amount of pine necessary to make this number brought many dollars into the pockets of the lumbermen.

To the north of Renton's factory, Squire Dow had a large tan-yard, his vats encroaching nearly to the sidewalk. A generation ago this neighborhood used to present a picturesque aspect, when one side of the street was embellished with Holden Brothers' soft and gleaming blankets hung out to weather, while on the other side Squire Dow's hides, with their healthful offensiveness, sagged heavily on the drying frames.

About 1842 Benjamin F. Holden secured the control of the flouring mill, and after making necessary changes, started the manufacture of woolen goods. In 1847 his brother Daniel joined in the business, which grew into large proportions under the joint management. In 1863 the mill on the west side of the street was erected, additions following as needed, so that along in 1893 the Renton mill was discontinued.

In 1874, at the death of Benjamin F. Holden, the partnership ended, and a corporation styled the Concord Manufacturing Company was organized to continue the business. When the city constructed the water-works an arrangement had to be made with the company, the account of which is another part of this history.

Within a twelvemonth after the settlers in the ancient part of Concord, now known as Ward 2, began putting up their first rude dwellings, they also set about erecting mills for grinding corn and sawing boards, for on the 15th of May, 1727, Captain Ebenezer Eastman, Henry Rolfe, and James Mitchell were made a committee to see to this important subject. Turtle brook seemed to them to afford a good and convenient privilege, so they arranged with Nathan

Symonds, a year or two later, to build a grist-mill on the site since used by Cyrus Robinson as a bark mill, and also to build a sawmill further up the brook where in after days stood the blacksmith and machine shop of Isaac Eastman. Later still this site was occupied by Samuel Eastman as a plaster mill, and in more recent times by Joseph T. Clough. These mills were put in operation, and having been accepted by the committee, Mr. Symonds received in payment therefor one hundred acres of land. The building owned and occupied by John Chandler as an inn during the last quarter of the eighteenth century was afterwards converted into a grist-mill. It was situated on the west bank of Turtle brook, opposite the bark mill. Some time in the forties it was again sold to Jeremiah Smith, the village blacksmith, who had his shop west of the curry shop of Cyrus Robinson, near the bridge across the brook, on the road leading to what was once called the "Dark Plains." This property again changed hands about 1853, when it was sold to Cyrus Farrar of Lowell, who came to East Concord and carried on the business of silk and woolen dyer for many years. Later it was bought by Samuel Ordway, changed into a carriage factory, and ultimately destroyed by fire.

Another sawmill was built on Turtle brook, in 1790, by Jacob Eastman, in the locality known as "Leather lane," a name derived from the proximity of a small shoe shop kept by "Parson" Cleasby. Brick making was carried on in this neighborhood for several years by Smith Bean. In 1795 Stephen Ambrose had a tannery on Turtle brook near Willow bridge. In this same year Federal bridge was incorporated, and a few years later opened for travel,—an event which promised well for the inhabitants of the "Old Fort" village.

The business of tanning was peculiarly one of the old industries, in fact, the leading one for many years, for near the Ebenezer Eastman house Edmund Leavitt built a tannery, while opposite, on the west side of the stream, Josiah Fernald, about 1817, set up an establishment for dressing morocco, the first and it would seem the only factory of that kind ever in Concord. In 1824 Cyrus Robinson of Methuen, Massachusetts, and Enos Blake of Chester came to East Concord, and forming a partnership, bought the Leavitt property, and began what was afterwards to be an extensive source of material advantage to both Concord and East Concord. In a short time Mr. Blake sold his interest to his associate, and removing to the city, built a shop on land in the rear of his dwelling-house on North State street, now the corner of Blake street, where he carried on business until some time in the sixties. Mr. Robinson continued in the tannery business, having as partners at different times, E. W. Upham,

Joel S. Morrill, and towards the last his two sons, Charles E. and Cyrus R. Robinson. The factory had been enlarged several times during this period, and its product obtained a large and extensive sale. In 1864 the entire plant was destroyed by fire, compelling a purchase of the steam sawmill property on Penacook street, now known, after many changes, as the Page Belting Company. There the Robinsons carried on their business until another fire overtook them, when the site passed into the hands of the Page brothers.

In 1800 Isaac Eastman opened a machine shop above the Leavitt tannery, which is said to have been the first machine shop in Concord, and it was there that all the early axles were made for Lewis Downing's carriage works. In 1826 John Putney had a workshop, and manufactured sleighs and coffins and also carried on painting. Afterwards it was converted by Mr. Putney into one of the village stores, the other store being the one formerly occupied by Stephen Ambrose. In the old days the post-office was first in one store, then in the other, according to the changes in national administrations. In 1835 the Sewall's Falls Lock and Canal Company began operations, and the future of East Concord looked bright. A dam was planned across the Merrimack where the present dam now is, and a canal dug some two miles in length running through the village with locks at its junction with the river at Federal bridge. The intention was to make a factory town of East Concord, and certainly there were good reasons for such expectation, but it was never to be. First came a disastrous freshet, destroying the works, and then came a more calamitous circumstance in the baneful Eastern Land Speculation which crippled many of the promoters of the company and brought the enterprise to its end.

About 1840 Lewis Gage of Methuen, Massachusetts, started a factory for the making of boots and shoes, but the business was soon abandoned. The factory was in a building subsequently used as a cooper shop, near the present residence of Charles E. Daniels.

Dr. Elijah Colby came to East Concord early in the twenties, and continued in practice until 1838, living in a house at the foot of General Eastman hill, where he had a drug store in connection with his profession. In 1843 Ebenezer Eastman built a saw- and grist-mill on Turtle brook above the machine shop just mentioned, and east of that, some years later, John Teel conducted a flourishing bakery business. Farther up the stream there was, as early as 1833, a saw- and grist-mill, with a carding mill and dye-house, then the property of Eben Carter, now known as Batchelder's. Another industry was started early in the fifties by Reuben and John P. Locke, who manufactured the celebrated Plymouth gloves in the basement of

Eastman's mill and in an adjoining building. In 1872 Cyrus R. Robinson erected his present factory for the making of fire-engine hose, belting, and harnesses.

Brick making was extensively carried on for several years by Joseph T. Clough.

The growth and importance of Concord and the surrounding towns, particularly Hopkinton, called for the establishment of a bank, so the legislature, at the June session, 1806, in response to a numerously signed petition, granted a charter for the first discount bank in the central part of New Hampshire. The name given was the Concord Bank, and the following gentlemen were made grantees: Timothy Walker, Robert Harris, Richard Ayer, John Bradley, William A. Kent, and John Chandler of Concord; Caleb Stark and John Mills of Dunbarton; Baruch Chase and Joseph Towne of Hopkinton; Joseph Clough of Canterbury; Joshua Darling of Henniker; Aquilla Davis of Warner; Ebenezer Peaslee and William Whittle of Salisbury. The capital was fixed at not less than fifty thousand nor more than two hundred thousand dollars in specie, and the charter was to continue for twenty years. The grantees held their first meeting July 17, 1806, at the tavern kept by David George, and chose Timothy Walker as moderator, and William A. Kent as clerk. Mr. Walker was a native of Concord and Mr. Kent had long been a resident, and both were among the leading citizens of the town. They represented the business and social interests, and unfortunately they represented prejudices as well. Mr. Walker stood for the North end, while Mr. Kent stood for the South end; for Main street, at that time, was attracting trade towards its lower end, and thereby depriving the North end of its former business monopoly and importance. The feelings engendered by this condition of local affairs were soon manifest in the meetings of the Concord Bank grantees. The location of the bank's place of business was the cause of much shrewd management and discussion, but when it became clear that Mr. Walker and his friends had the majority of votes, Mr. Kent and his followers, after entering a formal protest against the proposed action, withdrew from further participation in the North end meetings. It is not without interest to know that Daniel Webster appeared as attorney for one of the dissatisfied grantees on the occasion of the protest. Suits at law were soon entered in the court of common pleas, and the case, in its various forms, was continued for several years, or until 1814, when the docket shows that it was dismissed.

The Concord, or the "Upper" Bank, as it was popularly called, was opened for business in February, 1807, with Timothy Walker as president and Samuel Sparhawk as cashier. During the first twenty

years of its existence, or until its second charter, in 1826, the bank was kept in the northwest front room in the house of its cashier, which occupied the site of the present residence of John C. Thorne, on North Main street. Within this period the bank had these officers: Presidents: Timothy Walker, 1806–1815, Baruch Chase, 1815–1818, Charles Walker, 1818–1826; cashiers: Samuel Sparhawk, 1807–1810, Charles Emery, 1810–1812, Joseph Walker, 1812–1814, Samuel Sparhawk, 1814–1826.

Upon the expiration of the first charter, in 1826, the legislature granted another charter for twenty years, and at the same time changed the bank's name to that of the Merrimack County Bank.

The brick building now owned by the New Hampshire Historical Society was erected the same year, and the newly rechartered bank entered upon its career of forty years of prudent and honorable management.

That building in the day of its youth was regarded with admiration and pride, and was pointed out to strangers as a fine specimen of contemporaneous architecture. The interior was once a busy place. The bank did business in the north rooms: the south rooms were occupied by the New Hampshire Savings Bank (1830–1866) and the Merrimack County Insurance Company; while the second story was given over to offices, Franklin Pierce, Charles H. Peaslee, and Asa Fowler being among the tenants. On this floor, at different times, were also public offices, such as the registry of deeds and the selectmen of Concord, and for many years the Reverend Nathaniel Bouton used one of the rooms for his study. On the third floor was found the library of the Historical Society, which continued to occupy the space from 1840 until the remodeling of the building a quarter of a century later. As a yearly rental the society paid to the bank the sum of fifteen dollars. In 1846 the legislature voted a third charter of twenty years, but at the end of that period the directors, not caring to ask for another state charter or to avail themselves of the national banking act, determined to close the business of the old institution, which they did by paying the original capital to the stockholders, together with a final dividend of forty-three and one half per centum.

The history of the Concord (Lower) Bank is not without interest. When William A. Kent and his minority associates entered their protest and withdrew, they carried with them full confidence in their competency to start a bank and carry on business under the same charter as the Upper Bank. Accordingly, in 1808, the Lower Bank opened its doors, with Joseph Towne as president and William A. Kent as cashier. For twenty years these two banks originating from the same source remained at arm's length, striving in various ways to outdo

one another, exciting rivalries in business, and creating discord in social affairs, all to the detriment of the little town of barely two thousand souls. In 1810 the officers of the rival institutions were as follows: The Upper Bank, Timothy Walker, president; Samuel Sparhawk, cashier; John Bradley, Joseph Clough, Benjamin Wiggin, Charles Emery, directors; of the Lower Bank, Thomas W. Thompson, president; William A. Kent, cashier; Joseph Towne, William A. Kent, Benjamin B. Darling, Samuel Green, directors. The Kent bank carried on business in the brick building opposite the Phenix hotel, now partly occupied by W. S. Baker as a tailor shop, until the expiration of its first charter, when its directors went to the legislature and obtained another charter for a period of twenty years. But the end came in 1840, when bankruptcy overtook the interesting old institution, and its doors were finally closed, never to be reopened. During the early years of the bank a brick building of two stories was built, the ground floor being occupied for banking and the upper floor used for various purposes, among others that of the lodge room of Blazing Star Lodge of Freemasons. During the Civil War this ancient building was the city's police station. To-day this building, after many changes and alterations, remains the oldest brick business structure in the city.

It is interesting historically to Concord people to recall the part played by the Concord (Upper) Bank in one of the greatest political contests of the century, President Jackson's fight with the United States Bank. It was in 1829, when party feeling was at its height, that Levi Woodbury—United States senator from New Hampshire and a leader of the Jackson forces—attempted to have Jeremiah Mason removed from the presidency of the Portsmouth branch of the United States Bank, and at the same time Isaac Hill, president of the Upper Bank, attempted to have the United States Pension Agency connected with the Portsmouth branch removed to the bank in which he was interested. President Jackson at once gave orders to have these New Hampshire requests complied with, but Nicholas Biddle, the president of the United States Bank at Philadelphia, denounced the scheme as a political job and refused to obey the executive. Whereupon the storm broke forth, and added a famous chapter to our national annals. In this way the Concord Bank became an interesting incident in our political history.

As a sturdy specimen of the old-fashioned bank safe or vault, that of the Concord (Upper) Bank possesses considerable interest. It stood upon a solid foundation of stone. Its walls were of hewn granite with ceiling and floor of the same material set in long slabs extending from side to side. The exterior surface was covered with

brick masonry work as a protection against fire rather than violence. The walls had a uniform thickness of two feet. The interior was seven feet square, and divided into two parts, one for the president and the other for the cashier. The cashier took the section which contained the bank's specie and other articles of value, as was indicated by the ponderous wrought iron doors with two mammoth locks and keys of ingenious design. When experience had proved the skill of the burglar, who with a piece of bent wire could open these doors, the bank officials introduced steel bars as additional security against outer assaults. These bars were made to play across the door by some arrangement worked by those in the secret but the burglar soon showed the inefficiency of this contrivance, and compelled the use of iron boxes which, serving as a second safe, suggested the successive improvements which have continued to the present time.

The New Hampshire Savings Bank was organized in July, 1830, with Samuel Green as president; Samuel Morril, treasurer; Timothy Chandler, William Low, Nathan Ballard, Jr., Jonathan Eastman, Jr., David George, Nathaniel G. Upham, Samuel A. Kimball, Richard Bradley, Richard Bartlett, Stephen Brown, William Kent, William Gault, David Allison, Francis N. Fiske, Joseph Low, David L. Morril, and Isaac F. Williams as trustees.

This bank popularly spoken of as the "Old New Hampshire" has long been one of the richest and most prudently managed institutions in the state, and its high repute is still main-

tained. For more than thirty years the business of this bank was done in the south room of the present Historical Society building, but circumstances demanding a change of location, the bank was moved in 1868 to the rooms over E. H. Rollins's drug store, formerly occupied by the Mechanics Bank and the First National Bank. There it remained until the building, passing into the possession of the bank, was torn down and the present bank building erected. The new banking rooms were opened May 9, 1887. The bank has had seven presidents,—Samuel Green, Joseph Low, Francis N. Fiske, Samuel Coffin, Joseph B. Walker, Samuel S. Kimball, Samuel C. Eastman,—and four treasurers,—Samuel Morril, James Moulton, Jr., Charles W. Sargent, William P. Fiske.

The exact charter name of this institution was "The New Hampshire Savings Bank in Concord" and so continued many years. In



The New Hampshire Savings Bank.

1900 this bank had ten thousand two hundred and fifty depositors, and deposits of four million six hundred and fifty-one thousand, three hundred and thirty-two dollars and ninety-eight cents. Dividend No. 1 of seventeen dollars and ninety-two cents was paid in January, 1831, while dividend No. 113, paid in January, 1901, amounted to one hundred and fifty-four thousand, seventy-nine dollars and sixty-one cents.

The fourth bank in Concord was the Mechanics, incorporated in June, 1834, and organized at a meeting of the grantees held at the Eagle Coffee House, Tuesday, August 12th, of that year, when these officers were chosen: Nathaniel G. Upham, president; George Minot, cashier; Nathaniel G. Upham, Peter Renton, Horatio Hill, Joseph M. Harper, Nathaniel Curtis, Abner B. Kelly, and Arlond Carroll, directors. The capital was fixed at one hundred thousand dollars, with right to increase it to two hundred thousand dollars. The bank's first place of business was in a wooden block on Park street, subsequently bought by Dr. Abraham H. Robinson and William H. Rixford and made into a dwelling-house. This house is now standing (1900) and occupies the site across the passageway west of White's Opera House. At the time of the great fire in August, 1851, the Mechanics Bank had been but recently moved to the newly built Merchants' Exchange, which was utterly destroyed. Business, however, was soon resumed at the former quarters on Park street, continuing there for a year or two, when rooms were leased in the new block north of the Eagle, where the bank remained until its removal to State block in the early sixties.

In 1865 the Mechanics Bank wound up its affairs and went out of existence. The following year Josiah Minot and Charles Minot, the last president and the last cashier of the bank, went into the banking business under the name of Minot & Company, continuing in it until 1880, when the partnership ceased. Minot & Company had their banking rooms in State block, in Durgin's block, and finally moving to the brick building which they had built on the north side of School street, remained there to the end.

The business of Minot & Company passed substantially to a new national bank organized January 3, 1880, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, called the Mechanics National Bank. The original officers were Josiah Minot, president; Benjamin A. Kimball, vice-president; James Minot, cashier; Josiah Minot, Benjamin A. Kimball, Joseph B. Walker, Edward H. Rollins, Charles H. Amsden, John M. Hill, Sargent C. Whiteher, directors. This bank kept the former place of business of Minot & Company until May, 1889, when the institution was moved to the present quarters in the Board

of Trade building. The officers of the institution (1900) are Benjamin A. Kimball, president; Henry W. Stevens, vice-president; Harry H. Dudley, cashier,—with the first two named and John Kimball, John F. Webster, Ferdinand A. Stillings, James Minot, and Dr. George M. Kimball, directors.

The fifth bank organized in Concord was the State Capital, which received its charter from the legislature in 1852, and opened banking rooms in Rumford block, up stairs, January 26, 1853. The capital stock was at first one hundred thousand dollars, then one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and finally two hundred thousand dollars. Samuel Butterfield was president; Edson Hill, cashier; Samuel Butterfield, Enos Blake, Abraham Bean, Hall Roberts, Asa Fowler, Robert N. Corn-

ing, and Ebenezer Symmes, directors.

In January, 1865, this bank was reorganized under the national banking act as the National State Capital Bank with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, which was soon increased to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and in 1872 to two hundred thousand dollars. The business place was moved to the newly built State block about 1864, occupying rooms directly over the corner store. The president at this time was John V. Barron, and the cashier Preston S. Smith. In 1871 the bank bought the wooden building at the corner of Main and Warren streets, formerly the site of Gale's tavern, and finished commodious rooms on the ground floor. In the spring of 1879 (April 18) this building was destroyed by fire, compelling the bank to take temporary quarters in Central block, a few doors south of Warren street. In the meanwhile the present bank building was built and occupied in September, 1880. In 1900 Lewis Downing, Jr., was president, having at that time served twenty-two years in that office, Josiah E. Fernald was cashier, and James S. Norris, Lyman D. Stevens, Lewis Downing, Jr., John M. Mitchell, John F. Jones, William M. Mason, and Benjamin C. White, directors.

The State Capital, in almost half a century of life, has had but four presidents, namely: Samuel Butterfield, 1853-1860; Hall Roberts, 1860-1862; John V. Barron, 1862-1878; Lewis Downing, Jr.,



Mechanicks' National Bank and Merrimack County Savings Bank.



The National State Capital Bank and Loan and Trust Savings Bank.



Old Bank Building.

1878 to his decease in 1901. Preston S. Smith was cashier until 1872, and was succeeded by Henry J. Crippen, who held the office for ten years when Josiah E. Fernald, who had been for many years a clerk in the institution, was chosen.

Political influences had had considerable to do with the state banking system, and the dominant party did not look favorably on projects calculated to divide the profits already in the hands of the established institutions. Some prominent Whigs, believing that a bank under their management would answer a public demand, succeeded in procuring from the legislature of 1856 a charter for a new State bank in Concord.

The name given was the Union Bank, and the first organization was as follows: George B. Chandler, president; Augustine C. Pierce, cashier; with the president, George Hutchins, Nathaniel White, Woodbridge Odlin, Peter Sanborn, John E. Tyler, N. H. Sanborn, as directors. The bank remained in Phenix block for several years, and was then moved to Central block, corner of Main and Warren streets, where it had rooms over the drug store of Henry B. Foster. Here the bank continued business until the exigencies of the national banking act caused its directors to wind up its affairs about the year 1868.

The First National Bank was organized in March, 1864, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, increased to one hundred and fifty thousand the following year. The bank's number on the government list is 318. The first president was Asa Fowler and the first cashier Woodbridge Odlin, who served a short time when he was succeeded by William W. Storrs. The directors were Asa Fowler, Enos Blake, Edward H. Rollins, William Walker, Bemming W. Sanborn, George A. Pillsbury, and Moses Humphrey. The bank was opened for business in the brick block next north of the Eagle hotel (up stairs), the rooms being those afterwards occupied for so many years by the New Hampshire Savings Bank. In 1868 the bank was moved to the brick building opposite the Phenix built by the famous Concord (Lower) Bank in the early years



The First National Bank and Union Guaranty Savings Bank.

of the century. There it remained and prospered until increasing business made another move necessary, so in 1892 large and beautifully arranged banking rooms were established in what had been the *Statesman* building, at the corner of North Main and Depot streets. This corner, one of the historic sites of Concord, was in early days occupied by the garrison house of James Osgood, and subsequently by the famous Wiggin tavern.

The presidents of the First National have been Asa Fowler, 1864–1866; George A. Pillsbury, 1866–1878; Augustine C. Pierce, 1878–1883; William M. Chase, 1883–1885; William F. Thayer, 1885–. The cashiers have been Woodbridge Odlin, William W. Storrs, William F. Thayer, Charles G. Remick. The board of directors, 1900, comprised: William M. Chase, William F. Thayer, Solon A. Carter, William P. Fiske, Henry McFarland, Edward B. Woodworth, George W. Abbott, Frank S. Streeter.

Union Guaranty Savings Bank, chartered by the legislature in 1887, with a capital of fifty thousand dollars, has always occupied rooms in common with the First National. On the original board of trustees were: Thomas Stuart, Edgar H. Woodman, William P. Fiske, Solon A. Carter, Alvah W. Sulloway, Charles C. Danforth, Edson J. Hill, Timothy P. Sullivan, William M. Chase, William F. Thayer, Charles H. Roberts, Henry A. Emerson, Edmund E. Truesdell, John E. Robertson, John Whittaker, George P. Little, James H. Rowell.

A state bank, called the Concord Savings Bank, was opened for deposits in June, 1857, with Ira A. Eastman as president, and Charles Minot as secretary and treasurer. The banking rooms were the same as those of the Meehanicks Bank. The bank, however, did not long continue in operation; the amount of its deposits was very small, only twenty thousand dollars, and its business was too limited for profits, accordingly its affairs were gradually closed, and in ten years from its inception the bank ceased to exist.

About 1867 another savings bank, called the National Savings Bank, was started with rooms in connection with those of the First National in the old brick building opposite the Phenix hotel. George A. Pillsbury was president, and William W. Storrs, treasurer. This bank soon had a most gratifying deposit, and was ranked with the largest institutions of the kind in New Hampshire. But in 1874 misfortunes overwhelmed the institution, causing a complete reorganization, accompanied by suits at law and other entanglements. Finally the name was changed to Concord Savings Bank, the place of business moved, and a new management installed. Benjamin A. Kimball was elected president, and George Jones, treasurer.

The Merrimack County Savings Bank was the next bank to be incorporated. The first board of officials comprised: Lyman D. Stevens, president; David A. Warde, vice-president; John Kimball, treasurer; John M. Hill, Abel B. Holt, Woodbridge Odlin, George A. Cummings, Calvin Howe, Moses T. Willard, Ephraim W. Woodward, William M. Chase, Henry McFarland, George W. Crockett, Daniel Holden, Isaac A. Hill, and Benjamin A. Kimball, trustees. The president and the treasurer have continued in their respective offices from the beginning to the present time (1900).

The first deposit in the institution was made by Isaac A. Hill, on June 1, 1870. This bank began business on the second floor of Minot & Company's building on School street, remaining there until the Mechanics Bank moved to the Board of Trade building, when the savings bank followed and occupied the rooms in common. The teller of the Merrimack County Bank, Frank P. Andrews, began his services as clerk in September, 1872, and has remained to the present time.

In 1872 the legislature chartered the Loan and Trust Savings Bank, whose organization was effected by the choice of these officers: Jonathan Everett Sargent, president; John V. Barron, treasurer; James S. Norris, Lewis Downing, Jr., John F. Jones, Silas Curtis, Howard A. Dodge, John H. Barron, George A. Fernald, Leander W. Cogswell, William K. McFarland, and Paul R. Holden, trustees. In 1878 George A. Fernald was elected treasurer, in place of Mr. Barron, deceased, and continued in this position until his removal from Concord. This bank carried on its business for many years in connection with the State Capital Bank, occupying the same room, but in 1897 the bank moved to its present location north of the National Bank, in order to meet its increasing business. The officers are John F. Jones, president; Fred N. Ladd, treasurer.

The Penacook Savings Bank was incorporated in 1869, and on its first board of trustees were Nehemiah Butler, Henry H. Amsden, Henry H. Brown, Isaac K. Gage, John C. Gage, John A. Holmes, John Sawyer, John S. Moore, Ezra S. Harris, W. H. Allen, Enoch G. Wood, John C. Linehan, David Abbott, Moses U. Bean, John S. Brown. Henry H. Brown was president, and Samuel F. Brown, treasurer. The banking rooms were in the wooden block near the canal on the east side of Main street, and afterwards in Exchange block. In 1878 misfortunes overtook this institution, and measures were taken to close the business, which was finally done in 1884. The assignees appointed by the court to wind up the institution were Samuel F. Brown and Edgar H. Woodman.

Concord's first insurance company seems to have been the company

incorporated at the December session of the legislature in 1824, and called "The New England Fire Insurance Company at Concord." The president was William A. Kent; secretary, Albe Cady; treasurer, George Kent; directors, William A. Kent, Timothy Chandler, Stephen Ambrose, Richard Bradley, Robert Davis, John Greenough, Parker Noyes, Philip Brown, and James Thorn.

Another company was chartered in June, 1825, known as "New Hampshire Mutual Fire Insurance Company at Concord," having for officers, William A. Kent, president; Albe Cady, secretary and treasurer; William A. Kent, Stephen Ambrose, Robert Davis, Samuel Fletcher, Jacob B. Moore, and Timothy Chandler of Concord, Asa Freeman of Dover, John Rogers of Exeter, and Thomas D. Merrill of Epsom, directors.

These companies had their place of business in the Concord "Lower" Bank building, of which institution William A. Kent was cashier. At the same session of the legislature a charter was granted to a third company called the Merrimack County Fire Insurance Company, the officials being Isaac Hill, president; Samuel Morrill, secretary; and Samuel Coffin, treasurer, with these three gentlemen and Francis N. Fiske, Jacob B. Moore, Horatio Hill, William Restieaux, John George, and James Wilson, the last of Pembroke, as directors. This company transacted business in an office in the Merrimack County Bank building, now the Historical Society.

These companies continued in operation many years, doing a substantial amount of underwriting, though they by no means had the field to themselves, for foreign and American companies were sharp competitors.

In 1844 the New England Fire Insurance Company was incorporated, and began business with Joseph Low, president; John Whipple, treasurer; and William C. Prescott, secretary.

Two years later the Equitable Mutual Fire Insurance Company was incorporated by the legislature. Of this company John Lancaster was president; Cyrus Hill, treasurer; and Mitchell Gilmore, Jr., secretary.

The year 1847 saw another insurance company chartered, of which Josiah Stevens was president; Calvin Ainsworth, treasurer; and Arthur Fletcher, secretary. This was named Columbian Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

And in 1848 still another company with an entirely different object was incorporated, called New Hampshire Mutual Health Insurance Company, whose affairs were managed by Matthew Harvey, president; William P. Foster, treasurer; and A. C. Blodgett, secretary.

The same year the Union Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized, its officers being Jacob A. Potter, president; Asa Fowler, treasurer; and Jonathan E. Lang, secretary.

The next insurance company, the People's Mutual Fire Insurance Company, was chartered in 1851. Cyrus Barton was president; Joseph Robinson, treasurer; and Eleazer Jackson, secretary.

In 1855 the following companies were doing fire insurance business in Concord: "New Hampshire Mutual Fire," "Merrimack Mutual," "New England Mutual," "Equitable Mutual," "Union Mutual," and "People's Mutual," but ten years later every company except the "Equitable Mutual," whose officers were Caleb Parker, president; Robert C. Osgood, treasurer; and Mitchell Gilmore, secretary, had gone out of business.

For many years insurance in New Hampshire was almost wholly effected by foreign companies, local underwriting being confined to the operations of town mutual associations, but in 1885 came a condition in insurance methods which proved to be as thorough as it was unprecedented. The legislature of that year passed a law popularly termed the "valued policy clause" law, which met with bitter opposition from the great insurance companies doing business in the state. No sooner had this law taken effect than these companies, with scarcely an exception, declined to assume another risk, and withdrew from the state in a body. Fifty-eight companies ceased to do business, leaving the people to protect their own interests as best they could. Few crises were ever met with deeper resolution or overcome with greater success. New Hampshire was now compelled to do its own insuring, and in this juncture of affairs the course that Concord took is not without interest.

Within three years, nine well established companies had been organized in Concord, and many of them were largely the creations of Concord money.

The names of these companies were as follows: Aetna Mutual,—Frank A. McKean, president; Obadiah Morrill, secretary. American Manufacturers' Mutual,—Almon D. Tolles, president; Obadiah Morrill, secretary. Concord Mutual,—Samuel C. Eastman, president; Rufus P. Staniels, secretary. Home Manufacturers' and Traders' Mutual,—Frank A. McKean, president; Obadiah Morrill, secretary. Manufacturers' and Merchants' Mutual.—Edward G. Leach, president; Lyman Jackman, secretary. Phenix Mutual,—Luther S. Morrill, president; Lyman Jackman, secretary. State Mutual,—Frank A. McKean, president; Obadiah Morrill, secretary. Capital Fire Insurance Company, Ai B. Thompson, president; Lyman Jackman, secretary. This was a stock company with a capital of fifty

thousand dollars, since increased to two hundred thousand dollars. Fire Underwriters' Association,—Lyman Jackman, president; Thomas M. Lang, secretary. Capital, ten thousand dollars.

In 1900 these companies were all doing business, some with the original capital, some with a larger capitalization, while one new company was added called Home Dwelling House Association, with Solon A. Carter, president; and Obadiah Morrill, secretary.

The narration of industries and trades, together with their results, must pause at the opening of the new century. Fifty years hence it may prove of exceeding interest to glance at the Concord of to-day as portrayed in official census and reports.

In 1900 the population of the city was 19,632. The assessed valuation reached \$11,393,694. The number of polls was given as 5,378. Taxes were assessed amounting to \$241,588, on which the rate was \$21.50 per \$1,000. The value of city property, including water-works, parks, library, buildings, fire apparatus, horses, police station, office furniture, and land, was \$1,079,646. The industries had invested capital amounting to \$4,917,112, with products valued at \$6,515,620. Employed throughout the city were 3,305 males and 510 females, earning in wages \$1,820,847. Conspicuous in the records of the old town were the appropriations for schools and highways, and conspicuous both have continued to be throughout succeeding years. In 1900 \$65,000 were expended for Concord schools and \$40,000 for our streets and highways.

Thus has been recounted throughout this chapter the material development of Concord. Almost year by year the growth and consequent prosperity of the town and its successor, the city, may be followed. From that remote period when the threatened settlers petitioned Governor Wentworth for soldiers to protect them and their rude habitations against the perils of savage warfare, down through the years to the beginning of the twentieth century, Concord has done her part. Small and unimportant as our city is when compared to municipalities containing their millions, yet the history of our beginning and our gradual growth in material, social, and educational matters forms no insignificant part of the history of New England. To the historian of the future, annals telling of Concord's life will be of inestimable value. Whoever would read aright and understand how it came to pass that this hardy corner of the United States has exerted so powerful an influence over the economics and politics of the republic, must repair to the sources of some typical and sturdy community and there learn the secret. And what community has been more typical or more sturdy than Concord?

CHAPTER XVIII.

WEATHER RECORD FROM 1856 TO 1900, INCLUSIVE.

WILLIAM W. FLINT.

The late William L. Foster, from the year 1856 to the end of a busy and eminent professional career, kept a continuous record of the weather. Upon the organization of the Government Weather Bureau he became one of the first voluntary observers, beginning in 1884 and continuing until his death, August 13, 1897, when he was succeeded by the writer in that capacity. Observations were made by Judge Foster at his residence in the city proper. For several summers previous to 1897, and continuously since June 22, 1897, they have been made in the western part of the city, at an elevation seventy-one feet higher than the former station, and at a distance of three miles therefrom.

Previous to 1868 self-registering maximum and minimum thermometers, though an invention of longer standing, were not used in connection with this record. Until that year, therefore, the daily maximum temperature could not be recorded, nor the daily mean temperature, which is half the sum of the maximum and the minimum; and it should be added that the minimum temperatures recorded were only approximate, being those obtained by observation in the early morning. Since August, 1868, the maximum, the minimum, and the mean temperatures have been recorded daily.

The monthly mean temperatures contained in the following tables are not, as will be seen, the half sum of the maximum and minimum of the month; but they are, in each case, the average of all the daily mean temperatures of the month. The mean temperature of the year is also the average of all the daily mean temperatures of the year.

The record of precipitation covers the entire period since 1856. These amounts are ascertained by means of the standard weather gauge, a cylindrical pail of about eight inches in diameter, whose contents, if water, are poured into a vessel of a diameter enough smaller to multiply the depth of the liquid by ten, rendering it easy to obtain a measurement accurate even to hundredths of an inch.

Up to November, 1884, snow had not been melted for the purpose of this record; but it was estimated that an inch of snow would, upon the average, contain nine one-hundredths of an inch of water. Since that date all snow and ice have been carefully melted and measured.

The following facts and figures have been gathered from the original records above described:

TEMPERATURE—Degrees.					PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1856	April.				2.00			2.00
	May.				5.14			5.14
	June.				2.59			2.59
	July.				2.35			2.35
	August.				13.32			13.32
	September.				3.60			3.60
	October.		26		2.05			2.05
	November.		10		.44	7	.58	1.92
	December.		-19			11	.92	.92
	Year.							
1857	January.		-37			33	2.97	2.97
	February.		-14			6	.54	.54
	March.		4		.87	7	.63	1.50
	April.		14		5.32	4	.36	5.68
	May.		37		5.97			5.97
	June.		52		3.20			3.20
	July.	92	46		4.81			4.81
	August.		52		3.00			3.00
	September.		30		2.40			2.40
	October.		24		5.12			5.12
	November.		14		2.20	1	.09	2.29
	December.		8		1.17	12	1.08	2.25
Year.	1857		-37		34.06	63	5.67	39.73
1858	January.		-5		3.21	8	.62	3.83
	February.		-18			16	1.44	1.44
	March.		-5		.46	10	.90	1.36
	April.		26		1.62	4	.30	1.92
	May.		39		3.32			3.32
	June.		50		3.96			3.96
	July.	94	56		4.57			4.57
	August.		42		4.22			4.22
	September.	90	32		5.97			5.97
	October.		22		3.79			3.79
	November.		13		1.19	6	.54	1.73
	December.		-5		.14	13	1.17	1.31
Year.	1858		-18		32.45	57	4.97	37.42
1859	January.		-35			36	3.24	3.24
	February.		-9			13	1.17	1.17
	March.		2			10	.90	.90
	April.		26		.68	5	.45	1.13
	May.		38					
	June.		41		6.74			6.74
	July.		53		3.36			3.36
	August.		44		4.39			4.39
	September.		37		5.56			5.56
	October.		19		2.78			2.78
	November.		18		2.90			2.90
	December.		-19		.10	32	2.88	2.98
Year.	1859		-35		26.51	96	8.64	35.15

TEMPERATURE—Degrees.				PRECIPITATION—Inches.				
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1860	January.		—8			35	3.10	3.10
	February.		—8		.53	16	1.44	1.97
	March.		21		.46	6	.72	1.18
	April.		20		1.50			1.50
	May.		32		2.20			2.20
	June.		54		3.23			3.23
	July.		47		3.10			3.10
	August.		51		4.71			4.71
	September.		30		3.78			3.78
	October.		26		3.13			3.13
	November.		15		5.05			5.05
	December.		—5		.30	32	2.88	3.18
Year.	1860		—8		27.99	89	8.14	36.13
1861	January.		—14		.15	35	3.10	3.25
	February.		—26			9	.81	.81
	March.		—4		1.79	24	2.16	3.95
	April.		12		4.40	10	.90	5.30
	May.		26		3.83			3.83
	June.		41		1.66			1.66
	July.		50		5.61			5.61
	August.		46		3.52			3.52
	September.		40		3.05			3.05
	October.		30		6.86			6.86
	November.		18		2.50	7	.63	3.13
	December.		—12		.11	18	1.62	1.73
Year.	1861		—26		33.48	103	9.22	42.70
1862	January.		—2			33	2.97	2.97
	February.		—10			23	2.07	2.07
	March.		5		1.79	10	.90	2.69
	April.		20		2.39	6	.54	2.93
	May.		33		2.72			2.72
	June.		38		7.95			7.95
	July.		44		4.74			4.74
	August.		37		3.57			3.57
	September.		36		3.12			3.12
	October.		25		5.40			5.40
	November.		14		7.24	4	.36	7.60
	December.		—7		.86	11	.99	1.85
Year.	1862		—10		39.78	87	7.83	47.61
1863	January.		2		2.50	14	1.26	3.76
	February.		—20		2.21	14	1.26	3.47
	March.		—11		1.75	43	3.87	5.62
	April.		19		3.22	3	.27	3.49
	May.		35		2.52			2.52
	June.		42		4.12			4.12
	July.		53		6.82			6.82
	August.		41		6.35			6.35
	September.		23		2.69			2.69
	October.		19		5.15			5.15
	November.		20		6.73			6.73
	December.		—5		2.15	16	1.44	3.59
Year.	1863		—20		46.21	90	8.10	54.31

TEMPERATURE—Degrees.					PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1864	January.		—5		.60	6	.54	1.14
	February.		—16		.14	9	.83	.97
	March.		9		4.26	7	.63	4.89
	April.		31		2.39	16	1.44	3.83
	May.		36		2.37			2.37
	June.	98	39		.72			.72
	July.	101	48		1.31			1.31
	August.	103	52		5.71			5.71
	September.		38		3.33			3.33
	October.		26		4.30			4.30
	November.		10		5.17	7	.63	5.80
	December.		—13		2.03	26	2.34	4.37
Year.	1864	103	—16		32.33	71	6.41	38.74
1865	January.		—18		1.71	25	2.26	3.97
	February.		—4		.53	18	1.62	2.15
	March.		10		4.02			4.02
	April.		27		2.61			2.61
	May.		37		5.41			5.41
	June.		45		2.55			2.55
	July.		48		3.76			3.76
	August.	96	42		3.30			3.30
	September.	92	36		2.00			2.00
	October.		26		4.76	3	.27	5.03
	November.		21		1.55	1	.09	1.64
	December.		—3		1.45	14	1.26	2.71
Year.	1865		—18		33.65	61	5.50	39.15
1866	January.		—16			14	1.26	1.26
	February.		—5		2.84	5	.45	3.29
	March.		8		1.67	8	.72	2.39
	April.		30		1.35	1	.09	1.44
	May.		34		3.55			3.55
	June.		33		3.14			3.14
	July.	102	47		3.36			3.36
	August.		40		3.89			3.89
	September.		29		5.03			5.03
	October.		21		2.59			2.59
	November.		15		3.70	4	.36	4.06
	December.		—17		1.86	14	1.26	3.12
Year.	1866	102	—17		32.98	46	4.14	37.12
1867	January.		—20			22	2.08	2.08
	February.		—2		1.05	10	.90	1.95
	March.		3		1.20	21	1.89	3.09
	April.		17		3.43	1	.09	3.52
	May.		24		3.85			3.85
	June.		42		2.05			2.05
	July.		47		4.59			4.59
	August.		41		9.90			9.90
	September.		29		1.54			1.54
	October.		20		3.42			3.42
	November.		3		2.05	4	.36	2.41
	December.		—16		.82	11	.99	1.81
Year.	1867		—20		33.90	69	6.31	40.21

TEMPERATURE— <i>Degrees.</i>					PRECIPITATION— <i>Inches.</i>			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1868	January.		—7		.22	26	2.34	2.56
	February.		—19		.05	11	.99	1.04
	March.		—8		.65	17	1.53	2.18
	April.		10		1.10	16	1.44	2.54
	May.		28		6.81			6.81
	June.		40		2.52			2.52
	July.		51		3.05			3.05
	August.		45		2.89			2.89
	September.	81	29	56.5	9.92			9.92
	October.	76	13	44.6	.36	3	.27	.63
	November.	61	12	32.6	5.14	4	.36	5.50
	December.	38	—10	20.2	.55	12	1.08	1.63
Year.	1868		—19		33.26	89	8.01	41.27
1869	January.	58	—15	25.2	.74	21	1.89	2.63
	February.	59	—6	30.4	.37	26	2.34	2.71
	March.	70	—20	25.7	2.79	19	1.71	4.50
	April.	78	20	45.3	1.45			1.45
	May.	93	25	56.0	3.18			3.18
	June.	88	40	63.2	1.54			1.54
	July.	91	45	69.5	1.14			1.14
	August.	89	41	66.5	2.01			2.01
	September.	89	36	63.2	3.46			3.46
	October.	85	20	48.6	11.65			11.65
	November.	73	14	37.7	2.10	1	.09	2.19
	December.	54	—10	28.2	2.60	17	1.53	4.13
Year.	1869	93	—20	46.6	33.03	86	7.56	40.59
1870	January.	57	2	29.4	4.30	17	1.53	5.83
	February.	58	—2	22.7	1.50	30	2.70	4.20
	March.	67	0	29.6	1.13	20	1.80	2.93
	April.	86	22	47.0	6.15	1	.09	6.24
	May.	89	32	55.8	1.74			1.74
	June.	99	46	69.6	2.20			2.20
	July.	100	46	72.3	1.40			1.40
	August.	97	38	72.3	1.23			1.23
	September.	90	32	61.9	1.94			1.94
	October.	80	18	51.8	2.17	1	.09	2.26
	November.	72	20	40.6	2.39			2.39
	December.	58	—5	28.6	1.37	8	.72	2.09
Year.	1870	100	—5	48.6	27.52	77	6.93	34.45
1871	January.	57	—16	19.3		9	.81	.81
	February.	58	—16	23.9	.93	16	1.43	2.36
	March.	68	16	39.5	3.18	5	.45	3.63
	April.	92	19	46.2	4.70			4.70
	May.	95	28	56.	3.04			3.04
	June.	95	37	63.4	2.47			2.47
	July.	88	41	67.1	4.20			4.20
	August.	88	41	68.1	5.02			5.02
	September.	86	25	56.	1.30			1.30
	October.	78	20	49.6	4.73			4.73
	November.	68	—2	33.0	2.75	11	.99	3.74
	December.	57	—15	21.3	1.90	16	1.44	3.34
Year.	1871	95	—16	45.4	34.22	57	5.12	39.34

TEMPERATURE—Degrees.					PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1872	January.	50	—6	24.1	.60	8	.72	1.32
	February.	68	—8	24.4		17	1.53	1.53
	March.	60	—16	23.5	.80	16	1.44	2.24
	April.	85	24	45.8	1.45			1.45
	May.	83	38	59.	2.49			2.49
	June.	98	42	68.7	4.61			4.61
	July.	96	50	75.6	7.72			7.72
	August.	97	49	73.4	7.00			7.00
	September.	96	40	64.2	4.32			4.32
	October.	78	24	50.4	4.63			4.63
	November.	66	10	38.2	3.30	18	1.62	4.92
	December.	47	—20	18.1	.25	33	2.97	3.22
Year.	1872	98	—20	47.2	37.17	92	8.28	45.45
1873	January.	47	—26	17.1	2.70	19	1.71	4.41
	February.	54	—12	24.4		22	1.98	1.98
	March.	61	—7	28.4	.72	21	1.89	2.61
	April.	74	23	40.3	1.77	2	.18	1.95
	May.	88	28	55.6	2.15			2.15
	June.	90	42	65.	.89			.89
	July.	93	50	71.1	4.08			4.08
	August.	89	45	67.1	1.85			1.85
	September.	84	35	59.9	4.06			4.06
	October.	78	27	52.3	6.05			6.05
	November.	57	—9	28.8	.65	25	2.25	2.90
	December.	58	—8	26.4	.78	26	2.34	3.12
Year.	1873	93	—26	44.8	25.70	115	10.35	36.05
1874	January.	66	—14	24.8	1.82	14	1.16	2.98
	February.	55	—28	20.3	1.55	18	1.62	3.17
	March.	64	—3	33.2	.33	4	.36	.69
	April.	68	7	37.3	1.30	35	3.15	4.45
	May.	90	30	56.	4.19			4.19
	June.	93	44	65.4	4.74			4.74
	July.	92	50	70.3	6.54			7.54
	August.	88	41	67.	1.95			1.95
	September.	88	39	62.9	2.40			2.40
	October.	83	24	51.8	1.37			1.37
	November.	66	9	37.4	1.70	7	.63	2.33
	December.	55	—14	25.2	.20	7	.63	.83
Year.	1874	93	—28	46.1	28.09	85	7.55	35.64
1875	January.	42	—26	12.2		34	3.06	3.06
	February.	63	—34	14.4	1.03	15	1.35	2.38
	March.	63	—16	27.	1.15	34	3.06	4.21
	April.	71	14	40.6	2.63	6	.54	3.17
	May.	89	33	57.3	2.77			2.77
	June.	90	38	65.6	3.97			3.97
	July.	90	45	69.5	2.43			2.43
	August.	89	50	71.	5.31			5.31
	September.	90	29	59.1	2.92			2.92
	October.	75	22	49.8	6.17			6.17
	November.	64	—17	31.6	1.95	13	1.17	3.12
	December.	60	—24	26.7	.28	8	.72	1.00
Year.	1875	99	—34	43.9	30.61	110	9.90	40.51

		TEMPERATURE—Degrees.			PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1876	January.	72	—10	26.8	1.47	8	.72	2.19
	February.	56	—19	23.9	2.67	32	2.88	5.55
	March.	73	0	33.8	5.43	27	2.43	7.86
	April.	72	21	43.6	1.20	12	1.08	2.28
	May.	87	28	56.9	3.22			3.22
	June.	88	41	70.5	4.89			4.89
	July.	96	46	74.9	4.73			4.73
	August.	97	45	71.3	.42			.42
	September.	93	42	59.3	3.82			3.82
	October.	69	22	46.7	.95			.95
	November.	80	18	41.9	2.56			2.56
	December.	52	—20	18.9		43	3.87	3.87
Year.	1876	97	—20	47.4	31.36	122	10.98	42.34
1877	January.	56	—29	15.8		22	1.98	1.98
	February.	65	1	32.3	.40			.40
	March.	64	5	33.6	4.58	7	.63	5.21
	April.	74	26	48.	3.26			3.26
	May.	86	27	56.2	2.98			2.98
	June.	88	47	67.4	2.63			2.63
	July.	90	53	71.4	4.77			4.77
	August.	87	51	72.	4.37			4.37
	September.	87	37	64.6	.85			.85
	October.	84	23	50.9	7.62			7.62
	November.	69	11	42.6	5.93	3	.27	6.20
	December.	58	3	33.4	.64	2	.18	.82
Year.	1877	90	—29	49.1	38.03	34	3.06	41.09
1878	January.	54	—35	24.4	2.40	19	1.71	4.11
	February.	64	—15	28.6	2.02	24	2.16	4.18
	March.	72	6	38.2	2.10	2	.18	2.28
	April.	79	32	50.8	6.70			6.70
	May.	90	32	56.6	1.86			1.86
	June.	94	38	63.8	5.10			5.10
	July.	100	49	73.8	1.84			1.84
	August.	89	46	68.6	4.06			4.06
	September.	89	32	62.9	.71			.71
	October.	84	27	55.7	4.09			4.09
	November.	61	14	38.7	5.76			5.76
	December.	58	5	30.3	5.15	14	1.26	6.41
Year.	1878	100	—35	49.5	41.79	59	5.31	47.10
1879	January.	49	—10	15.1		27	2.43	2.43
	February.	48	—3	20.2	1.45	16	1.44	2.89
	March.	56	0	30.5	.25	28	2.52	2.77
	April.	70	14	41.	1.90	12	1.08	2.98
	May.	93	30	61.5	4.51			4.51
	June.	94	40	64.4	4.76			4.76
	July.	93	50	70.5	4.29			4.29
	August.	91	45	67.4	4.39			4.39
	September.	88	30	59.8	3.28			3.28
	October.	92	21	57.5	.79			.79
	November.	72	1	38.2	1.95	23	2.07	4.02
	December.	60	—4	29.5	1.97	20	1.80	3.77
Year.	1879	94	—10	46.5	29.54	126	11.34	40.88

		TEMPERATURE—Degrees.			PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1880	January.	62	—7	31.3	3.15	12	1.08	4.23
	February.	68	—10	32.7	1.38	12	1.08	2.46
	March.	67	7	32.5	.20	12	1.08	1.28
	April.	80	22	48.3	2.62	1	.09	2.71
	May.	95	30	64.8	1.63			1.63
	June.	94	44	67.	1.33			1.33
	July.	97	48	71.	3.55			3.55
	August.	92	42	68.1	1.47			1.47
	September.	93	34	63.6	3.12			3.12
	October.	76	26	50.8	3.98			3.98
	November.	70	4	36.	2.01			2.01
	December.	56	—8	25.3	.64	18	1.62	2.26
Year.	1880	97	—10	49.3	25.08	55	4.95	30.03
1881	January.	46	—19	17.5	.61	29	2.61	3.22
	February.	55	—11	24.5	2.35	13	1.17	3.52
	March.	63	21	37.5	1.93	19	1.71	3.64
	April.	83	14	44.	.55	4	.36	.91
	May.	90	28	60.9	3.28			3.28
	June.	84	36	61.1	3.34			3.34
	July.	94	50	69.9	4.38			4.38
	August.	95	50	69.3	1.25			1.25
	September.	96	43	66.9	3.52			3.52
	October.	85	25	51.4	2.96			2.96
	November.	69	7	40.2	2.74	5	.45	3.19
	December.	63	5	34.6	5.39	5	.45	5.84
Year.	1881	96	—19	48.3	32.30	75	6.75	39.05
1882	January.	48	—22	19.7	.67	32	2.88	3.55
	February.	59	—3	26.4	.48	38	3.42	3.90
	March.	60	9	34.5	2.13	6	.54	2.67
	April.	67	13	42.	.69	4	.36	1.05
	May.	79	29	50.7	4.07			4.07
	June.	90	43	65.1	3.98			3.98
	July.	92	51	71.3	1.73			1.73
	August.	98	45	71.3	.35			.35
	September.	90	39	63.7	7.22			7.22
	October.	82	26	53.8	1.41			1.41
	November.	71	12	38.6	.19	10	.90	1.09
	December.	57	—6	26.	.53	13	1.17	1.70
Year.	1882	98	—22	47.	23.45	103	9.27	32.72
1883	January.	50	—14	17.9	.40	15	1.35	1.75
	February.	58	—11	22.4	.18	23	2.07	2.25
	March.	60	—16	25.2	.40	11	.99	1.39
	April.	77	14	44.2	1.82	6	.54	2.36
	May.	88	26	56.6	3.04			3.04
	June.	87	42	69.	2.04			2.04
	July.	93	44	69.3	5.80			5.80
	August.	89	39	65.6	1.37			1.37
	September.	82	34	58.6	1.96			1.96
	October.	83	21	47.5	3.67			3.67
	November.	72	12	41.1	1.87			1.87
	December.	55	—16	25.4	.75	18	1.62	2.37
Year.	1883	93	—16	45.3	23.30	73	5.57	29.87

TEMPERATURE—Degrees.					PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1884	January.	60	—12	21.3	2.82	14	1.26	4.08
	February.	56	4	28.2	2.98	28	2.52	5.50
	March.	61	—14	30.5	2.51	20	1.80	4.31
	April.	73	25	44.5	2.73	8	.72	3.45
	May.	84	30	54.8	3.07			3.07
	June.	90	38	66.6	.93			.93
	July.	91	47	67.	2.14			2.14
	August.	91	44	68.4	3.62			3.62
	September.	88	35	62.3	.76			.76
	October.	80	26	49.1	1.79	3	.20	1.99
	November.	63	13	37.2	2.18	7	.59	2.77
December.	59	—17	28.	2.51	18	1.46	3.97	
Year.	1884	91	—17	46.5	28.04	98	8.55	36.59
1885	January.	61	—17	21.1	2.25	21	2.20	4.45
	February.	44	—11	15.7	2.00	13	1.50	3.50
	March.	56	—11	23.3	.15	11	.73	.88
	April.	88	19	47.7	2.44	1	.10	2.54
	May.	85	27	55.4	2.18			2.18
	June.	88	39	64.5	4.85			4.85
	July.	91	50	69.3	2.15			2.15
	August.	84	39	64.4	5.32			5.32
	September.	82	36	56.6	.96			.96
	October.	73	27	49.4	3.63			3.63
	November.	63	4	39.5	2.97	6	.68	3.65
December.	58	3	28.2	2.42	15	1.18	3.60	
Year.	1885	91	—17	44.7	31.32	67	6.39	37.71
1886	January.	57	—20	23.5	2.94	21	1.98	4.92
	February.	65	—13	23.1	3.84	4	.43	4.27
	March.	60	—8	31.9	2.10	12	1.17	3.27
	April.	86	23	50.4	1.58	T	.08	1.66
	May.	80	32	56.	2.22			2.22
	June.	79	43	62.1	2.48			2.48
	July.	92	46	67.7	2.56			2.56
	August.	89	42	66.2	3.49			3.49
	September.	84	35	59.2	4.25			4.25
	October.	78	21	49.8	2.66			2.66
	November.	72	17	39.1	3.24	5	.57	3.81
December.	49	—1	23.7	1.62	22	1.68	3.30	
Year.	1886	92	—20	46.2	32.98	64	5.91	33.89
1887	January.	49	—19	19.1	1.18	27	2.17	3.35
	February.	50	—8	24.1	2.25	29	2.61	4.86
	March.	57	—4	28.1	1.54	20	1.50	3.04
	April.	77	14	41.4	2.36	8	.58	2.94
	May.	92	37	60.3	2.33			2.33
	June.	89	41	64.1	4.56			4.56
	July.	93	56	73.7	7.84			7.84
	August.	83	45	64.5	7.68			7.68
	September.	79	32	56.4	.82			.82
	October.	70	22	48.8	1.71			1.71
	November.	72	16	37.9	3.70			3.70
December.	57	—2	29.7	2.56	16	1.06	3.62	
Year.	1887	93	—19	45.8	38.53	100	7.92	46.45

TEMPERATURE—Degrees.					PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1888	January.	40	—16	14.8	1.34	38	3.59	4.93
	February.	56	—12	23.5	2.17	17	1.52	3.69
	March.	56	2	28.8	2.02	32	2.90	4.92
	April.	86	15	41.5	2.07	8	.77	2.84
	May.	81	29	54.5	4.48			4.48
	June.	94	42	66.	2.57			2.57
	July.	85	49	66.7	.96			.96
	August.	89	45	66.8	3.67			3.67
	September.	76	28	57.2	10.97			10.97
	October.	64	26	43.8	5.60	T	.03	5.63
	November.	74	3	38.8	3.78	5	.37	4.15
	December.	54	—4	29.9	2.83	5	.69	3.52
Year.	1888	94	—16	44.4	42.46	105	9.87	52.33
1889	January.	56	—3	29.2	2.11	13	1.71	3.82
	February.	50	—14	21.2	.94	12	.84	1.78
	March.	61	8	35.3	2.21	4	.30	2.51
	April.	79	23	48.6	1.79	3	.30	2.09
	May.	92	33	59.6	2.46			2.46
	June.	85	44	66.6	4.21			4.21
	July.	85	51	67.8	5.63			5.63
	August.	82	46	64.7	1.57			1.57
	September.	82	37	61.1	3.86			3.86
	October.	71	17	45.1	4.21			4.21
	November.	66	16	40.3	4.83	2	.15	4.98
	December.	58	0	31.4	3.20	9	.68	3.88
Year.	1889	92	—14	47.7	37.02	43	3.98	41.00
1890	January.	61	—7	25.	1.47	13	1.41	2.88
	February.	55	—7	28.1	2.92	12	1.28	4.20
	March.	61	—7	30.1	2.46	29	3.23	5.69
	April.	75	19	43.8	1.88			1.88
	May.	80	33	57.2	5.05			5.05
	June.	87	42	62.4	2.56			2.56
	July.	91	45	68.8	3.98			3.98
	August.	88	46	66.2	3.56			3.56
	September.	80	31	60.5	4.65			4.65
	October.	75	29	47.5	7.76			7.76
	November.	64	8	35.6	1.42	T	.07	1.49
	December.	39	—11	17.1		27	3.83	3.83
Year.	1890	91	—11	45.3	37.71	81	9.82	47.53
1891	January.	46	—6	24.3	3.93	22	1.78	5.71
	February.	52	—9	25.9	1.70	20	1.84	3.54
	March.	52	—4	30.1	3.27	12	.92	4.19
	April.	80	18	46.2	1.17	10	1.24	2.41
	May.	88	32	55.2	2.34			2.34
	June.	96	38	63.5	3.32			3.32
	July.	90	46	66.5	3.34			3.34
	August.	87	45	67.6	2.95			2.95
	September.	85	39	63.5	2.09			2.09
	October.	83	22	47.3	2.63			2.63
	November.	63	4	37.3	1.63	1	.10	1.73
	December.	56	5	34.7	3.91	2	.20	4.11
Year.	1891	96	—9	46.9	32.28	67	6.08	38.36

TEMPERATURE—Degrees.					PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1892	January.	48	—8	22.6	2.72	15	1.26	3.98
	February.	50	—5	24.7		15	1.70	1.70
	March.	53	7	29.7	.91	13	1.09	2.00
	April.	71	22	45.8	.76			.76
	May.	78	27	53.8	6.24	T		6.24
	June.	93	40	68.2	3.00			3.00
	July.	91	46	69.5	2.50			2.50
	August.	90	52	67.5	9.00			9.00
	September.	76	34	58.8	1.98			1.98
	October.	73	28	48.	1.29			1.29
	November.	62	15	35.5	3.25	9	1.08	4.33
	December.	41	—7	21.	.60	3	.44	1.04
Year.	1892	93	—8	45.5	32.25	55	5.57	37.82
1893	January.	45	—15	12.1	1.68	12	.91	2.59
	February.	50	—12	19.5	.70	59	4.78	5.48
	March.	48	0	27.5	2.17	2	.41	2.58
	April.	62	14	37.8	1.97	5	.50	2.47
	May.	90	32	53.4	4.15			4.15
	June.	88	45	64.2	2.18			2.18
	July.	86	45	66.1	3.13			3.13
	August.	86	45	65.	4.11			4.11
	September.	75	33	53.5	1.38			1.38
	October.	71	19	49.	4.77			4.77
	November.	59	8	33.4	2.14	5	.39	2.53
	December.	45	—12	19.3	2.07	19	1.96	4.03
Year.	1893	90	—15	41.9	30.45	102	8.95	39.40
1894	January.	45	—8	20.	1.21	16	1.46	2.67
	February.	49	—19	19.9	.03	22	2.22	2.25
	March.	70	11	36.	.53	2	.63	1.16
	April.	73	13	44.9	1.01	5	.63	1.64
	May.	84	33	55.2	4.79			4.79
	June.	91	40	66.1	1.84			1.89
	July.	96	45	70.4	2.89			2.89
	August.	90	35	64.5	.65			.65
	September.	87	32	60.7	2.26			2.26
	October.	71	28	50.7	2.79			2.79
	November.	61	9	33.3	.77	9	1.01	1.78
	December.	53	—10	25.6	.70	20	2.17	2.87
Year.	1894	96	—19	45.8	19.52	74	8.12	27.64
1895	January.	42	—9	20.3	.58	18	2.67	3.25
	February.	45	—15	17.8		10	.56	.56
	March.	50	—1	29.6	1.13	13	1.14	2.27
	April.	79	22	44.6	4.23	3	.29	4.52
	May.	91	31	61.9	2.12			2.12
	June.	95	45	68.5	1.98			1.98
	July.	92	41	66.7	3.52			3.52
	August.	89	38	66.1	3.85			3.85
	September.	91	27	60.5	2.34			2.34
	October.	68	18	44.5	4.09			4.09
	November.	72	13	39.	5.12	4	.47	5.59
	December.	58	—13	28.8	3.27	9	.74	4.01
Year.	1895	95	—15	45.8	32.23	57	5.87	38.10

		TEMPERATURE—Degrees.			PRECIPITATION—Inches.			
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1896	January.	43	—17	18.8	.04	10	1.19	1.23
	February.	47	—21	22.6	3.77	24	2.03	5.80
	March.	56	—5	28.1	3.43	31	3.12	6.55
	April.	83	21	46.5	.72	3	.30	1.02
	May.	91	32	59.2	3.34			3.34
	June.	89	34	61.2	2.35			2.35
	July.	94	45	70.1	3.10			3.10
	August.	93	38	67.6	3.75			3.75
	September.	87	33	58.3	4.92			4.92
	October.	72	24	46.	4.00			4.00
	November.	71	14	41.2	2.77	2	.20	2.97
	December.	49	—6	23.8	.81	1	.15	.96
Year.	1896	94	—21	45.3	33.00	71	6.99	39.99
1897	January.	52	—7	24.1	.99	27	2.73	3.72
	February.	47	—11	25.4	.85	16	1.64	2.49
	March.	53	—10	31.5	1.82	16	2.05	3.87
	April.	85	17	47.3	2.38			2.38
	May.	78	34	57.7	3.93			3.93
	June.	89	34	60.3	8.35			8.35
	July.	98	42	70.5	8.56			8.56
	August.	85	37	64.4	3.58			3.58
	September.	90	28	57.3	1.22			1.22
	October.	83	18	47.3	.58			.58
	November.	62	—1	34.6	4.74	10.5	1.85	6.59
	December.	59	—9	26.4	4.19	9.3	.55	4.74
Year.	1897	98	—11	45.7	41.19	78.8	8.82	50.01
1898	January.	50	—24	19.7	1.79	33.7	3.15	4.94
	February.	52	—32	24.9	.83	22.0	3.43	4.26
	March.	62	8	37.3	.57	2.9	.27	.84
	April.	70	12	41.6	3.95	5.5	.29	4.24
	May.	83	27	55.4	2.92			2.92
	June.	89	35	65.6	3.10			3.10
	July.	96	38	70.9	1.31			1.31
	August.	92	39	69.4	4.74			4.74
	September.	89	31	61.3	5.89			5.89
	October.	83	22	50.3	5.56			5.56
	November.	58	13	37.0	4.13	18.3	1.83	5.96
	December.	48	—19	23.3	1.32	11.8	.94	2.26
Year.	1898	96	—32	46.5	36.11	94.2	9.91	46.02
1899	January.	52	—17	20.6	.99	8.8	1.56	2.55
	February.	51	—18	20.7	.40	24.0	2.00	2.40
	March.	56	0	28.0	1.85	38.1	4.03	5.88
	April.	86	14	42.9	.94	2.2	.25	1.19
	May.	88	28	55.5	.32			.32
	June.	94	37	66.4	1.04			1.04
	July.	97	39	69.5	4.35			4.35
	August.	91	38	66.9	1.93			1.93
	September.	81	28	57.2	4.38			4.38
	October.	77	22	49.4	.83			.83
	November.	61	11	34.5	1.64	5.3	.71	2.35
	December.	60	—2	28.6	1.29	.6	.06	1.35
Year.	1899	97	—18	45.2	19.96	79.0	8.61	28.57

TEMPERATURE—Degrees.				PRECIPITATION—Inches.				
		Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Mean.	Rain- fall.	Snow- fall.	Melted snow.	Total.
1900	January.	52	—16	20.9	2.28	27.6	2.60	4.88
	February.	51	—16	21.5	3.96	13.2	1.09	5.05
	March.	53	—5	26.9	3.03	14.9	2.27	5.30
	April.	80	20	43.7	.90			.90
	May.	92	22	52.6	2.36			2.36
	June.	94	34	66.3	1.79			1.79
	July.	96	43	70.6	1.74			1.74
	August.	94	41	68.3	2.76			2.76
	September.	91	31	61.2	2.68			2.68
	October.	81	18	53.3	2.19			2.19
	November.	67	8	39.1	4.61	5.6	.61	5.22
	December.	52	—9	23.6	1.09	2.8	.20	1.29
Year.	1900	96	—16	45.8	29.39	64.1	6.77	36.16

The first snow storms, amounting to an inch or more, were as follows:

Year.	Month.	Inches.	Year.	Month.	Inches.
1856	November 15	2	1879	November 3	12
1857	November 16	1	1880	December 1	8
1858	November 13	1	1881	November 15	3
1859	November 12	3	1882	November 17	2
1860	December 4	7	1883	December 2	1.5
1861	November 23	1	1884	October 31	3
1862	November 7	2	1885	November 23	1
1863	December 11	6	1886	November 13	5
1864	November 13	4	1887	December 15	1
1865	October 27	3	1888	November 25	5
1866	November 23	4	1889	November 27	2
1867	November 16	2	1890	December 3	4
1868	October 17	3	1891	November 26	1
1869	November 23	1	1892	November 5	2
1870	October 31	1	1893	November 20	3
1871	November 10	8	1894	November 6	1
1872	November 22	7	1895	November 2	4
1873	November 12	5	1896	November 21	2
1874	November 20	4	1897	November 12	4
1875	November 14	7	1898	November 10	1.5
1876	December 9	10	1899	November 11	2.2
1877	November 29	3	1900	November 25	1.5
1878	December 4	1			

NOTES IN REGARD TO SLEIGHING.

- 1861-'62. Sleighing December 1-3; and from December 23.
 1862-'63. December 6-14; January 14, one day; January 29—
 February 24; and March 1-25.
 1863-'64. December 17—February 25; March 1, 2; April 11-
 13,—seventy-six days.
 1864-'65. December 10—March 16,—ninety-seven days.
 1865-'66. December 10 and 11. Ended February 22.
 1866-'67. December 16-24; December 27—
 1867-'68. Twelve inches of snow April 7. April 11, excellent
 sleighing.
 1868-'69. Began December 5.
 1869-'70. December 8-28. Further dates not given.
 1870-'71. Sleighing for three weeks.
 1871-'72. About thirteen weeks.
 1872-'73. Began November 29.
 1873-'74. Began November 13.
 1875-'76. Began February 4.
 1878-'79. Began December 22.
 1879-'80. Began December 14.
 1881-'82. Began January 2.
 1883-'84. Began December 19.
 1884-'85. About a week in December; December 31, ground
 bare.
 1885-'86. About a week in December; December 31, ground
 bare.
 1886-'87. December 7—April 3,—one hundred and eighteen
 days.
 1887-'88. December 18—March 24,—ninety-eight days.
 1888-'89. January 21—March 4,—forty-three days.
 1889-'90. December 14-16; January 12—February 5; Febru-
 ary 19-26; March 3-10,—forty-four days.
 1890-'91. December 3—March 14,—one hundred and two days.
 1891-'92. January 7—February 23,—forty-eight days.
 1892-'93. January 10—March 17,—sixty-seven days.
 1893-'94. Began December 3.
 1894-'95. November 14, 15; December 2-13; December 27—
 March 17,—ninety-five days.
 1895-'96. December 5-19; January 24—February 27; March 3
 —March 23,—seventy-one days.
 1896-'97. January 21—March 18,—fifty-seven days.
 1897-'98. January 1—March 5,—sixty-four days.

1898-'99. November 27—April 4,—one hundred and twenty-nine days.

1899-1900. January 1—March 23,—eighty-two days.

MISCELLANEOUS PHENOMENA.

1857. January 23 and 24. The mercury dropped to 32 and 37 degrees below zero, respectively.
- May 17. Snow fell mixed with rain. The hills about Concord were white with snow.
1858. May 17. Precisely same weather as last year on this day.
1859. January 11. The minimum temperature 35 below zero.
1862. February 24. Rain, hail, snow, thunder, lightning, and high wind.
1863. November 14-18. Rainfall of 4.46 inches, causing a freshet on the Merrimack.
1864. April 10-13. Snowfall of 16 inches. For more than three weeks previous to April 14 the wind was uninterruptedly east. In surrounding towns snow fell to the depth of 1 1-2 to 2 1-2 feet. Good sleighing in Concord from the 11th to the 13th.
- June and July. Excessive drought.
1865. September. Extreme drought; worse than last year.
- October. The drought is unprecedented.
1867. August 2, 3. Rainfall of 3.24 inches.
1868. February. Probably the coldest month of which any record exists in the state.
- March 6. The mercury fell below zero for the thirty-fifth time this winter.
- September 4. Rainfall of 3.65 inches.
1869. October 3, 4. Rainfall of 7.40 inches, of which 4 inches fell between 12:30 and 2:30 p. m. on the 4th. (This was the storm that caused the great slide on Tripyramid mountain in Waterville, the scar of which is still visible from neighboring hills.)
1870. April 17-19. Rainfall of 2.30 inches. Great freshet on the Merrimack.
- October 20. Four smart shocks of earthquake at 11:30 a. m.
1871. April 8. A very hot day; at 11:30 a. m. the mercury reached 92.
1872. March 5. A very cold day; maximum—2, minimum—16, mean—9.
- March 31. Excellent sleighing. Snow, except on the principal streets, from 2 to 4 feet deep.

1872. August 10–17. A succession of thunder showers, probably the severest ever remembered in New England.
November 18. A very heavy shock of earthquake at 2:05 p. m.
1874. April 25 and 26, 12 inches of snow fell.
1875. February 13. Minimum temperature 34 below zero.
1876. January 1. A remarkably warm day; maximum 72, minimum 58, mean 65,—almost exactly the temperature of July 4, 1875, which was: maximum 74, minimum 57, mean 65.5.
1878. January 8. Minimum temperature, 35 below zero.
December 12. Great freshet.
1881. June 7. Hard frosts generally through the state.
September 6. Dark day.
1882. September 21–24. A rainfall of 4.10 inches, the heaviest since October, 1869.
December 19. The heaviest earthquake shock ever remembered occurred about 5:20 p. m.
1884. November 23. Two heavy shocks of earthquake, the first about 12:30, and the second about fifteen minutes later.
1885. June 29. A thunder storm in which 2.75 inches of rain fell, of which more than 2.5 inches fell in two and one half hours.
August 4. A rainfall of 2.45 inches, of which 2 inches fell in about two hours.
1887. June 30. Earthquake at 5:09 p. m.
July 23, 24. Rainfall of 5.11 inches, of which over 4 inches fell between 9 p. m., 23d, and 8 a. m., 24th.
1888. March 12, 13. Snowfall of about 28 inches accompanied by an eastern gale.
1889. July 30. Hurricane at 12 m., which did much damage at the South end, and uprooted many trees, notably the great elm in front of the residence of Mr. J. C. A. Hill.
1890. March 28. A shock of earthquake. Heavy rumbling lasted about thirty seconds.
1891. May 1. A smart shock of earthquake at 7:07 p. m., lasting about three seconds.
1892. May 1. Earthquake at 7:30 a. m.
1895. April 15. Great freshet. The rainfall was as follows:
April 13. .17 of an inch.
April 14. 2.14 inches.
1896. March 1. Great freshet. The following is the record of rain:
February 29. 1.64 inches.
March 1. 1.06 inches.

1897. May 27. Slight earthquake shock about 10:15 p. m.
June 9. Rainfall of 2.20 inches, and on June 10, 2.59 inches. Between 9 a. m., 9th, and 9 a. m., 10th, 4.42 inches fell,—the greatest rainfall since October 3 and 4, 1869, when 5.70 inches fell in twenty-four hours.
September 25. Slight earthquake about 1 p. m.
1898. February 1. A great blizzard. Snowfall of about 15 inches.
February 3. Minimum temperature 32 below zero.
July 25. Earthquake at 6:10 p. m.
September 19. Smoke from great fires in the West covered the whole region. The odor was very marked.
September 23. About 2 inches of rain fell between 8 and 10 p. m.
November 27. Snowfall of 15 inches with northeast gale, in which the steamer *Portland* was lost.
1899. August 25. A severe shock of earthquake, passing from southeast to northwest at 4:47 a. m.

APPENDIX.

THE GOVERNOR'S HORSE GUARDS.

JAMES O. LYFORD.

There lives in the memory of the older inhabitants of the state a fascinating story of this famous military corps. Its remarkable personnel, its attractive uniforms, its striking parades, its regal hospitality, its brilliant fetes, its patriotic public spirit, are a tradition preserved only in the recollections, now dim, of the few survivors and their contemporaries. Yet as a corporation it still exists, and could its last and living commander summon the spirits of the departed to one more reunion, he would assemble such a company as a state seldom marshals of her distinguished sons in one organization. A president of the United States would be there, and, keeping him company, would be United States senators, congressmen, governors, judges, leaders at the bar, clergymen of mark, college professors, eminent physicians, captains of industry, bankers, business men, and many whose names have since become household words in the history of New Hampshire. Looking at its roster one is struck by the prominent men who composed its rank and file, its staff, and its honorary members. They were or became leaders of public opinion, makers of laws, eminent in statecraft, scholars of rank, financiers, orators, and for more than a generation leading men of the state. Yet the active life of the organization was little more than six years, but such years! They sufficed for many a tale of military splendor, of royal entertainment, and of captivating pageants. Concord was the scene of their social functions, and the governor's annual inauguration the event of their martial display. Other places welcomed their appearance, but the capital city knew them best and furnished the ranking company of the corps. The preamble of their constitution, promulgated at their first annual meeting at Concord, January 11, 1860, gives the inspiration which called the organization into being. It reads as follows:

We, whose names are hereunto annexed, being deeply impressed with the advantages to be derived from the formation of a military organization which shall embrace among its members gentlemen from every section of the state, and which, while promoting social intercourse, and extending the bonds of friendship among us, shall, by the excellence of its discipline as a company, and the honorable conduct

of its members as individuals, strengthen the government under which we live, hereby associate ourselves as a corps of cavalry, and establish and declare this constitution.

The motto of the corps was "*Pro Duce et Republica.*"

The annual parade was in June, and the occasion the inauguration of the governor of the state. The corps was also to parade at such other times as were demanded by the laws of the state, the vote of the corps, or the bidding of the commanding officer.

Ex-President Franklin Pierce was honorary colonel, and the officers of the corps at its first parade were: George Stark, Nashua, colonel commanding; A. Herbert Bellows, Concord, lieutenant-colonel; Henry O. Kent, Lancaster, major; Thomas J. Whipple, Laconia, adjutant; Frank Fuller, Portsmouth, paymaster; Joseph Wentworth, Sandwich, quartermaster; George A. Pillsbury, Concord, assistant quartermaster; Charles P. Gage, Concord, surgeon; J. C. Eastman, Hampstead, assistant surgeon; M. W. Willis, Nashua, chaplain; Henry E. Parker, Concord, assistant chaplain; Frank S. Fiske, Keene, sergeant-major; Charles A. Tufts, Dover, quartermaster sergeant; S. H. Dumas, Concord, commissary; Natt Head, Hooksett, chief bugler; Gilbert Bullock, Concord, armorer; True Garland, Pittsfield, standard bearer; R. P. J. Tenney, Pittsfield, and J. C. Bean, Enfield, standard guards. J. C. A. Hill, Concord, was treasurer, and J. E. Lang, Concord, clerk.

The first officers of Company A, which was the Concord company, were John H. George, captain; Edward H. Rollins, first lieutenant; Benjamin Grover, second lieutenant; Josiah B. Sanborn, first sergeant; Calvin C. Webster, second sergeant; Eleazer Jackson, third sergeant; Calvin Gage, fourth sergeant; Charles H. Norton, first corporal; George H. Hutchins, second corporal; Warren Clark, third corporal; Peter Dudley, fourth corporal.

Colonel Bellows was the originator of the Horse Guards, and gave much time and money to preliminary effort in behalf of the corps. He was exceedingly patient and thoughtful as to the equipment and uniform, and for the latter finally chose that of the French Imperial Hussars. The arms were a cavalry sabre and two pistols.

Of the first officers of the corps Colonel Henry O. Kent of Lancaster alone is living. At the time of its organization he was clerk of the New Hampshire house of representatives, a position he had held for five years, giving him a wide acquaintance in the state. In 1854 he graduated from Norwich university, then a famous military academy. His personal popularity and technical knowledge of military tactics led the active promoters of the organization to propose him for major of the corps, to which position he was unanimously

elected. During the last three years of the activities of the corps he was in command, in 1863 with the rank of major, and in 1864 and 1865 with the rank of colonel. To his interest and pride in the corps is due the preservation of such data of its organization and work as are now available.

The uniform of the field was a white dolman, green body jacket and trousers, shako and pompon, gray astrachan fur and gold lace trimmings; that of the line, staff, and members, blue jackets and trousers, red dolman, and yellow worsted lace trimmings. The entire outfit of the chief bugler was brilliant scarlet. Each officer and man had rolled behind the saddle for immediate use a large gray, woolen, waterproof horseman's cloak lined with scarlet. The housings of the field were scarlet and gold; of the corps, blue and yellow. The late Peter Sanborn wore his cloak on the streets of Concord for years afterwards.

The parade on "Election Day" in June was one of the events of the year. At this the governor-elect was received in line, with the governor in a barouche drawn by four or six horses, either near the residence of Joseph B. Walker at the North end or at some point at the South end of the city, accompanied by a few distinguished guests. The column paraded Main and State streets, leaving the dignitaries at the state house, the field officers accompanying the governor into the hall of the house of representatives, the Guards lining the walk from Main street to the state house. After the inauguration there were dress-parade and review in front of the state house. Then the corps with its guests repaired to the Eagle or Phenix hall, where an elegant banquet was served by some Boston caterer, followed by speeches. The music of twenty or thirty pieces was also mounted, and was generally Hall's band of Boston. Only a few bands were drilled to play on horseback, for the guiding of the horses had to be by the feet. Major Lewis Downing, Jr., was musical director, engaging and directing the music, and Natt Head, afterwards governor, was the gorgeous chief bugler, riding ahead and sounding the calls. At the inauguration of 1861 the Fisherville Cornet band was engaged by the Guards. John C. Linehan, who was a member of this band, thus described the reception of the proposition made to the band by the Horse Guards to furnish music:

It was received with solemn silence. There was good reason for the solemnity. Not half a dozen members had ever mounted a horse, and now, men grown, to be expected to ride and play too, it was too much, and the proposition too sudden. However, an answer had to be given, and opinions were called for. Mr. Currier, the director, said he would vote to accept the offer on one condition, namely, that if a horse could be found large enough to move the whole band, giv-

ing him a place in the centre, he would vote yes, otherwise no. Other suggestions were made, among them one from John Mitchell to have wooden horses made mounted on trucks and drawn by one section of the real article. He thought it would be an improvement on the original, as the files would be straighter and the hoofs of the horses would be always near the ground. The temptation was too strong nevertheless. It was a great incentive, that of playing at the head of such a body of men. The offer was accepted, horses procured, and the band went into training. The plain near the academy on the Boscawen side of Fisherville was selected as the drill ground, and the boys went at it. It was a moving spectaele. The moving, however, for a time was from the horses to the ground. It seemed like a premonition of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, but they persevered and succeeded.

At the last parade in 1865 the music was by the Concord Brigade band, mounted on white horses. The other function was social. At the annual meeting in January, filling out the day, reports were received and officers chosen for the year ensuing. A grand military ball occupied the evening, graced by the governor and by the state dignitaries with notable guests, and anticipated by all the society women and grand dames of the state. Phenix hall was profusely decorated. A superb supper was served at the Phenix or Eagle hotel, and the occasion was the social event of the year.

The first ball of the Guards was at its first anniversary. The Manchester *Mirror* in describing it says: "It was by far the most brilliant entertainment of the kind ever witnessed in New Hampshire. In the magnificence of its preparations and decorations it was a pattern of the Tigers' ball in the Boston theater, or the one given to the Prince of Wales. It stepped out into a new line of action for this state, not equaled in New England by anything we had known except in Boston. The decorations were superb beyond description, and the music of Hall's band ravished all ears. Such a galaxy of charming, elegantly dressed, beautiful ladies never before assembled in the city of Concord."

Of the Guards in their brilliant uniforms it can only be said they were simply irresistible partners. Mrs. Goodwin, the wife of the governor, called them "gorgeous creatures." One fair dame said of the handsome major of the corps that he was "the belle of Concord."

Many were the occasions to which the Horse Guards were invited. The fame of their appearance on "Election Day" spread over the state, and some of the many invitations were accepted. The Rockingham Fair association invited them to Portsmouth in the year 1860, an invitation which was accepted. The weather, however, was unpropitious, rain falling all the day set for the parade. One of

the survivors writing of this says: "I think we did not mount." However, the reception given the Guards at Portsmouth was such as to be always remembered. There was a muster at Manchester and a gathering at Nashua which were prominent events in the life of the Guards. The parade of the full corps at Nashua in October, 1861, was at a muster of all the regular and extempore commands of the state. The Guards were three days in camp, two miles north of the city hall. They did escort duty when the First New Hampshire regiment went to the front, in April, 1861. Three months later, on the return of the regiment, another great day, the Horse Guards performed similar duty.

The guests of the corps at their fetes were the Amoskeag Veterans of Manchester, with whom they were always on amiable terms, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston, and the Putnam Phalanx of Hartford, Conn., by their officers, and Governor John A. Andrew and staff of Massachusetts. It was the late Colonel B. P. Cilley of the Veterans who at a banquet of the Guards to that corps gave this witty toast:

"The Governor's Horse Guards and Amoskeag Veterans; invincible in peace, invisible in war."

In justice to the Guards it must be said that at the outbreak of the Civil War their services were tendered to the governor, but he did not see his way clear to accept cavalry at that time. Colonel Bellows then went to Washington by vote of the corps and offered their services to the president, who referred him to General Scott. The latter declined to accept them, because, he said, the war would be so brief that cavalry would not be needed. Individuals of the Guards afterwards enlisted and did valiant service for their country, as a perusal of the roster will show. Of these the following are recalled:

Joseph C. Abbott, Adjt.-Genl. of N. H., Col. 7th N. H. Vols., Brig.-Genl. U. S. V.

George Bowers (Mexican veteran), Lieut.-Col. 13th N. H. Vols.

Stillman S. Davis, Paymaster U. S. Navy.

Josiah C. Eastman, Surgeon 4th N. H. Vols.

George W. Everett, Major 9th N. H. Vols.

Frank Fuller, Paymaster U. S. Vols.

Frank S. Fiske, Lieut.-Col. 2d N. H. V., Brt. Brig.-Gen. U. S. V.

Simon G. Griffin, Col. 6th N. H. V., Major-Gen. U. S. Vols.

George H. Gillis, Adjutant 13th N. H. Vols.

James B. Greeley, Surgeon 1st N. E. Cavalry.

George P. Greeley, Surgeon 4th N. H. Vols.

Natt Head, Adjutant and Quartermaster-General N. H.

Carleton B. Hutchins, Quartermaster 9th N. H. Vols.

Henry O. Kent, Assistant Adjt.-Gen. N. H., Col. 17th N. H. Vols.

Nathaniel Low, Captain 12th N. H. Vols.

Thomas P. Pierce (Mexican veteran), Col. 2d N. H. Vols.

Henry E. Parker, Chaplain 2d N. H. Vols.

Ichabod Pearl, Captain 2d N. H. Vols.

Augustus W. Rollins, Colonel 7th N. H. Vols.

George Stark, Brig.-Gen. commanding Camp Goodwin and Defences of Portsmouth.

Mason W. Tappan, Colonel 1st N. H. Vols.

Martin W. Willis, Chaplain 4th N. H. Vols.

Charles W. Woodman, Major U. S. Vols., Paymaster.

Thomas J. Whipple (Mexican veteran), Adj. 1st and Col. 4th N. H. Vols.

Pierce L. Wiggin, Captain 3d N. H. Vols.

Andrew H. Young, Paymaster U. S. Vols.

Companies A and B of the Guards, the Concord and Nashua companies, were always active. Company C of Portsmouth, though not so active, always paraded. Company D, from the northern part of the state, existed largely on paper, and finally was authorized to merge on parade with the other companies.

The war made inroads in the ranks of the Guards, and at the last parade, at the inauguration of Governor Smyth in 1865, not over half of the corps were in line. But it was the expense incident to their entertainments and the failure of the state to contribute to their services which led to the discontinuance of their parades. For six years the Guards had borne all expenses incident to the reception and entertainment of the governor and invited guests at inauguration, and at a meeting after the inauguration of Governor Smyth it was voted to suspend parades except by special order of the commander-in-chief, and to give no further levees until such time as suitable measures were taken guaranteeing payment for military services.

In 1879 an attempt was made to muster the Guards for escort duty at the inauguration of Governor-elect Natt Head, and for the purpose of consultation a general order assembling the members at the Eagle hotel at Concord, Thursday, April 24, was issued by the commander, Colonel Henry O. Kent.

This was the last official act of the corps commander. A few of the members met according to call at the Eagle hotel. The record closes with these words:

That the corps approve the action of the colonel in calling this meeting.

That in view of the present condition of the corps, lack of uniforms, and the short time intervening between this date and election day, it is inexpedient to order a parade the present year.

Adjourned to call of the commanding officer.

Thus, after the last call, was the curtain rung down on as brilliant

a pageant as was ever witnessed in New Hampshire. Few of the distinguished company now survive. To them and to their contemporaries now living, who enjoyed the festive occasions of which the Governor's Horse Guards were the inspiration, this brief story may recall pleasant memories.

The following is the roster of members, as shown by the records of the corps :

ANTRIM.—Lemuel N. Pattee.

BATH.—Carleton B. Hutchins.

BRADFORD.—Mason W. Tappan.

BOSCAWEN.—Calvin Gage.

CANTERBURY.—Jed L. Clough, Henry L. Clough.

CHICHESTER.—Charles H. Carpenter.

CONCORD.—Edward A. Abbot, Joseph H. Abbot, J. Stephens Abbot, J. S. Appleton, Richard H. Ayer, John V. Barron, A. Herbert Bellows, John Brown, Gilbert Bullock, Charles H. Butters, Dexter Chase, N. W. Churchill, Warren Clark, Isaac Clement, B. B. Clifford, Moses H. Clough, Robert N. Corning, Lewis Downing, Jr., Albert H. Drown, Peter Dudley, S. H. Dumas, B. F. Dunklee, Frank Eastman, George W. Ela, Isaac N. Elwell, F. A. Fiske, George G. Fogg, T. H. Ford, Charles P. Gage, John H. George, Joseph A. Gilmore, W. G. Gould, S. G. Griffin, Benjamin Grover, George Grover, Carr B. Haynes, Charles H. Herbert, Cyrus Hill, J. C. A. Hill, James R. Hill, J. T. Hoit, Sewell Hoit, A. B. Holt, Moses Humphrey, Ephraim Hutchins, George H. Hutchins, Eleazer Jackson, Frank Jones, J. D. Kelley, John Kimball, John A. Kilburn, J. E. Lang, C. J. Lane, J. W. Little, Anson S. Marshall, Asa McFarland, J. S. McFarland, George Mellen, George Minot, Ezekiel Morrill, Charles H. Norton, Nehemiah G. Ordway, Henry E. Parker, William M. Parker, Charles H. Peaslee, R. E. Pecker, Hamilton E. Perkins, R. N. Philbrick, George A. Pillsbury, C. S. Piper, A. J. Prescott, B. F. Prescott, Harvey Rice, J. W. Robinson, Abiel Rolfe, Edward H. Rollins, Charles P. Sanborn, Heman Sanborn, Josiah B. Sanborn, Peter Sanborn, Ezekiel Sawyer, George A. Sawyer, W. G. Shaw, H. S. Shattuck, Jonas D. Sleeper, Richmond Smith, Onslow Stearns, Sylvester Stevens, J. H. Stewart, Joseph P. Stickney, S. G. Sylvester, J. P. Tucker, Gust Walker, William Walker, David A. Warde, C. C. Webster, J. A. West, Richard West, Nathaniel White, B. Plummer Whipple, Moses T. Willard, R. G. Wyman, William C. Wyman.

DOVER.—Charles A. Tufts, John P. Hale, Nathaniel Lowe, C. W. Woodman, A. W. Rollins, George F. Rollins, Andrew H. Young, Albert Blaisdell, Marcus Marx, George H. Pierce, Russell Wiggim, Samuel M. Wheeler.

ENFIELD.—Jacob C. Bean.

EPPING.—Nathaniel Batchelder.

EXETER.—James M. Lovering, John P. P. Kelley, Joseph H. Hilliard.

FRANKLIN.—Daniel Barnard, Warren F. Daniell, George W. Nesmith, James L. Peabody.

GREENLAND.—William A. Pierce.

HAMPSTEAD.—Josiah C. Eastman.

HILLSBOROUGH.—Henry D. Pierce, Chandler E. Potter.

HOLLIS.—John H. Cutter, George P. Greeley, W. N. Tenney.

HOOKSETT.—Natt Head.

HOPKINTON.—Paul R. George, James M. Burnham, Herman W. Greene, Harvey Chandler.

KEENE.—Frank S. Fiske, William Dinsmore.

LANCASTER.—Henry O. Kent, Enoch L. Colby.

LACONIA.—Thomas J. Whipple, J. S. Thompson, Charles Lane, Charles J. Appleton.

LEBANON.—Aaron H. Cragin.

LITTLETON.—L. A. Russell, Joseph L. Gibb, Cyrus Eastman, Cephas Brackett.

MADBURY.—Henry Austin.

MANCHESTER.—Joseph C. Abbott, Thomas P. Pierce, Samuel Weber, Ezekiel A. Straw, Phineas Adams, Waterman Smith, J. T. P. Hunt, J. A. Haines, G. H. Kimball, William Stark.

MASON.—George Taft, James L. Chamberlain, Fred A. Brooks, G. E. Wyman, Lewis T. Sampson.

MEREDITH.—D. S. Beede.

MILFORD.—Bainbridge Wadleigh, George H. Gillis, William Lane.

NASHUA.—George Stark, John H. Gage, William P. Ainsworth, William F. Greeley, James B. Greeley, M. W. Willis, Virgil C. Gilman, John H. Andrews, George W. Underhill, Charles P. Gage, H. T. Morrill, Norman Fuller, S. C. Crombia, J. N. Ball, Samuel Chase, S. F. Wright, Gilman Scripture, George Bowers, Charles Williams, C. E. Page, L. H. Clement, W. M. Barrett, T. G. Banks, Isaac Marshall, Isaac Eaton, David Gillis, S. S. Davis, Frank A. McKean, O. H. Woodbury, William Barrett, H. D. F. Young, James D. Folsom, Julius F. Gage, Edward Parker.

NEW LONDON.—G. W. Everett, J. C. Greenwood.

NEWMARKET.—Samuel P. Dow, S. A. Haley.

NOTTINGHAM.—James H. Butler, Joseph Cilley.

OSSIPEE.—Pierce L. Wiggin.

PEMBROKE.—Aaron Whittemore.

PETERBOROUGH.—John B. Dane, Samuel J. Vose.

PITTSFIELD.—True Garland, R. P. J. Tenney, Lewis W. Clark, R. L. French, John Wheeler.

PLYMOUTH.—C. J. Stone.

PORTSMOUTH.—Frank Fuller, F. W. Miller, Clement March, Daniel Marcy, John E. Ryder, William Sawyer, M. Holmes, A. L. Bennett, N. F. Mathes, James A. Blaisdell, William Rand, Marcellus Eldredge, Heman Eldredge, Josiah E. Eldredge, Joseph Parry, Henry Peyser, Michael Fisher, Frank Jones, G. V. Rowe, T. B. Hoyt, W. E. Hadley.

RAYMOND.—J. S. James, William B. Blake.

RUMNEY.—Josiah Quincy.

SOMERSWORTH.—M. C. Burleigh, George W. Burleigh, Benjamin Haley, Thomas G. Jameson, Jacob Morrill, Rufus W. Stevens, Stephen S. Chick, Eben A. Tibbetts, Ichabod Pearl, George W. Hanson, Charles S. Jones, H. B. Davis, E. A. Smith, Alanson A. Hatch, Frank Tuttle, Owen W. Davis, S. B. Cole, William N. Nason, Edward A. Rollins, John S. Haynes, S. A. Collins, Joseph Hanson, Jonathan Bliss, Otis A. Frost, John Bates, Charles S. Dinsmore.

SOUTH HAMPTON.—Rufus Dow, Moses Eaton, Jr.

SUNCOOK.—James Osgood.

SANDWICH.—Joseph Wentworth, William M. Weed.

TAMWORTH.—Natt Hubbard.

TEMPLE.—D. L. Barton.

WHITEFIELD.—Aurin M. Chase.

HONORARY MEMBERS.—Franklin Pierce, Matthew Harvey, John Page, John H. Steele, Jared W. Williams, Anthony Colby, Samuel Dinsmore, Noah Martin, Nathaniel B. Baker, William Haile, Ichabod Goodwin.

MASSACHUSETTS MEMBERS.—Charles W. Webster, Boston; Seth E. Pecker, Boston; Christopher Roby, Chelmsford; E. A. Larkin, Townsend.

Master George Washington Nutt of Manchester was made an honorary member and a uniform provided for him at the expense of the Guards.





