

Chapter XIX.
Patriots and Tories.

During the months immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities in Massachusetts, Concord citizens seem to have been pursuing their daily round in peace and contentment. The town meeting held in March of that fateful year of 1775, was concerned only with routine matters: such as road repairs, bounties on "Wolves, Crows and Rattlesnakes for the ensuing year", appropriation for schools and the annual election of selectmen, tything men, fence viewers, pound keeper, constable etc. This peaceful spirit was attributable, at least in part, to Concord's isolation from governmental affairs, since, in common with the other New Hampshire towns implicated in the boundary dispute with Massachusetts, she had not been allowed representation in the Provincial Assembly. During the preceding year, Concord had made another futile attempt to secure this fundamental right by voting to send Esq. Green to Exeter for the purpose..

The Assembly held in that year of 1774 had caused Gov. John Wentworth vast concern by its rebellious spirit, in appointing a committee of correspondence to keep New Hampshire patriots in touch with those in troubled Massachusetts and other colonies. Hoping to nip this spirit of rebellion in the bud, the Governor dissolved the Assembly whereupon the members immediately resolved themselves into a voting body and defied his authority by issuing a circular letter to every town in the Province asking that delegates be sent to a general congress to be held in September, 1774, at Exeter. This gave Concord her first opportunity to have a voice in Province affairs and her delegate appears to have been her leading citizen, the Minister. According to town records the delegate attended three sessions, for listed in town expenses is this item: "Rev'd Mr. Walker for three journeys to Exeter to attend the Congress £3.16 s."

Early in May 1775, the congress called for a convention of Deputies elected by the towns to serve for a minimum period of six months, "fully empowered and authorized to adopt and pursue such measures as may be

judged expedient to preserve the rights of this and other Colonies". Concord held a meeting in response and Tim^o.Walker was elected Deputy for our town.He left for Exeter at once and took his seat in New Hampshire's first Provincial Congress when it assembled on May 17.The Minister was in his seventieth year and,although deeply concerned for the future of the colonies,it is probable that he felt that he could no longer divide his time between duties at home and at Exeter.Already passion had bred threat of violence in this peaceful village and members of his own beloved family were implicated.Well did this wise and godly man realize the apprehension and suffering in store for his parish.His son, Timothy,now in his late thirties,was,by inheritance,education and patriotic spirit,ably qualified for the task at Exeter.So keenly did the younger man realize the crisis that he closed his store at the North End and from that day on till the close of the war,he devoted himself to the cause of liberty.

The distraught Governor also realized the inevitable and fought mightily"to bring safety to my country and honor to my sovereign."In a letter at the time he wrote:"Our hemisphere threatens a hurricane" and "I have strove in vain almost to death,to prevent it."Gov.John Wentworth truly loved New Hampshire and it was tragedy for him when,humiliated and stripped of authority,he was forced to leave the Province in September 1775,never to return.At the time,the patriots in session at Exeter were making provision for the raising of two thousand troops which would include the twelve hundred volunteers who had hurried to Massachusetts immediately after news from Concord and Lexington.Mr.Walker was appointed on the committee of supplies For the new recruits and was also one of two Deputies sent to the Army in the late summer of '75 to make compensation for losses suffered by New Hampshire men at Bunker Hill.

When the second Provincial Congress met in December 1775,Mr.Walker had a share in the important task of drawing up plans for a temporary

government for our colony. This document, said to be the first constitution adopted by any of the American colonies after the war began, established a House of Representatives which should elect a Council of twelve members with power to elect their own presiding officer. The first presiding officer so elected was Meshech Weare and he was annually re-elected during the entire war period. The term "Governor" was distasteful to the patriots by association, and they feared the political power of such an office; therefore their constitution made no provision for an executive but placed authority for government during recess of the House, in the hands of a Committee of Safety. President Weare was appointed the head of this Committee and so well did he merit the confidence of the people, that he was also appointed judge of the Superior Court. Thus was combined in him the highest legislative, executive and judicial power granted under the new constitution and his service was invariably wise and patriotic.

Under such leadership the militia of New Hampshire was made ready for the conflict and this task was the easier because Gov. John Wentworth had developed the citizen soldiery to a new point of efficiency during his administration. The Continental Congress recommended to each colony that all able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and fifty should be liable to service, and this was the established policy in New Hampshire whose colonial militia consisted of twelve regiments. The 11th Regiment was made up of men in and around Concord and its commanding officer was Col. Thomas Stickney who succeeded Col. Andrew McMillan upon the latter's removal to Conway. Out of the personnel of these regiments, four regiments of Minute Men were carefully enlisted, each pledged to serve at a minute's warning. Drill was held fortnightly. Tim^s. Walker was commissioned colonel of one of these regiments—the 3rd—and at least one company of his regiment was made up of Concord men.

In October of the year 1775, Col. Walker was paymaster of the New

Hampshire troops at Winter Hill, consisting of three regiments under Col. Stark, Col. Poor and Col. Reid in the command of Gen. John Sullivan. On Jan. 6, 1776, the N.H. House of Representatives held its first session under the new constitution and Col. Walker was chosen one on a committee of three to draft a Declaration of Independence which, after unanimous adoption by the House on June 15 following, was duly forwarded to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia* "solemnly pledging our faith and honor that we will on our parts support the measure with our lives and fortunes"

It was about this time-early summer of 1776-that Concord had concrete evidence that war had begun, indeed. An armed British schooner, the George, was captured and the officers, five in number, were sent inland to Concord upon giving their "parole of honor to abide in the township of Concord, or within six miles thereof, during the present war." Who these men were, where they lived, what was their ultimate fate-no one knows.

Col. Walker's service as a patriot was varied and extensive. He served on the committee to devise a means for financing New Hampshire's part in the war: he helped to secure signatures to the Association Test of 1776, recommended by the Continental Congress as a means of eliminating Tories, and, due to his persuasive influence, no Concord man withheld his signature. At the same time he was a member of the N.H. Committee of Safety and also a member of the N.H. Council where he served with such patriots as Mesch Weare, Dr. Josiah Bartlett and Nicholas Gilman. Four times he was chosen delegate to the Continental Congress, but it is not certain how much he was able to attend. Following the war, he was delegate to the convention which produced a permanent constitution for our state and when the Republican (Democratic) party was organized in New Hampshire in 1798, he was its first candidate for governor. The Federalists were strongly in the majority so that Col. Walker was defeated.

In 1777, Col. Walker was appointed a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, an office which he held until 1804 when he became Chief Justice.

For the rest of his life he was known as Judge Walker, in distinction from others of his name. Court was held alternately in Exeter and in Portsmouth and it was Judge Walker's custom to make the trip on horseback, even in his later years.

Aside from his patriotic service, Judge Walker's great contribution to his native town was his initiative during the 1781 session of the N.H. House of Representatives in Exeter. Aware that much dissatisfaction existed among the members because of poor lodging accommodations and the excessive charges in Exeter, he suggested adjournment to meet in Concord, a central location, where he guaranteed good entertainment at reasonable rates. His motion carried and the House gathered in the town so long despised and persecuted by the old Provincial government. This event opened the way for Concord to become the capital of New Hampshire.

This first legislative session in Concord opened March 13, 1782 in the newly improved Meeting-house, but, "on account of the inclemency of the weather, adjourned to a building prepared for their reception." The Meeting-house was unheated and Judge Walker could not risk a cold greeting for the members: so he hastily fitted up a hall in the second story of the building formerly his store, heated it to comfort and invited the legislators there. Family tradition says that the president of the state used the north parlor of Parson Walker's house, while the treasurer used the room above for his office and the south sitting room was a general committee room. About 1851 this historic house where the first legislative session in Concord was held, was moved to the west side of the main street where it stands today as pictured, with a suitable tablet on its wall.

Judge Walker's long life of eighty-five years was a blessing to his town and the townsfolk accorded him respectful affection. He was democratic and friendly-always ready with help for all sorts and conditions of men-and his long life was a continual growth in wisdom. Like his father before him, he walked in godliness all his days. Ten of his fourteen

children grew to maturity and he rejoiced in them as they carried on the traditions committed to them."On the 5th of May, 1822, in the bosom of his family, he died—a virtuous and a happy old man *****. Truly, 'The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness.' " (Bouton

Despite all the agitation in Portsmouth and Exeter which preceded the exit of Gov. John Wentworth, Concord was little prepared for the ^{NEWS} brought on an April evening in '75 by a messenger on horseback. There had been fighting between the British regulars and the farmers of Middlesex County; the regulars had been driven back to shelter in Boston and patriots lay dead in Lexington and Concord.

Tradition gives us an intimate reaction to this news: "Early next morning a neighbor of the first Minister looked across intervening fields and observing a light in his study, went at once to discuss with him the tidings of the night before. As he passed to the door, he saw through the curtainless windows of his study, the good man alone, striding back and forth, evidently in painful thought. He entered without knocking. The pastor recognized him instantly, and as instantly remarked—'We must fight, John, we must fight!'" (Farm of the First Minister, J. B. Walker)

Recently an old document was found which shows that Rev. Timothy Walker had long feared such rupture with the mother country. This memorandum, evidently in the script of the Minister's son, is now in the Concord Room of the City Library and it reads as follows: "After the last cause was tried before the King & Council" (i.e. settling the Bow Controversy) "he had several conversations with Lord Mansfield at his chambers relative to the affairs of America *****. By the friendship of M^r. Kilby an eminent merchant of Boston residing at the time in London he was introduced to several of the Ministry and so far penetrated their designs that on his return he predicted the Revolution. In a conversation with the late D^r. Chauncey relative to the peace just concluded between Britain & France" (1763) "and the rejoicing on that acct He observed that nothing but a war

with England & a League with France would save America."

Two days after the fight at Lexington and Concord," a special convention of delegates" was called to meet immediately at Exeter. As the news spread, delegates came in from even the most remote towns of the Province so that, by the 25th, more than a hundred men with grim determination in their souls, had gathered for the session. Concord's delegate was her Minister and from then on his heart was in the great struggle for liberty. He encouraged and sometimes urged his parishoners to do their part for the cause. The increased burden upon his mind and spirit during the war years undoubtedly contributed to the break in his remarkable health and vigor.

In March 1778, the town considered it wise to hire some one to preach in his stead, but Mr. Walker insisted upon carrying on the entire responsibility of his wide spread parish for the next few years. Two or three weeks before his death he set out on horseback to attend a funeral at Iron Works but failed to arrive. Searchers found him lying wet and exhausted beside a brook where he had fallen as he dismounted to ford the stream. Probably he had suffered a slight stroke, but he succeeded-although with difficulty-in riding home. Reluctantly he bowed to family persuasion and did not preach the following Sunday. Two weeks later, on a Saturday, he called to see his neighbor and cousin, Isaac Walker, who had long been ill. As the visit closed, the two men prayed together and the Minister said farewell, closing with the prophetic words-"I do not expect to see you again." On the following morning, Sunday, Sept. 1, 1782, Concord's foremost citizen, her Minister for fifty-two years, died suddenly as he was dressing for his sacred duties of the day.

It was given to this faithful patriot to live till the cause he loved was crowned with victory. With all New England folk he had rejoiced in the deliverance from Burgoyne's invasion when members of his own parish had played a gallant part in saving the colonies from swift and ut-

ter defeat. When Capt. Jonathan Eastman, returning from Bennington with first tidings of the battle, rode up to the Minister's door, Parson Walker hastened to meet him calling out-"What news, friend Eastman, what news?" Eagerly he listened to the story of that victory and then exclaimed, with deep feeling, "Blessed be God! The country is safe---I can now die in peace." But his God granted him five years more of life and the knowledge of the final surrender at Yorktown which sealed the country's safety.

The neighbor who visited Parson Walker on that early morning in April, '75, was John Bradley who inherited the Bradley place on the north side of the highway now called Penacook St., then a part of the road to Boscawen. John Bradley was then in his early thirties and ever since his majority he had been active in civic affairs and trusted for his ability and integrity. He had married Richard Ayer's sister, Hannah, and the couple had two little sons, the first in their family of nine children. John Bradley replaced his grandfather's house with a roomy two story, gambrel-roofed dwelling about 1769 which stood under its fine old elms as shown in our picture-until it was torn down because there were no more Bradleys to live in it.

In 1775 John Bradley received a lieutenant's commission in the Continental Army signed by Matthew Thornton, in behalf of New Hampshire's Committee of Safety. He served at Winter Hill in Capt. Benjamin Emery's company. Following the war, Mr. Bradley continued the civic activities begun in his early manhood and no local enterprise was complete without his wise counsel. Again and again he served in the Legislature and thus became widely known throughout the state. He was the owner of large properties in the Pigwacket country and three of his sons settled there at Fryeburg, Me.

This good citizen was distinguished in appearance-tall and slender but possessed of unusual physical strength which served him well in time of need, as indicated by this story. In partnership with Capt. Jonathan

Eastman, he owned Sewall's Island in the Merrimack river and on the Island was a barn to which Mr. Bradley had occasion to go on an early spring day. Upon entering he found himself confronted with a wild cat which slunk behind a pile of boards. Mr. Bradley had no gun but he cornered the beast, seized it by the scruff of the neck and choked it to death.

John Bradley was one of those few men in early Concord who, although deeply reverent in spirit and blameless in life, still held back from "owning the covenant". His mother was a woman of piety and the upbringing and the influence of his grandparents had bred in him all the Christian virtues but, although he attended service at the Meeting-house consistently and supported it liberally, some strange impulse kept him outside its fellowship. His wife and their son, Moses Hazzen (b. 1782, Dartmouth 1807) and their grandson, Moses Hazzen, Jr. (b. 1833) last of the Concord Bradleys, were all devoted members of First Church. Hon. John Bradley died in 1815 and his youngest son, Richard, inherited the homestead.

The first men from Concord to serve in the Revolution were those unknown nine, "belonging to Pennycook, or thereabout" who, without waiting for enlistment hurried away in the wake of men from Derryfield and Suncook who marched to Cambridge immediately upon hearing the news of Lexington and Concord. The first men authorized to serve from Concord were thirty-six volunteers recruited by the Minister's son-in-law, Lieut. Abiel Chandler. This company marched to Cambridge very soon after the 19th of April and remained two weeks. The company roster has been lost.

^{Lieut.}
Capt. Abiel Chandler, schoolmaster and surveyor, and grandson of Proprietor John Chandler, was thirty years old when he bade goodbye to his wife, Judith Walker, and their three little daughters and marched away to war. He first saw fighting at Bunker Hill in Capt. Joshua Abbot's company. Returning to Concord, he was appointed to take the town census ordered throughout the colony in this year of 1775, by the Assembly at Exeter. According to his report, Concord's total population was 1052, including

490 women, 14 negro slaves and 548 males of whom 232 were eligible in age, for service. Although this census was taken following the battle of Bunker Hill and many men on short enlistment had returned home, still the record shows that 46 Concord men were still in the army.

Abiel Chandler was in active service again in 1776 under Capt, Joshua Abbot and this service was unto death. On July 12 he fell victim to small pox, that terrible scourge of the army, and died at Crown Point. Two weeks earlier his brother Peter died in service, presumably also in Capt. Joshua Abbot's company. *Abiel was Adjutant on Gen. Stark's staff with rank of Major. His widow married Nathaniel Rolfe, Jr. Mar. 16, 1778.*

Among Concord patriots none had a more gallant record than Gordon Hutchins, the new storekeeper. It was characteristic of him that, immediately upon hearing the news from Concord and Lexington, he started post haste for Exeter to get a commission and authority to raise a company of volunteers. This he accomplished with speed his company ^{-X-} being recruited for six months of service. Ordered to march to Medford without delay, he anticipated the home problems of his men and pledged himself to supply each family represented, with a certain quantity of provisions from his store, on credit. This was practical patriotism and, because of imminent depreciation of currency, it meant serious financial loss to Capt. Hutchins.

When the captain bade farewell to his Dolly, their son, Levi, then not fifteen years old, begged to go with the company and forthwith marched away with his sire, "filling the fife" for the new troops. Levi stayed with his father at Medford until the eve of Bunker Hill, thrilled as only a stout-hearted lad could be, at the preparations for that daring enterprise. In his Autobiography, he says: "I desired to go with him into battle, but he advised me to do otherwise. In compliance with his earnest request, I retired to the ^{of} highlands of Medford, saw therefrom the burning of Charlestown and the desperate fight." Again he writes: "I served under my father,

x. Company included 63 men. "Life of Gen. John Stark", Moore

as fifer from April to September following, when I enlisted in Capt. Lewis' company in Col. Varnum's regiment under Gen. Greene ." He continued in this company for a year, at Brooklyn and Red Hook until after the retreat of Washington's army from Long Island. Then his father provided a substitute for the lad. (So recorded in Pension Paper)

During that summer of 1775, Gordon Hutchins's abilities as an officer were recognized by promotion to rank of Lieut. Colonel in Col. Nahum Baldwin's regiment. He marched away through Connecticut to join the Continental Army in New York and Levi, the fifer, marched with him. During that march many of the soldiers fell ill and there was no provision for such emergency in the hastily equipped army, so Col. Hutchins supplied medicines at his own expense. Eventually the money was refunded to him. The following year, with his regiment, he fought in the battle of White Plains.

In 1777 Col. Hutchins returned to his home in Concord and the town folk promptly chose him as deputy to the General Assembly at Exeter. During the session, news of Burgoyne's invasion of the Lake Champlain country and the fall of Fort Ticonderoga reached Exeter. Gen. John Stark, lately resigned from the Army, was commissioned to command any volunteers that New Hampshire could raise, with orders to march in haste to the relief of southern Vermont. John Langdon of Portsmouth, then Speaker of the House, made his famous pledge of his money, fifty hogsheads of rum, his house and plate, to finance the expedition.

In the midst of such excitement and enthusiasm, Col. Hutchins jumped on his horse and rode all night in haste to Concord. He arrived to find the main street in Sabbath stillness, for all good folk were at meeting. The Meeting-house windows were open that mid-summer day and the congregation was startled by the sound of galloping feet of a hard-riden horse. This was most unseemly among a people who tolerated no travel on Sunday. More startling was the entrance of Col. Hutchins and folks held

their breath as he strode down the middle aisle, interrupting the discourse in high-handed fashion. But Rev. Timothy Walker was a patriot preacher and he instantly gave way to the patriot soldier. Col. Hutchins proclaimed the threatening news and the urgent need for volunteers to follow the popular hero, John Stark. The Minister played his part in the strange scene: "My hearers", said he, "Those of you who are willing to go, better leave at once!" Tradition says that every man in the Meeting-house rose and left, while the Minister calmly continued his sermon to a congregation of anxious women and wide-eyed children.

Many enlisted at once and in a certain small shop, the Sabbath quiet was broken by the tap, tap of Samuel Thompson's hammer as he worked on into the night making shoes for men who otherwise could not march. About thirty men left Concord immediately with Col. Hutchins, but they arrived too late for that battle at Bennington which resulted in a victory which renewed the hope and courage of the colonies. Less than a dozen Concord men had a part in that brilliant victory, but their contribution under their gallant leader, Col. Thomas Stickney, is permanently recorded on a bronze relief map which stands on the famous battlefield.

Late that year of 1777, Dolly Hutchins died. Col. Hutchins remained in Concord for a year following and doubtless sought to revive his neglected store, but his wife's death, his business losses because of his service and the depreciation of currency, all combined to defeat his efforts. He sold his property—house, store, land and cow—to Robert Harris and the transaction brought further loss because Harris scrupled not to take all possible advantage under the law, as money depreciated in value.

In 1779, with his son, Levi, Col. Hutchins fared forth on a new adventure. Shipping on board the "Hector", a privateer out of Salem, Mass., they headed for Penobscot bay. Levi acted as doctor's mate. Lying at anchor just within the entrance to the bay, they "learned of matters relative to privateering not advantageous to us" and soon they beheld English armed vessels

entering the bay." We sailed, pursued by the foe, up the river to the place where the city of Bangor is now located, though at that time there were but few buildings there; in 1772 the settlement contained but twelve families. At Bangor we disembarked and blew up our vessel. Then we escaped to the summit of an almost perpendicular hill, taking hold of bushes growing on its side, to aid our ascent. After the performance of this feat, which ended our public service in the war, my father and I set out on a long journey and, after enduring much fatigue, arrived at our home in Concord."

Col. Hutchins married, a second time, Lucy Lund and another family of five sons and four daughters was born to him. After living in several different towns of the state, the old patriot came back to Concord to spend his last days. Death came to him in a little house on High St. (now Green St.) near its present intersection with Park St. At that time the site of the State House and of our Government Building was swampy land. That part of State St. was only recently opened and there were few if any other houses in the immediate vicinity. The old "Bell School" stood on the site of Parker School^a of today. Writing of his own school days at that period, Asa McFarland, Jr. tells of "this venerable man, a soldier of the Revolution" who often passed the schoolhouse on his way home. "And when we were out at recess, and Col. Hutchins passed, leaning upon a staff, all the pupils ranged themselves in a line and bowed or curtsied to the honored pilgrim."

The picture of Col. Hutchins is copied from a portrait which hangs in the house built by his son, Abel, at 19 No. State St. The picture of the house, identified by Asa McFarland, Jr. as "the small habitation still standing (1879) but in enlarged form," in which the patriot lived, was taken shortly before its removal prior to erection of the building of the N.H. Historical Society. It is probable that the ell was the old structure and perhaps, in that earlier time, it was only one story in height with its trellised doorway facing the south.

** North west corner of State School*

One who enters the Old Burying Ground cannot fail to see the most showy of the old time gravestones. It is a large slab supported horizontally upon four granite pillars. In large letters it is inscribed "Robert Harris, Merchant." More than a century has passed since this man, one of Concord's wealthiest citizens, was laid here to be forgotten. In a quiet, inconspicuous spot farther on in the cemetery, is the modest stone which marks a place hallowed by a Soldier of the American Revolution marker and there each year in May, the grass is green and flowers bloom and reverent hands place a bright new flag over the grave of Gordon Hutchins whose gallant service ^{helped to} make that flag a possibility.

It is not possible to thus honor all of our patriot dead in Concord for some of them lie in unmarked graves. Two such are negro soldiers. Florence M^cCauley (M^cColley) was in service under Capt. Joshua Abbot in 1776. He was a free man at the time and is remembered as devoted to Col. Andrew M^cMillan with whom he probably lived prior to the war, and whom he faithfully served after the war. The other was a mulatto slave, Salem Colby, owned by Lot Colby at Eleven Lots. Mr. Colby had purchased him in 1761 from a woman in Billerica.

At the town meeting in March 1776, a local committee of safety was chosen consisting of Philip Eastman, Col. Thomas Stickney, Col. Timothy Walker, Joseph Hall, Jr. and Richard Harbut (Herbert). The first duty of this committee was to report persons suspected of being "in any ways inimical to this country." Its first meeting was held at the home of the chairman, Philip Eastman, over the river and in the room shown in our picture, the committee organized for its service. This historic old house was, of course, the boyhood home of Jonathan Eastman who brought to Concord the first news of the Bennington victory. Jonathan's older brother, Robert, inherited this homestead when their father, Philip Eastman, died. Robert Eastman dying with out heirs, left it to his wife's nephew, Jeremiah Pecker. Jeremiah Pecker was a grandson of an original Proprietor, John Pecker, and a son of Maj.

James Pecker of Haverhill, Mass., who died at Valley Forge while serving as army surgeon with Gen. Washington. Jeremish Pecker's own grandson, J. Eastman Pecker, well-known newspaper correspondent of his generation, was the last of his name and the last of the Eastman line to occupy this ancient house.

Philip Eastman was "a man of great resolution and force", says Bouton, and always played an active part in town affairs. His uncompromising habit of mind and speech led inevitably to opposition and it is said that he and Col. Benjamin Rolfe were almost invariably at odds on local policies. One day in 1771, Mr. Eastman rode into his dooryard, dismounted and greeted his wife thus: "Well, Abiah, I have been to a meeting of the Proprietors today, and have not had one word of dispute with Col. Rolfe." His good wife expressed her surprise and gratification, whereupon he drily remarked: "There was good reason for it, for he died this morning."

Joseph Hall, Jr. (b. 1737), member of the first committee of safety, was doubtless living at Eleven Lots with his father, Dea. Joseph Hall, since the town rates list of 1778 refers to them as "Joseph Hall & Son" as if their property were held in common. With the exception of the Minister's family, they paid the highest rate in town. In later years, Joseph Hall, Jr. followed in his father's footsteps and served the church as deacon.

Richard Herbert's house is still standing as referred to in Chapter XI, but remodelled out of all recognition. Lieut. Herbert was one of the small group of Concord men who took part in the battle at Bennington, where he served in Capt. Ebenezer Webster's company. After the battle he was a member of the court-martial which tried two soldiers on charge of stealing "two horses and a quantity of other plunder." Lieut. Herbert was long remembered in Concord for his "original and pithy sayings", and his shrewd knowledge of human nature. On one occasion he had loaned a neighbor a sum of money and found difficulty in collecting the same. Finally he interviewed the man in the presence of Esq. Walker, the North End law-
Charles

yer and urged in every possible way the payment, or at least, the renewal of the note. When this failed, Lieut. Herbert suddenly grasped the man's arm and said-"Come, go with me down to the bank, and let Esq. Sparhawk weigh you in his money scales, to see if you are an honest man." The debtor capitulated and renewed the note.

Such was the calibre of the men chosen on Concord's first committee of safety.

Besides the company led by Capt. Gordon Hutchins, two other companies of men from Concord and vicinity shared in the battle at Bunker Hill. Capt. Joshua Abbot commanded one of these and Capt. Aaron Kinsman the other. In this first actual battle of the Revolution, it is a tribute to the patriotism of Concord men that every local field officer and every non-commissioned officer of the former provincial militia, with one exception took up arms and fought for liberty. The exception was the youthful and handsome major, favorite of Gov. John Wentworth, Benjamin Thompson. He shares with Robert Rogers the unenviable distinction of being Concord's most noted tory.

The town had looked somewhat askance at the young schoolmaster's sudden rise to wealth and prominence, and as he continued to ignore the trouble brewing throughout the colonies, envy bred suspicion. Bouton says that public opinion was further aggravated by the fact that the major "spoke doubtfully of the American cause." In the summer of 1774 two strangers were employed by Benjamin Thompson on the Rolfe farm, but when it was discovered that they were deserters from British troops occupying Boston, he promptly returned them to Gen. Gage with a plea for clemency. Concord people resented this.

Loyalty to his patron, the royal governor, was natural: moreover, therein seemed to lie his hope for future advancement. Proud, high-spirited and intensely ambitious, it was impossible for Benjamin Thompson to be anything but resentful of the mob element which threatened to coerce his.

decisions. Doubtless he had some respect for the very definite views of his father-in-law, the Minister, but every instinct turned him to the tory view. He was very young: he was intellectually precocious, but he was not yet wise.

In recent years the University of Michigan acquired manuscript papers once in possession of Gen. Gage who, in the spring of 1774, was appointed royal governor of Massachusetts. Among these papers is a letter written by Benjamin Thompson to Gov. John Wentworth and dated in Concord Dec. 13, 1774. It reveals much of the local situation during preceding months.

Having sent his two deserter employes back to Boston, he relates that he kept with him in Concord, a soldier (in disguise) to apprehend other possible deserters who might take refuge in the vicinity. Two such having been reported in Boscawen, the spy, William Bowdidge by name, was quietly sent to seize them. The townsfolk found out about it and surrounded him in so threatening fashion that, but for the protection afforded by "an old Gentleman who very kindly took his part", he could scarcely have escaped violence. The news of this episode produced "general disturbance and disaffection" in Concord so that Thompson helped Bowdidge to escape secretly to Boston. In spite of his departure, "they still look'd upon me" writes Thompson, "with great coolness and indifference, and repeated threats and menaces were daily thrown out against me in this and neighboring towns".

Ten days later a "Mr. Stevens" (probably Merchant John Stevens) returning from a trip to Boston, spread the news that he had seen Bowdidge there "dress'd in a Soldier's habit" and had talked with him. The letter continues: "This blew up the flame to the highest pitch imaginable; and every persons invention was Rack'd to find out a punishment equal to my supposed Crime."

On Dec. 12, the night before this letter was written, about eight

o'clock a messenger lifted the knocker on the front door of the Rolfe mansion at Eleven Lots and presented a summons to Benjamin Thompson to appear immediately before the Committee of Correspondence for Concord and towns in its vicinity, assembled at one of the local taverns. Since Hannah Osgood's was the tavern rendezvous for patriots, it is probable that it was the meeting place and Thompson found it "fill'd & surrounded with a great number of People from all quarters." Examined over a period of several hours, he writes—"every argument and artifice was made use of to make me confess myself Guilty of the crimes that are alleged against me (which in their opinion was at least equal to Murder)". All this failed to secure either a confession or any proofs adequate to sustain their suspicions and the Committee finally "dismissed me for the time."

Enclosed with this letter was a brief one addressed to Gen. Gage with the request that Gov. Wentworth forward it and thus, eventually, this correspondence came back to America and is now made public. Gov. Wentworth himself, was distraught with anxiety and was only too ready to warn Gage of the temper of the people north of the Massachusetts boundary, as set forth in the Thompson letters. The fate of Thompson if suspicions could be verified was certain: he would be declared "a Rebel to the State and unworthy the benefits of Civil Society": his name would be posted throughout Massachusetts as well as New Hampshire, as proscribed. Realizing this, Thompson begged Gen. Gage that the deserters he had returned might be prevented from providing evidence to Concord men who were diligently seeking such evidence.

These letters imply that Thompson anxiously sought vindication from charges which he felt to be entirely unjust and that he had the courage to await justice at the hands of the Committee. He did not reckon on the mob which, enraged by his temporary freedom, plotted violence. Of this plot someone warned him just in time and he fled in the cold winter night leaving home, wife and a two months old babe, Sarah. There was noth-

ing else for him to do in decency. To stay would only involve his wife and her family in unthinkable sorrow and difficulty, for all hope of an unprejudiced decision was gone. He took refuge in his old home in Woburn only to meet averted looks and open threats.

Mrs. Thompson followed her husband to Woburn but life under such conditions was scarcely tolerable and she finally returned to her own home and her own people. She never saw her husband again. In May 1775, Benjamin Thompson wrote a petition for a hearing before the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, hoping still to disprove the charges against him, but although influential patriot friends who still believed in his loyalty indorsed his plea, his petition was denied. Tradition says that he sought service before the Battle of Bunker Hill, only to be refused.

In the late fall of 1775, Benjamin Thompson left Woburn for Newport where he boarded one of the British ships and sailed for England, driven by his country's friends to serve his country's enemies", as suggested by Joseph B. Walker in a resume of the life of Count Rumford. Near the close of the Revolution, he was commissioned Lieut. Colonel in the British army and came to New York in command of a regiment. His service was brief and uneventful. In 1784 he was knighted and, as Sir Benjamin Thompson, he received permission of the British government to enter the service of the Elector of Bavaria—a service which won him recognition as a leading statesman of Europe. He turned to philanthropy and is said to have banished the beggary which had long been the curse of Bavaria. As reward for this service his patron offered him the title of "Count of the Holy Roman Empire" and this exile from his native land chose to add "Rumford" in remembrance. He was adored by the poor in Bavaria and courted by the wealthy and a monument was erected in his honor in Munich with this inscription—"Rumford, the Friend of Mankind."

In the Concord Herald for March 21, 1792, we read:

"Mr. Hough-
For inserting the following you will oblige a Correspondent.

Lately died in Concord, New Hampshire, Lady Sarah Thompson, late consort of Sir Benjamin Thompson, and eldest daughter of the late Rev. Timothy Walker. She was possessed of a noble and strong mind—her liberal hand was ever open to the poor and needy; being possessed of a fortune sufficient, she never neglected to shew her benevolence to every class of the human race. She left a son and a daughter—the former now at the University of Cambridge—the latter an amiable young lady worthy the attention of any Gentleman.

Tread lightly on her ashes, ye fair sex, for she was your kinswoman—weed her grave clean ye females of Genius for she was your sister.

G.P."

Lady Sarah Thompson rests by the side of her first husband, Col. Benjamin Rolfe in the Old Burying Ground.

Shortly after his wife's death, Benjamin Thompson sent for his unknown daughter Sarah and she made the tedious sailing trip to England under the willing protection of Mr. and Mrs. John Jay. Arriving at length in Munich, she was given every courtesy as the daughter of a great and much loved man. It was in Munich that her portrait was painted as it is reproduced here. The Elector gave her the title of Countess and half the pension granted to the Count was made her inheritance. The portrait of Count Rumford in these days of his highest fame, that of the Countess and others of their friends at Court, are in possession of the Walker family.

Returning to London from Munich, Count Rumford devoted himself to scientific research and established thereby a reputation second only to that of Benjamin Franklin in that generation of Americans. He solved the problem of London's smoky chimneys by improved fireplace and chimney construction. He discovered the principle of heat as a mode of motion and applied other discoveries concerning heat, to stoves and cooking ranges. He refused to patent his inventions, choosing rather to make them a con-

tribution to human comfort and convenience.

In 1799 Rumford founded the Royal Institute in Albemarle St. London and endowed Rumford scholarships there and at Harvard college. Recognizing his well-deserved fame in Europe, there seems to have been little resentment felt toward the Count in America. Indeed, our government invited him to organize the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, but his responsibilities abroad prevented his acceptance. He did, however, present to the Academy his entire collection of military drawings and models and he made generous gifts to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Death came to him while he was living in France in 1814.

The titled grand-daughter of Rev. Timothy Walker-"Sarah Rumford" as she signed herself-returned to this country now and then to visit her kinsfolk. Her London home was a house in the suburb of Brompton, inherited from her father. The entire Rolfe property in Concord was the inheritance of her half-brother, Paul Rolfe, who, at his decease, left the homestead to the Countess. In 1845 she returned to make her permanent home in the old house and there she lived a retired and frugal life with her young protegee, Emma Gannell (later Mrs. John Burgum). In her will the Countess refers to this English girl as "a young person with me from infancy, born in new road, Chelsea, London, April 20, 1826."

Across Hall St. from the old Rolfe mansion stands an old barn which originally stood on the Rolfe homestead. A neighbor tells that her mother used to recall the time when, as a girl, she saw the Countess painting the barn with her own hands. By such frugality she augmented her fortune and was able to endow most generously the institution to which she left the house where she was born-the Rolfe and Rumford Asylum for girls.

In September 1798 the selectmen of Concord received a message from Count Rumford by way of his old friend, Loammi Baldwin of Woburn. This was to the effect that the Countess wished to devote a sum of money to help, after the fashion of a philanthropic enterprise initiated by the Count,

in Munich, a group of twelve poor girls" in the Town where she was born- a spot which will ever be very dear to her and where she is anxious to be remembered with kindness and affection." In a reply dated Nov. 1798, the selectmen of Concord, John Odlin and Richard Ayer, replied respectfully and cordially to the offer. There was no hint of resentment. The plan was not carried into effect, however, until after the death of the Countess when, by the terms of her will, the Rolfe mansion and fifteen thousand dollars was available for the purpose. The Countess died in 1852 in the room where she was born in the troubled year of 1774.

More than a century ago there was a little girl in Concord named Lucretia Morse Fisk who wondered what a countess looked like. She wondered if, like a queen, the Countess wore a golden crown and a gorgeous robe. Now this little girl's mother was a grand-daughter of Parson Walker and, therefore, a cousin of the Countess of Rumford; so, one day she said to Lucretia-"My dear, would you like to call upon the Countess with me?" Years afterward, Lucretia wrote out an account of that afternoon visit at the Rolfe mansion, for her own little daughter. They stood on the broad door-stone, this small Lucretia and her mother, and mother lifted the brass knocker which fell with a heavy thud. Presently little Emma Gannell opened the door and, dropping a deep curtsy, invited them to enter the parlor.

"Presently came in a little old lady who greeted my mother cordially. Then my mother said-'Countess, I have brought my little daughter to see you.' So this was the Countess. No coronet or plumed turban-no silken train-but a very plain lace cap, a gown good in material but of quaint fashion long passed, and a shawl about her shoulders just like anybody else. My astonishment was so great that I forgot to make my fine curtsy, and must have appeared rather stupid. After we were seated I stared at her, which was certainly not polite, but she was engaged with my mother and did not notice me. Though the Countess did not look as I expected

she was unlike anyone I had ever seen.

"The Countess was not really a very old lady, but I was very young so that the years between us were many, and I had seen her portrait, taken when she was a young girl, but to me not unlike her now. Now that I had time to look at her I saw a lady of fair complexion, her face thin and somewhat wrinkled; with sharp features and bright blue eyes. (It gave her a distinguished personality.) She talked with much animation and I soon saw that she was not just like everybody else. I perceived an elegance and refinement of manner which gave her an air of distinction in spite of her ordinary dress, and I soon recovered from my first disappointment and began to think her charming.

"Then came the greatest surprise of all. The Countess sent Emma for a little box, from which, when she had opened it, she took a small Swiss watch attached to a gold chain. Said she: 'I bought two of these watches when I was in Switzerland and gave one to your cousin Susan and now I give the other to you.' " *

Capt. Benjamin Emery, one of Concord's prominent patriots, lived in the house which still stands at 125 No. State St. but completely rebuilt. Our picture shows it as it was built about 1769, the year when Capt. Emery sold his house down on the main street to Dr. Carrigain. The new house stood in a lot of about fifteen acres which Emery purchased from his uncle, Col. Benjamin Rolfe. Originally this was the house lot and emendation lot granted to Richard Uran. Mrs. Emery, tradition says, opposed the location of the new home because it was so far from civilization that she feared the Indians might attack them. According to the story, she said she "had rather watch hogs three hours a day than go up into the woods to live."

*Manuscript loaned by Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Exeter.

It was the zeal of Capt. Emery which seems to have led to further tory baiting in Concord, particularly in the case of "Merchant" John Stevens: at least, Stevens accused him of "setting a trap" for him by persuading him to sell the forbidden merchandise of tea and pewter "on pretence that he wanted them for one of his daughters who was about to be married." Stevens had signed the Association Test ("John Steven") which pledged:

"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 American Colonies."

Just how the suspicion started is unknown but at the town meeting in 1777, it was voted "to break off all dealings with Peter Green, Esq., Mr. John Stevens, Mr. Nathaniel Green and Dr. Philip Carrigain until they give satisfaction to the Parish for their past conduct; and that they be advertised in the Public Prints as Enemies to the United States of America unless said Persons give said satisfaction within thirty days from this date." Each of these well-known and prominent citizens had signed the Test. The same suspicion which drove Benjamin Thompson from this town and country was at work again.

Other towns followed suit. An earlier town meeting in Hopkinton had voted: "That our representative should use his influence that the two Greens should be put down from their office and that if any person should go to Peter Green to get a rit he should be looked upon as an enemy to his country." Such continued hysteria suggests the unreasonableness of the early suspicions against Benjamin Thompson.

With regard to this latest outbreak, Bouton says: "Some of the zealous liberty men of the west part of the town meditated something a little more personal;" (than the vote at town meeting) And so it was that as Col. Walker mounted his horse one morning, he saw a group of West Parish men striding purposefully down by the Meeting-house. Following them

quietly, he overtook his friend, John Bradley who felt some concern also. The two men agreed that trouble was brewing and sure enough, when they came in sight of Mother Osgood's tavern they found an excited mob threatening to pull down Esq. Peter Green's house. Apparently the attack had begun for it is said that the shutters of the house bore for years to come, the marks of stones hurled by angry men.

Never was Col. Walker's influence used to wiser ends never was John Bradley's physical strength more needed than on that day. Between them, the two North End men induced the mob leaders to go into the tavern to discuss their grievances and having accomplished that, they entertained the whole crowd with bowl after bowl of punch until all being by this time in better mood, Col. Walker made a brief speech which he closed by saying-"Every man to his tent, O Israel!" and all dispersed peacefully.

Two of the suspected Tories must have made speedy and acceptable explanation to the town fathers, for we hear no more of charges against them. But Esq. Green and John Stevens chose to be stiff-necked in their indignation, with the result that they were arrested in company with Capt. Jeremiah Clough of Canterbury and a Richard Ellison, taken to Exeter and jailed. Green's common sense came to his rescue and he took the oath of allegiance and was released. He returned to Concord and resumed his standing as a prominent and influential citizen.

John Stevens never yielded to the pressure brought against him in Exeter jail. He protested his unfailing loyalty but obstinately refused to take oath. As time went on he became a problem to the officials and after a year's confinement, he was released by special order of the N.H. Assembly. At the close of the war, the town voted its censure of him null and void and, as a sort of compensation, he was made justice of the peace. But he never forgave. He was especially bitter against Capt. Emery and challenged him to fight. The two men met at Mother Osgood's, Stevens arriv-

ing first. He was a small, slender man and quick as a cat, while the Captain was a heavy man and slow in movement. When Stevens saw his enemy enter the yard, he jumped on him without warning and so violently that Capt. Emery fell. But, recovering his feet, the Captain easily overcame the smaller man and the by-standers interfered and stopped the fight.

This experience only added to John Stevens's bitterness of spirit and that bitterness he cherished to life's end. That end came on Christmas Day, 1792 when John Stevens was in his forty-fifth year and, by his express orders, his was the strangest funeral ever held in Concord. On the 26th, Daniel Clark, the Millville potter, wrote thus in his diary:

"Esq^r Stephens Dyed. 28th. Buryed in a manner follows. Left in writing wrote two years before his Death, he would have no minister to attend, no mourners to follow his bier, no people to attend the funeral, his bearers the four poorest men in town were paid 12^s each and well feasted, buryed by his own house on his own land and a great rock on his coffin." Bouton varies the account by saying that some time before his death, Stevens 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 in the garden"-pointing them out-"that no citizen of Concord shall follow me to the grave;-that no minister be present;-that you will pay one crown apiece to the four men who bear out my body and bury it." His wife was reluctant, but he, defiant to the last, would tolerate no friendly offices even in death. In such fashion John Stevens was buried, with four laborers as his bearers and only two mourners-both men of foreign birth-accompanying the family to the grave under the apple trees. Years later this grave was accidentally opened and the bones were re-interred in a new grave somewhere in the rear of present Chamberlain House-unknown and unremembered by this generation.

John Stevens was educated at the University of Cambridge, England, and he had travelled widely in Europe and America. He was a man of parts

and a brief obituary in the local "Mirrour" attributed to him the virtues of "an endearing consort", "affectionate father" and "a firm and faithful friend". What a pity that a man who had so much to contribute to the village life should have been so embittered by needless persecution.

War breeds evil passions, however noble the cause for which men fight, and suspicion leads inevitably to injustice and violence. Is it significant that every one of the men charged with toryism in our town - including Robert Rogers, the magnificent Ranger, should have been an alien outside the Concord tradition: that every one, by his material success and social standing, should have been a shining mark for envy and malice?

This was not the true Concord spirit: this was the product of evil passion bred by war, and the one blot upon the Revolutionary record of our citizens for patriotism and devotion to the cause of liberty.