

## CHAPTER II.

### TOWN SOVEREIGNTY AND THE "OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR." 1741-1749.

In 1741, the year of the establishment of the boundary line between the two provinces, by a royal decree New Hampshire was made an independent province, and Benning Wentworth was appointed governor.

But for a long time Upper Ashuelot, cut off from Massachusetts and ignored by New Hampshire, took no part in provincial affairs; nor was she invited to do so. The governor would issue his precepts to the sheriff directing him to warn the several towns in the eastern and central parts of the province to choose representatives to the general assembly, but never mentioning those in the Connecticut valley. For twenty-seven years after it became a New Hampshire town Upper Ashuelot had almost nothing to do with the province, its first representative, Capt. Josiah Willard, being elected in 1768.

It was a case of complete town sovereignty and independence. The little hamlet in the wilderness, which "had now become a considerable village," was a miniature republic—made its own laws and managed its own affairs without interference from higher political powers. What protection it had in its struggle with the savages, which began in 1744, came from Massachusetts.

Apparently the first intercourse the town had with the province of New Hampshire was a complaint from Rev. Mr. Bacon in 1742, joined with one from Rev. Mr. Ashley of Winchester, that the inhabitants refused to pay their taxes for the support of the minister; for we find the following in Provincial Records, Vol. 5, p. 189:

*Governor's Orders.*

"Province of }  
New Hampshire }                      Portsmouth, Jan. 31, 1742.

"It having been represented to his Excellency that many of the Inhabitants residing on the King's Lands, since his

Majesty has been pleased to determine the boundarys between this Province & the Massachusetts Bay, have refused to pay their Taxes towards the support of their Ministers, alledging that there is no Law of the Province to oblige them thereto; I am therefore by his Excellency's Command to inform the respective Inhabitants, that it will be very agreeable to the Governor that you & each of you, who have been delinquent on that occasion, do forthwith comply with your obligations in regard to the payment of your Ministers, as a contrary behavior will incur his Excellency's displeasure.

By his Excellency's Command.

*"To the Several Inhabitants on the King's Lands in New Hampshire.*

*"Coppys Delivered to Messrs Ashley & Bacon ministers at Winchester & Ashuelot on Connecticut."*

On the 19th of November, 1740, a meeting of the proprietors at the house of William Smeed—Capt. Jeremiah Hall, moderator—after passing the usual vote to raise money for Mr. Bacon's salary and provide his fire wood:

*"Voted, That those who have Intrest in y<sup>e</sup> Nine Lot plain, So Called, have Liberty to thro up y.<sup>r</sup> respective Intrests and to Lay y<sup>m</sup> out in another Place in y<sup>e</sup> Now undivided Upland."* Josiah Fisher, Beriah Maccaney and David Foster were chosen a committee to lay out their new selections.

Several roads, two rods wide, which had been laid out by the committee, were accepted, only one of which can now be traced. That one is described as "another Road Leading from y<sup>e</sup> Town Street along thro Capt. Halls House Lot, and John Corbits qualification to Leu.<sup>t</sup> Heatons Thirty acre Lot N<sup>o</sup> (1) at y<sup>e</sup> Southerly part of y<sup>e</sup> Beach Hill." This was our present Baker street and the lower end of Marlboro street.

A meeting held at the meetinghouse on the 7th of September, 1741—Capt. Jeremiah Hall, moderator:

*"Voted That y<sup>e</sup> meeting House be removed from y<sup>e</sup> place where it now Stands to the most Convenient place on y<sup>e</sup> Hill over against y<sup>e</sup> House of M<sup>r</sup> Isaac Clark,<sup>1</sup> and*

<sup>1</sup>"This hill which has entirely disappeared, was a conical eminence in the street, a few rods south of the old Ralston tavern.<sup>2</sup> The meetinghouse was accordingly removed thither, and was placed near the centre of the street, the travelled path being east of it." (Annals, page 16.)

<sup>2</sup>"I built my house in 1828, directly in rear of the old Ralston tavern. The main part of the old tavern was afterwards removed to the site of the present Appleton house."—Gen. James Wilson. The Ralston tavern was not built until 1776, or later.

y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> charge of moving y<sup>e</sup> Same be Laid on y<sup>e</sup> Proprietors and Drawn out of y<sup>e</sup> Prop<sup>tors</sup> Treasury."

Ebenezer Force, Dea. Josiah Fisher, Joseph Richardson, Benjamin Guild and Timothy Puffer were chosen a committee to make the removal. At a meeting on the 18th of August the year previous, leave had been granted to certain parties to move the meetinghouse "as far as Serg't William Smeeds, against y<sup>e</sup> ends of y<sup>e</sup> Ministry and School House Lotts," which were the northernmost ones on the west side of the street, but the removal was not made. At that same meeting grants of land were made to the three public lots, the same as had been made to the other sixty lots, which had been neglected in making the divisions.

"Voted, That the Road now Leading from y<sup>e</sup> Meeting House Platt over y<sup>e</sup> River into y<sup>e</sup> Ash Swamp by y<sup>e</sup> South Side of House Lot N<sup>o</sup> 54 be changed and Go on y<sup>e</sup> North Side of s<sup>d</sup> Lot upon Timothy Puffers Digging Down y<sup>e</sup> Hill and making a good Road to y<sup>e</sup> River."

John Andrews was chosen proprietors' treasurer.

"Upon *the 6th Article voted*, That if the Collectors Shall be obliged or Necessitated to go thro' a course of Law to recover their Collections, and the Massachusetts Law by w<sup>c</sup> we are or have been Supported Should fail, That then they shall Draw y<sup>e</sup> Charge of posting, and charge w<sup>c</sup> they are or shall be at, out of the Publick or Prop<sup>tors</sup> Treasury."

A meeting of the proprietors was held at the meeting-house on the 27th of July, 1742—Capt. Jeremiah Hall, moderator—at which it was;

"Voted, That whereas there was a vote passed by this Propriety December y<sup>e</sup> 4th, 1738, to glaze the Meeting House and set the glass in Lead, and to cover the outside of s<sup>d</sup> Meeting House with Sawed Clapboards, we do now, Having tho't Sedately upon it, agree and vote to Set the glass in wood, and to cover the out Side with Shingles, for the following Reasons, 1. Bec: we Judge it Stronger, and 2. Bec: we can do it at less Expense of money, w<sup>c</sup> is no Small article, not Easy to be obtained by us at this Day and that the Com<sup>tee</sup> then appointed and Chosen to See the work done, in y<sup>t</sup> way be hereby Impowered and Desired to See that the work be done this fall as now agreed upon, and all the other work then voted to be done, as soon as may be and Likewise that the s<sup>d</sup> Com<sup>tee</sup>

be appointed and Desired to underpin the Meeting House, or See that it be done, and take an account of the same—and whereas the Prop<sup>ors</sup> agreed with the first Com<sup>tee</sup> about the Meeting House to make the Doors plain, and paid for their being thus done, we agree to have them done otherwise, Even framed, or pannel Doors, and the South Door to be a Double folding Door, and that the Com<sup>tee</sup> agree with a man to do it well and Decently as Becomes Such an House, and Bring the charge of it into y<sup>e</sup> Prop<sup>ors</sup> what is more than plain Doors—and whereas there was Some Sawed Clapboards provided to cover the Meeting House agreable to y<sup>e</sup> vote y<sup>n</sup> passed, in y<sup>e</sup> year afores<sup>d</sup>, voted that the Com<sup>tee</sup> take care and Dispose of s<sup>d</sup> Clapboards, for the use of the Propriety.

Jeremiah Hall Moderator."

The next meeting of the proprietors was held at the meetinghouse on the 28th of September, 1743—Capt Jeremiah Hall, moderator. The annual salary of the minister was voted as usual, and Joseph Guild, Josiah Fisher and Joseph Fisher were chosen a committee to let out the school lot to be cleared and brought "into grass and under good Improvement."

A meeting at the meetinghouse on the 16th of January, 1744, chose Jeremiah Hall moderator, and adjourned to the house of Ebenezer Daniels.

"Voted That the Rates or Taxes be made or Levied for y<sup>e</sup> years past and for the future in the following manner till further orders viz. that Each House Lot Belonging to each Right to the N<sup>o</sup> of Sixty be assessed"

	£	s	d
The sum of.....	0	06	4.
The eight acre division.....	0	10	0.
The 30 acre division.....	0	05	0.
The 10 acre division.....	0	10	0.
The 100 acre division.....	0	30	0.
The 5 acre division.....	0	04	0.
The 10 acre division of upland.....	0	01	0.
And the after divisions belonging to each right.....	0	05	0.

A vote was passed allowing Capt. Jeremiah Hall eight pounds, "old Tenor for getting that 100 pounds at Boston of Co<sup>ll</sup> Dudley." This must have been the one hundred pounds to which the town was entitled by the terms of the Massachusetts grant: "When forty families are settled in Each or Either of the said towns and they have Raised the frame of a meeting house"—all dues having been paid.

The proprietors were fortunate in securing it, for it was

then nearly seven years since they had applied for it, and for three years they had been a New Hampshire settlement.

The operations of the sawmill having been unsatisfactory, Ebenezer Force, Joseph Green, William Smeed, Mark Ferry and Joseph Ellis were chosen a committee "to Treat with John Corbit and Elisha Root, and if any thing may be done to oblige them to Repair, or Build a good Saw-mill, that may answer the End Proposed, In the Land and Money Granted by this Propriety, for y<sup>e</sup> Building of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Mill, or of a Saw-mill, for y<sup>e</sup> Benefit of y<sup>e</sup> Propriety."

It was during this year and the one following that the fatal throat distemper prevailed here, and John Andrews buried every one of his nine children, as already related; and there were many other deaths.

On the 29th of March, England formally declared war against France. By a policy more conciliatory than that of the English the French had won over to themselves the Indians of Canada and most of the few yet remaining in New England, and made them allies in their attacks on the English colonies. They offered bounties for scalps and for prisoners delivered in Canada.

Since the late French and Indian war of 1754 to 1760, this earlier one has been called the "Old French and Indian War." The report of its declaration reached the colonies early in the summer and brought dismay to the hearts of the settlers; for they foresaw that the savages would be let loose upon them with all their frightful methods of conducting warfare. The hardships and privations of the pioneers were great, at best, and now, in addition to those, the constant danger of massacre or capture by relentless savages loomed up before them. They abandoned the work of clearing their lands and making improvements, except such as could be done in the immediate vicinity of their forts, and turned their attention to completing and strengthening their defences. They dared not go out to cultivate their fields, although that industry was their main dependence for food, except with arms at hand; and when they went they usually did so in squads, with sentinels to watch for the wily foe, or under a guard of soldiers, if troops were stationed at their fort.

In addition to these trials, a call was almost immediately made by the British commanders for troops for expeditions against the French, which drew away from the settlements the regular soldiers and many of the able-bodied citizens, who went as volunteers, or by draft, and sometimes by impressment. Four thousand of the fighting men of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut were drawn off to make up the army of Gen. William Pepperell to operate against Louisburg. These calls made a heavy draft on the fighting force of the provinces, and left the frontiers almost destitute of defenders. The settlers were alarmed and cast about for means of resistance, and called upon the authorities of Massachusetts for protection.

A meeting of the proprietors held at the meetinghouse on the 25th of February, 1745, chose Joseph Green, moderator, and adjourned to the house of Philemon Chandler. On the second article in the warrant:

“Voted and Granted the Sum of one Hundred and fifty four Pounds, old Tenor, for the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bacons Support for y<sup>e</sup> Present Year.

“Voted, That the Support Granted for y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bacon for y<sup>e</sup> year Anno Domini 1744, Being the Sum of one Hundred and Fifty four pounds old Tenor, and by Reason of war and Sickness was Neglected and not assessed, Be brought into y<sup>e</sup> Rates or assessment Granted; Levied by y<sup>e</sup> same assessors, and comitted to the Same Collector y.<sup>t</sup> Shall be chosen at this Meeting. The Support Granted for y<sup>e</sup> last year w<sup>c</sup> should have been Collected and paid in October y<sup>e</sup> 18th 1744, be paid in the First of April next, and this years Support now Granted to be paid in y<sup>e</sup> 18th of Oct. this Date.”

voted to leave the matter to a committee consisting of Col. Josiah Willard, Col. Ebenezer Hinsdell, Major Josiah

Willard, Rev. Joseph Ashley, Capt. William Symes and Capt. James Heaton, to determine when and in what manner a petition should be preferred.

The provincial authorities, though hampered by their straitened condition, made preparations for defence. Col. John Stoddard of the Hampshire county regiment of militia had again been appointed commander on the western frontiers, with Capt. Ephraim Williams in command of the cordon of forts, Major Israel Williams of Hatfield, chief commissary, and Capt. Josiah Willard at Fort Dummer and "Rev. Ebenezer Hinsdell at Hinsdell's Fort" assistant commissaries.

The general court of Massachusetts on "Sabbath, June 2, 1744, *Voted*, that 500 men be impressed out of the foot companies and ordered to march under such officers to such parts of the frontiers as may be deemed best, there to be placed in garrison or employed in scouring the woods as the circumstances require." Two hundred of these troops were sent to the western frontiers. The war was expected to be of short duration, and the terms of enlistment were short. On the 13th of June the general court ordered "500 more men to be raised for the defence of the frontiers, said levies 'to be paid till the 15th of October and no longer.'"

"Sabbath, Oct. 13," the general court passed an order that the pay of men in the service be stopped on the 15th. "But inasmuch as it may be necessary for some marching scouts to be employed in the winter, *ordered*, that 12 men of each of the 5 snowshoe companies in the western parts, amounting to 60 in all, be detached and sent out under a captain commissioned for that purpose, to scout and range the woods for the four months next coming, their march to be from Contookook on the Merrimack river to the westward as far as the Captain-General shall think best."

Massachusetts offered bounties—eighty pounds for an Indian captive, or seventy-five pounds for his scalp; forty-two pounds each for female captives and boys under twelve, and for scalps of the same, thirty-six pounds, ten shillings and sixpence.

Gov. Wentworth sent scouting parties up the Merrimac valley and through the northern part of New Hampshire, but none into the Connecticut valley, as those settlers were considered Massachusetts people, and were left to the care of that province. New Hampshire had forts or block-houses at Canterbury, Contoocook, Hopkinton, Penacook (Boscawen), Suncook, Merrimac, Amherst and along the eastern border of the province.

For her own protection Massachusetts had added several forts to those previously built in the Connecticut valley, besides the two small ones at Upper and Lower Ashuelot, which were now strengthened and manned with a few soldiers. Bridgman's and Sartwell's forts were on the west bank of the Connecticut, a short distance apart and a few miles below Fort Dummer, in what is now Vernon, Vt. On the east bank of the river, on the trail (which was now a well worn path, or road) leading from Northfield to Fort Dummer, Rev. and Col. Ebenezer Hinsdell had built a fort in 1743, about sixty rods from the river, in what is now Hinsdale; and he had a mill on a brook near his fort. Shattuck's fort was also on this road, built on both sides of a brook and connected by a small bridge, the whole surrounded by a stockade. Above Fort Dummer four forts had been built, known by their numbers—No. 1 at what is now Chesterfield, No. 2 at Westmoreland, No. 3 at Great Falls (Walpole), and No. 4 at Charlestown. There was also at this time a fort in the middle of the Putney meadows, known as Great Meadows,<sup>1</sup> which was kept up for many years. These forts were still maintained by Massachusetts, and were under the general oversight of Col. Stoddard.

Fort Dummer had been thoroughly repaired and mounted with guns; but when it was found to be above the boundary line, in the territory of New Hampshire, Gov. Shirley applied to the home government to be relieved from its support; and at the suggestion of the crown Gov. Wentworth advised the assembly of New Hampshire to assume its future maintenance. But the assembly declined

<sup>1</sup> New Hampshire State Papers, vol. 6, page 313; Aldrich's Walpole; History of Chesterfield, 22; and Heaton's Vermont.

to take any such action, on the ground that the fort was fifty miles from any of the New Hampshire settlements, with no roads thereto, and could afford them but slight protection; that if they assumed the support of Fort Dummer—the principal bone of contention—all the other forts in the Connecticut valley would fall to their charge, including No. 4, the next post in importance, and the one farthest advanced towards the enemy's country, and therefore the most exposed; that the people of the province had been so severely taxed for the support of the war and for other purposes that they were not able to bear the expense; that the title to all those lands granted by Massachusetts was in dispute and it was doubtful if taxes could be collected on them; and that those Massachusetts people should look to the Massachusetts government for protection.

The governor dissolved the assembly and called another, and recommended the same measure in an eloquent appeal, but that assembly was as stubborn as the former one. The members believed that if New Hampshire declined to maintain those forts, Massachusetts would support them for the protection of her own frontiers. And so it proved, for when it was learned that New Hampshire had refused to provide for them, the general court of Massachusetts voted its usual support to Fort Dummer, and provided for the other forts on the Connecticut and its branches. Capt. Josiah Willard, who had done much surveying in Upper Ashuelot, had a company of twenty men at Fort Dummer, in the service of that province, and Capt. Phineas Stevens, of whom we shall have much to relate, was at No. 4, but no troops had yet been sent him.

With the opening of the spring of 1745, came small bands of Indians, prowling the forests, instigated to mischief by the French, and often led and assisted by them. On the 26th of March they burnt the house of Rev. Timothy Harrington at Lower Ashuelot. At Great Meadows, on the 5th of July, as William Phipps was hoeing his corn, he was seized by two Indians and compelled to go with them, but was permitted to carry his hoe. They started up the river. When they had gone about half a mile one

of the Indians ran back a short distance to bring something that had been left behind. Watching his opportunity, Phipps with his hoe knocked down the one who remained, giving him a death blow; then, seizing his gun, shot the other as he came up. Starting to escape he fell into the hands of three others of the same party who killed and scalped him. Five days later they made their first appearance here at Upper Ashuelot.

"On the 10th of July, deacon Josiah Fisher was killed, as he was driving his cow to pasture. The road leading up the river, then left the main street, by Mr. Lamson's tan yard,<sup>1</sup> led along the margin of the meadow, back of his house, crossed West street a few rods west of Aaron Hall's house,<sup>2</sup> and continued up the river, near the adjoining low land, until it came upon the route of the present turnpike,<sup>3</sup> above deacon Wilder's house, now occupied as a tavern.<sup>4</sup> Fisher was found dead, and scalped, in the road, near where Mr. Lamson's bark house now stands;<sup>5</sup> and it was supposed that the Indian who shot him, was concealed behind a log, which then lay within the present limits of Mr. Lamson's garden.<sup>6</sup> He had a brass slug in his wrist, which, at the time, was conjectured to have been cut from a warming pan, that had lately been lost by one of the inhabitants."

(Annals, page 18.)

Immediately upon receiving information of these outrages Gov. Wentworth again sent out the scouting parties of the previous year, with some addition to their numbers. One was a company of mounted men under Capt. Potter of Londonderry, and another of thirty-seven infantry under the noted Capt. John Goffe.

For three months all was quiet in the Connecticut valley. Then, on the 11th of October, a party of Indians came to Great Meadows and captured Nehemiah How, who was cutting wood a short distance from the fort. The alarm was given, and one Indian was killed by a shot from the garrison. As they were leading How away up the river, Daniel Rugg and Robert Baker came down in a canoe. The Indians fired upon them, killing Rugg, but Baker escaped.

Reports of How's capture reached the posts down the

<sup>1</sup> Where Lamson block now stands. <sup>2</sup> Now the site of the Thayer library building. <sup>3</sup> Court street. <sup>4</sup> Known as the "Old Sun Tavern." <sup>5</sup> Now Woodbury & Howard's furniture shop. <sup>6</sup> Still kept as a garden on the Lamson estate.

river the same day—doubtless by canoe on the current of the stream. A company of twenty-nine mounted men started from Deerfield at 3 p. m., and reached Fort Dummer at 10 o'clock. There they found Ensign Stratton with ten men from Northfield. Col. Willard, the commander, had already left in pursuit, with fifty-four men. The reports of the number of Indians in the party varied greatly, some setting it as high as eighty, others much lower. The next morning, Sunday, the Deerfield and Northfield party of forty men pushed forward and joined Col. Willard; and they followed the trail till sunset, reaching a point where the enemy had scattered in different directions. There they bivouaced for the night, and the next morning pushed on to No. 4, but no Indians were seen. Tuesday morning they all set out for home by the way of Upper Ashuelot and Northfield. The Deerfield men reached home Wednesday night. How was taken to Crown Point and thence to Quebec. He was kindly treated by the French, but died in prison.

No attacks were made upon the settlers during the winter, but the spring of 1746 opened with frightful raids from the savages. These were made chiefly by the St. Francis tribe of Canada, conducted in their movements by their allies, the Squawkheags, who were familiar with all this part of the country. These predatory bands were usually made up in part of French soldiers and commanded by French officers, sent out by Beauharnais, governor of Canada.

“March 19, the proprietors agreed to raise the sum of forty pounds, lawful money of New-England, (\$133.33,) or one hundred and sixty pounds, old tenor, for the Rev. Mr. Bacon's support the present year. From this vote, it appears that, at this time, old tenor, in comparison with lawful money, was as four to one.

“Here occurs a chasm in the proprietors' records, which the following relation of events will sufficiently account for.”

(Annals, page 18.)

Sometime in April, Massachusetts sent a few men to each of the posts, two to Great Meadows, four to No. 4, and four each to Upper and Lower Ashuelot, with a large number to Fort Dummer and the posts below. By a

previous order Capt. Phineas Stevens was to raise a company of sixty men, thirty of whom were to be stationed at No. 4, and that force arrived there a few weeks later.

On the 19th of April, Ensign De Neuville with about forty French and Indians attacked No. 4, took Capt. John Spafford, Lieut. Isaac Parker and Stephen Farnsworth prisoners, burnt the saw and grist mills recently built, and killed a number of cattle. The prisoners were detained in Canada for some time, but afterwards returned to their homes.

"In the early part of the year 1746, the General Court of Massachusetts sent a party of men to Canada, for what purpose, is not now recollected, and perhaps was not generally known. On their return, they passed through Upper Ashuelot. On arriving in sight of the settlement, they fired their guns. This, of course, alarmed the inhabitants, and all who were out, and several were in the woods making sugar, hastened home. From some cause or other, suspicion was entertained, that a party of Indians had followed the returning whites; and for several days the settlers were more vigilant, and more circumspect in their movements; seldom leaving the fort, except to look after their cattle, which were in the barns, and at the stacks, in the vicinity."

(Annals, page 18.)

The fort here was manned with a few soldiers and armed inhabitants, and commanded by Capt. William Symes (or Simes), of the Massachusetts troops.

"Early in the morning of the 23d of April, Ephraim Dorman left the fort to search for his cow. He went northwardly, along the borders of what was then a hideous and almost impervious swamp, lying East of the fort, until he arrived near to the place where the turnpike now is. Looking into the swamp, he perceived several Indians lurking in the bushes. He immediately gave the alarm, by crying 'Indians! Indians!' and ran towards the fort. Two, who were concealed in the bushes, between him and the fort, sprang forward, aimed their pieces at him, and fired, but neither hit him. They then, throwing away their arms, advanced towards him; one he knocked down by a blow, which deprived him of his senses; the other he seized, and, being a strong man, and able wrestler, tried his strength and skill, in his favorite mode of 'trip and twitch.' He tore his antagonist's blanket from his shoulders, leaving him nearly naked. He then seized him by the arms and

body, but as he was painted and greased, he slipped from his grasp. After a short struggle, Dorman quitted him, ran towards the fort and reached it in safety.

“When the alarm was given, the greater part of the inhabitants were in the fort; but some had just left it, to attend to their cattle. Capt. Simms, the commander, as was the custom every morning before prayers, was reading a chapter in the bible. He immediately exclaimed, ‘rush out, and assist those who are out to get in.’ Most of the men immediately rushed out, and each ran where his interest or affections led him; the remainder chose positions in the fort, from which they could fire on the enemy.

“Those who were out, and within hearing, instantly started for the fort; and the Indians, from every direction, rushed into the street, filling the air with their usual horrid yell. Mrs. M’Kenny<sup>1</sup> had gone to a barn, near where Miss Fiske’s house now stands, to milk her cow. She was aged and corpulent, and could only walk slowly. When she was within a few rods of the fort, a naked Indian, probably the one with whom Dorman had been wrestling, darted from the bushes on the East side of the street, ran up to her, stabbed her in the back, and crossed to the other side. She continued walking, in the same steady pace as before, until she had nearly reached the gate of the fort, when the blood gushed from her mouth, and she fell and expired. John Bullard was at his barn, below Dr. Adams’s; he ran towards the fort, but the instant he arrived at the gate, he received a shot in his back. He fell, was carried in, and expired in a few hours. Mrs. Clark was at a barn, near the Todd house, about fifty rods distant. Leaving it, she espied an Indian near her, who threw away his gun, and advanced to make her prisoner. She gathered her clothes around her waist, and started for the fort. The Indian pursued; the woman, animated by cheers from her friends, outran her pursuer, who skulked back for his gun. Nathan Blake was at his barn, near where his son’s house now stands. Hearing the cry of Indians, and presuming his barn would be burnt, he determined that his cattle should not be burnt with it. Throwing open his stable door, he let them loose, and presuming his retreat to the fort was cut off, went out at a back door, intending to place himself in ambush at the only place where the river could be crossed. He had gone but a few steps, when he was hailed by a party of Indians, concealed in a shop between him and the street. Looking back, he perceived several guns pointed at

<sup>1</sup>In a record of births and deaths, kept by Mr. Ichabod Fisher, this name is spelt *Maccaney*.

him, and at this instant several Indians started up from their places of concealment near him, upon which, feeling himself in their power, he gave himself up. They shook hands with him, and to the remark he made, that he had not yet breakfasted, they smilingly replied, that 'it must be a poor Englishman, who could not go to Canada without his breakfast.' Passing a cord around his arms above the elbows, and fastening them close to his body, they gave him to the care of one of the party, who conducted him to the woods.

"The number of Indians belonging to the party, was supposed to be about 100. They came near the fort, on every side, and fired whenever they supposed their shot would be effectual. They, however, neither killed nor wounded any one. The whites fired whenever an Indian presented himself, and several of them were seen to fall. Before noon, the savages ceased firing, but they remained several days in the vicinity.

"The guns first fired were heard at the fort in Swanzey, the commander of which immediately sent an express to Winchester, with information that the Indians had made an attack upon Upper Ashuelot. From Winchester an express was sent to the next post, and so on from post to post to Northampton, where Col. Pomeroy commanded. Collecting all the troops, and militia there, and pressing all the horses in the place, he instantly, at their head, set out for Upper Ashuelot, and on his way added to his number all the disposable force in the intermediate settlements. In little more than 48 hours from the time the express started from Swanzey, he, with 400 or 500 men, arrived at Upper Ashuelot, the distance down and back, being, at least, ninety miles. The arrival, so soon, of this relief, was as unexpected, as it was gratifying to the settlers. The next morning, Pomeroy sent out his men to scour the woods in search of Blake. While these were absent, the Indians again showed themselves on the meadow, south-east of the fort, where they killed a number of cattle. To recall the troops an alarm was fired, but was not heard. In the afternoon, they returned unsuccessful, and that evening Mr. Bullard and Mrs. M'Kenny were buried. The next morning, they found the track of the Indians, and followed it, until they came to the place of their encampment at night. This was East of Beech Hill, not far from the present residence of Capt. Chapman. It appearing that they dispersed, when departing from this place, they were pursued no farther. Col. Pomeroy, on his way back to the fort, found that a house, belonging to a Mr. Heaton, and standing near the place where his son's house

now stands, had been burnt. Among the ashes, they discovered human bones, and the leg of an Indian, unconsumed. As it is known to have been the custom of the Indians to take the most effectual means in their power to conceal the amount of their loss, they had doubtless placed in this house, before they set it on fire, the bodies of such of their party as had been killed, which they had not otherwise concealed. The number, as near as could be ascertained, was nine, and one or two were burnt in the barn of Mr. Blake.

"The next day, inquiry was made for Mark Ferry, the hermit. As he did not reside among them, and had never performed the duties of relation, friend or companion to any of the settlers, they felt little solicitude for his fate; but Col. Pomeroy, offering to send a party of men, they agreed to send a pilot to the place where they supposed he might be found. This was Ferry meadow, on the stream called Ferry brook, within the present limits of Sullivan, whither he had repaired, as to a place of safety, when driven by the flood from his cave on Bullard's Island. They found his horse confined under the shelter of the root of a fallen tree, and looking further, espied him perched high upon the limb of a large tree, mending his clothes. His personal appearance indicated that he had not received the benefit of shaving, nor ablution, for months. They compelled him to descend, brought him to the fort, led him to the officers' quarters, and, with mock formality, introduced him to all the officers and gentlemen of the party.

"Apprehending no farther danger to the settlers, Col. Pomeroy and his men returned to their homes.

"In the early part of May, the same, or another party of Indians, hovered about the settlement, watching for an opportunity to make prisoners, and to plunder. For several successive nights, the watch imagined that they heard some person walking around the fort. When it came to the turn of young M'Kenny, whose mother had been killed, to watch, he declared he should fire, on hearing the least noise without the fort. In the dead of night, he thought he heard some person at the picket gate, endeavoring to ascertain its strength. Having loaded his gun, as was usual among the first settlers of the country, with two balls and several buck shot, he fired through the gate, which was made of thin boards. In the morning blood was discovered on the spot, and also a number of beads, supposed to have been cut, by the shot, from the wampum of the Indian."

(Annals, pages 19-22.)

The Indians appeared also at other settlements. On the 27th of April a garrisoned house at Hopkinton was surprised, and eight persons were carried away captives. At No. 4, early in the evening of the 2d of May, the women went out to milk the cows, as was the custom in those days, guarded by several soldiers under Major Josiah Willard, son of Col. Willard, the commander at Fort Dummer. Eight Indians were concealed in the barn, and as the party approached they fired, killing Seth Putnam. The Indians sprang out to secure his scalp, were met by a volley from the guard, and two of the Indians were mortally wounded. The Indians seized their dying companions and made a hasty retreat. The same day two men were killed and one captured at Contoocook. On the 6th of May, at Lower Ashuelot, Deacon Timothy Brown and Robert Maffett were captured and taken to Canada but they afterwards returned.

As the alarm increased Massachusetts sent more troops to guard the settlers. Capt. Daniel Paine was sent to No. 4 with a troop of horse to reinforce Capt. Stevens and to patrol the country, arriving on the 24th of May, while the enemy in large numbers were lying in ambush near the fort. Some of his men had a curiosity to see the place where Putnam was killed, and went out with some of the inhabitants to view the spot. They were warned of the danger by Capt. Stevens, but persisted in going. As they started out, the Indians rose and fired, and attempted to get between the party and the fort. But Capt. Stevens rushed out with his men, and a sharp fight ensued in which five white men were killed and about the same number of the Indians. Ensign Obadiah Sartwell was captured and taken to Canada. The Indians retreated, leaving arms, packs and blankets behind them.

At this time John Hawks of Deerfield, one of the proprietors of Upper Ashuelot, who assisted in laying out and surveying the lots, was a sergeant in command of Fort Massachusetts (at North Adams) with twenty men. On the 9th of May he and John Mighills were out a short distance from the fort. "Mighills was mounted, and Hawks got up behind to cross

Hoosac river. He was in the act of dismounting, when two Indians appeared; one fired upon them, wounding both. Mighills escaped to the fort, but Hawks fell to the ground, with a shot in his left arm. Both Indians dropped their guns, and rushed towards him for his scalp; but Hawks was not ready to part with that useful appendage. He rallied instantly, and resting his gun on his wounded arm, covered the approaching foe. Both dodged; one down a bank, the other behind a tree, from which shelter neither dared venture to reach the loaded gun which one Indian had dropped, in an exposed place. Hawks kept them both at bay until they called for quarter, as it afterwards appeared, which the wounded man unfortunately did not understand. Finding, after a while, that Hawks had the best of the game, both ran off in different directions. The spirit shown by Hawks on this occasion earned him the confidence of his officers and the respect of his enemies, and neither had cause to change their sentiments at his next appearance before the public." (History of Deerfield, vol. 1, page 542.)

A few days later Capt. Ephraim Brown, of Sudbury, Mass., was sent to No. 4 with an additional company of troops. On the 19th of June, Captains Stevens and Brown, with about fifty men, went out to look after the horses of the troopers and others which had been turned into the meadow to graze. Their dogs warned them of Indians near, and they discovered an ambush of about 150 of the enemy. The savages started up, and the soldiers gave them the first fire and followed it up with a brisk fusilade, killing and wounding many. Finding themselves at disadvantage, as they were on higher ground and as they shot over and hit but few of the whites, the Indians retreated into a swamp, leaving behind them arms, packs, blankets, etc., which "sold for 40 pounds old tenor. This was reckoned a great booty from such beggarly enemies." But the troops were glad to escape from such numbers, and retired into their fort.

In July two men were killed, two wounded and two captured at Fort Bridgman. During the same month Capt. Eleazer Melvin was sent with a company of fifty rangers

to scout in the Connecticut valley, with headquarters at Northfield.

A company of scouts under Capt. Jeremiah Clough, of Canterbury, patrolled the borders of Lake Winnepesaukee and the Pemigewasset river, and others under Captains Drake and Todd were kept active in the eastern part of the province.

On the 3d of July, 1746, Col. Willard went from Fort Dummer to Hinsdell's mills with a team and twenty men to grind corn. After the guard had been set they discovered Indians in ambush, and opened fire. Col. Willard shouted to his men to rush at them. His defiant manner terrified the Indians and they fled, leaving behind them what the Indian never parted with if he could avoid it—their packs of provisions. Only one soldier was wounded.

Sometime in July Capt. Joseph How of Marlboro, Mass., was sent to No. 4 with his troop of thirty-eight horsemen. Dogs played an important part in the strife of the pioneers with the Indians. Their instincts led them to distrust and hate the savages, their peculiar movements and suggestive growl gave warning of the approach of the stealthy foe, and they were often used to follow the Indian trail.

On the 3d of August these faithful companions gave warning to the inhabitants of No. 4 that Indians were near. To ascertain the facts, Capt. Stevens sent out a scouting party. Immediately upon leaving the fort they were fired upon and Ebenezer Philips was killed. The Indians then advanced in large numbers and laid siege to the fort. They burned buildings and killed cattle, while the soldiers from behind their works watched their opportunity to bring down a redskin. At the end of two days the Indians withdrew and went down the river, committing outrages at several places. About thirty of them waylaid a party in the road at Winchester. As six men were passing along they fired on them, killing Joseph Rawson and wounding Amasa Wright. They also mortally wounded young Benjamin Wright, at Northfield. On the 5th, Captain Stevens with sixty men followed them to Great Meadows, where he remained two days to

guard the settlers while they reaped their grain. Returning to No. 4 on the 8th, he found that the remainder of the cattle, horses and most of the hogs had been killed during his absence.

When the report of this attack on No. 4 reached Boston, Gov. Shirley sent a company of fresh troops, mounted, under Capt. Josiah Brown, to relieve Capt. Ephraim Brown and his company; and soon afterwards sent Capt. Winchester with another troop of horse, each of the companies taking all the provisions they could carry, for the relief of the garrison.

It was by those troops, scouting and holding the advanced posts, that Upper Ashuelot was protected. But cavalry was not adapted to warfare against the Indians in those dense forests, and late in the fall they were recalled to Massachusetts.

During the same months there were raids in the central and eastern parts of the province. At Rochester five men were killed and two captured, and two were captured at Contoocook. At Penacook, on the 11th of August, Lieut. Jonathan Bradley and seven men were ambushed about one mile west of the fort. The lieutenant, his brother Samuel and three others were killed, two were captured, and one escaped.

Sergt. John Hawks was still in command of Fort Massachusetts. On the 20th of August about 750 French and Indians under Gen. Rigaud de Vaudreuil made a furious attack on the fort. Hawks and his men defended the post bravely and kept the enemy at bay for twenty-eight hours in spite of their numbers. The French general then asked for a parley, and offered protection if they would surrender. Finding that their ammunition was nearly expended and that several of the men were sick, they surrendered, prisoners of war to the French. Thirty-two men, women and children were taken to Canada, where several of them died. So vigorous and determined had been the defence that nearly fifty of the enemy had been killed or mortally wounded. Few were slightly wounded, for the besieged were sparing of their ammunition and shot to kill. Hawks lost but one man. We

shall have more to relate of this daring soldier and pioneer of Upper Ashuelot farther on. The fort was burned (but afterwards rebuilt), and about one hundred and fifty buildings of the Dutch settlers on the Hoosack river were destroyed on the retreat of the enemy towards Canada. After this there was quiet in the Connecticut valley for the rest of the year.

· Finding the defence of the frontiers costly and ineffectual, Massachusetts withdrew her soldiers from all the posts in the autumn of that year, except Fort Dummer. Four families remained in Shattuck's fort in Hinsdale. On the 30th of March a party of thirty to forty Indians made an attack and attempted to burn the fort. They succeeded in setting fire to the south end, but the wind suddenly changed and the fort was saved. Struck with superstitious fear at this incident the savages abandoned the attempt and withdrew.

According to the records the proprietors held their last meeting in Upper Ashuelot previous to abandoning the place on the 19th of March, 1747—David Nims, moderator. "Upon y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> article voted The sum of Forty Pounds Lawful Money of New England, or one Hundred and Sixty pounds old Tenor for y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Bacon's support for y<sup>e</sup> Present year, w<sup>c</sup> will be out October y<sup>e</sup> 18th, 1747, or this Date." Certain sums were voted to those who had furnished labor and materials for finishing the meetinghouse. No record is found of any meeting of the proprietors after this date until 1753, although there is evidence that some of them returned as early as 1749.

Wise counsels prevailed on the Massachusetts legislature to resume their defence of the settlements in the Connecticut valley, and on the opening of spring, 1747, a company of forty men under Lieut. Bradstreet was sent to Fort Dummer, and a few soldiers were sent to each of the smaller posts along the frontier.

Towards the last of March, Capt. Phineas Stevens was sent to No. 4 with his company of thirty rangers. He found the fort in good condition and the cabins still standing. His arrival was timely, for, on the 4th of April, the faithful dogs again gave warning that the enemy was

near. A force of several hundred French and Indians under Gen. Debeline lay in ambush near the fort. Being discovered they began an attack, set fire to the buildings and fences on all sides, and shot flaming arrows into the fort in a determined effort to burn it. Capt. Stevens had trenches opened under the walls to allow his men to go through and extinguish the flames. The fire from the fences and buildings did not reach the fort, and the arrows were harmless. The enemy continued the attack for two days, with hideous shouts and yells, and then asked for a cessation of the fight and a parley. The next morning, Gen. Debeline came forward with sixty men under a flag of truce, and Capt. Stevens met him with twenty men. Debeline proposed a surrender of the fort, which Stevens refused. They returned to their commands and the fight was kept up all that day. On the morning of the fourth day, another parley was held, and the enemy made urgent appeals for provisions to be sold to them. The poor wretches were starving, and were fighting with desperation to obtain food. Their request was very properly refused, and with some parting shots they withdrew. Capt. Stevens and his thirty men had had no rest or sleep during all this time, and, although they were under a terrific fire, all behaved with great gallantry. Their loss was but two men wounded, so well did their works protect them. An express was sent to Boston, and the news caused great rejoicing. Commodore Sir Charles Knowles, the naval officer in command there, was so pleased that he gave Capt. Stevens an elegant sword in token of appreciation of his gallantry. In return, when the place was chartered by New Hampshire in 1753 it was named Charlestown in honor of Sir Charles.<sup>1</sup>

It was at this time that Upper Ashuelot was abandoned and the inhabitants returned to their former homes, or sought safety in towns less exposed to attack. And Lower Ashuelot and Winchester were abandoned at the same time. We have seen that a few days previous, on the 19th of March, the proprietors had held a meeting in

<sup>1</sup>Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. 2, page 251; Barstow's History of New Hampshire, page 184.

the fort, passed the usual votes in town affairs, and provided for the salary of their minister, whose year was to expire in October—all indicating that at that time they had no intention of leaving. But a few days were sufficient to change the whole aspect of affairs. The fight at No. 4 had been a very important one. Debeline had a large force for those times—Whiton puts the number at 400, and some writers much higher than that—while Stevens had but thirty. The combined forces of all the posts in the Connecticut valley north of Deerfield did not exceed 100 men; and there was no movable force to meet this active body of French and Indians.

After Debeline's repulse at No. 4, he divided his followers and sent them in small parties to attack other settlements. At Northfield they killed and scalped Nathaniel Dickinson and Asahel Burt. Other bodies of the enemy were also operating in western Massachusetts, and in eastern New Hampshire attacks were made at Rochester, Penacook, Suncook and other places in that part of the province. It was a time of general alarm.

"The inhabitants remained in the fort until March, or April, 1747. About this time they passed an informal vote ['on the common, in the haste of their departure'] releasing Mr. Bacon, their minister, from all his obligations to them, and resolved to abandon the settlement, which resolution was immediately executed. Soon after, a party of Indians<sup>1</sup> visited the place, and burnt all the buildings, except the mill on Beaver brook, and the house in which the miller had resided."

(Annals, page 22.)

"There were Thirty-one Dwelling houses \* \* \* Sundry barns and a Fort, a meetinghouse, a saw mill and a grist mill. All were burned except four houses, one barn and the mills. And such horses as they could not take with them and all the cattle, sheep and swine were killed."

(State Papers, vol. 12, page 310.)

Another reason for leaving the place was that for two years they had been able to raise but very little on their land from fear of being attacked by the Indians, and they must have been short of provisions, with no likelihood of

<sup>1</sup>"Doolittle's Narrative" says that when repulsed at Shattuck's the Indians burned on their retreat the deserted settlements at Winchester, Hinsdale and Upper and Lower Ashuelot.

raising anything in the season approaching. The terror-stricken inhabitants therefore gathered up the few valuables they possessed, packed such as were portable on horses or took them on their persons, buried some, left the remainder with their cabins, to be destroyed by the savages, and turned their steps in haste and sadness away from those homes they had so recently established, where they had hoped to spend many years of happiness and prosperity.

They fled to Fort Dummer, where Capt. Josiah Willard, Jr.,<sup>1</sup> had a small company of soldiers, under his father, Col. Josiah Willard, commander of the post. The women and children, and most of the men, continued their journey to the lower towns, but several of the men from Upper Ashuelot, and some from the lower township, joined Capt. Willard's company to fight the Indians. The company then numbered twenty-six men besides the captain. That company was stationed at "Ashuelott," June 21, and remained, with additions in 1748 and reductions in 1749, until Nov. 27, 1749; serving part of the time at Fort Dummer. Capt. Melvin's company of rangers at Northfield was increased to sixty men, and he remained in the Connecticut valley through that season, scouting the country and doing good service.

Raids from the enemy were less frequent during the summer of 1747, probably for the reason that all the inhabitants had been driven from these upper towns, yet the settlers of the lower towns were never free from the dread of an attack from prowling savages. In this war the Indians killed fewer of those who fell into their hands than formerly. The bounties and redemption money paid for captives induced them to spare their lives.

"Roll of Capt. Josiah Willard jr's company at Ashuelott, June 21, 1747, to Feb. 10, 1748.

Josiah Willard, captain.	Asahel Graves
William Syms (Sims) lieutenant.	Benoni Right (Wright)
Elias Alexander, serg't.	Hezekiah Elmer
Jeremiah Hall, * clerk.	James Jewel
William Smeed, * corp.	Jethro Wheeler

<sup>1</sup>Capt. Willard was relieved in July, 1749, by Capt. John Catlin, was promoted to lieutenant colonel and succeeded his father, who died in 1750, in command of Fort Dummer.

David Nym <sup>s</sup> * (Nims) centinel.	James Johnson
Samuel Hills	Joseph Alexander
Nathaniel Hills	Benj. Melvin
Nathan Fairbanks *	Jeremiah Hall jr. *
Thomas Cresson	Ebenezer Day *
Thomas Cresson jr.	Thomas Taylor
James Heaton	William Grimes
Samuel Heaton	Titus Belding."
William Heaton	

(Massachusetts Archives.)

Those marked with a \* were from Upper Ashuelot; Joseph Richardson, also from this place, joined the company afterwards and was killed in a fight with the Indians in 1748; Samuel Hall, Nathaniel Fairbanks and Peter "Hawood" (Hayward), afterwards citizens of Keene, joined the company later; and Daniel Maccany (McKeeny or McKenny), of Upper Ashuelot, joined Capt. Hobbs' company at No. 4.

"It has already been mentioned, that Mr. Blake, when captured, was pinioned, and conducted by an Indian into the woods. After travelling about two miles, they came to a small stony brook.<sup>1</sup> The Indian stooped to drink, and as Blake's hands were not confined, he thought he could easily take up a stone and beat out his brains. He silently prayed for direction; and his next thought was, that he should always regret that he had killed an Indian in that situation and he refrained.

"No particulars of his journey to Canada have been obtained, except that he passed by Charlestown. At Montreal, he, with another prisoner of the name of Warren, was compelled to run the gauntlet. Warren, receiving a blow in the face, knocked down the Indian who gave it; upon which, he was assaulted by several, who beat him unmercifully, making him a cripple for life. Blake, exhibiting more patience and fortitude, received no considerable injury. He was then conducted to Quebec, and thence to an Indian village several miles North of that place, called Conissadawga.<sup>2</sup> He was a strong, athletic man, and possessed many qualities which procured him the respect of the savages. He could run with great speed, and in all the trials to which he was put, and they were many and severe, he beat every antagonist.

<sup>1</sup>"The farm of my grandfather, Henry Ellis, was the first on the right hand beyond the four corners on the Surry road, about half a mile beyond the stone bridge. About forty rods east of the buildings a good spring flows down to the river. There was where Nathan Blake had the chance to knock out the brains of the Indian, but prudently desisted."—Samuel P. Ellis, born and brought up on that farm.

<sup>2</sup>In Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, "Conissadawga" occurs as the name of a Canadian tribe of Indians.

“Not long after his arrival at the village, the tribe lost a chief by sickness. As soon as his decease was made known, the women repaired to his wigwam, and with tears, sobs, and clamorous lamentations, mourned his death. The funeral ceremonies performed, the men sought Blake, dressed him in the Indian costume, and invested him with all the authority and privileges of the deceased, as one of the chiefs of the tribe, and as husband of the widow. In the family to which he now stood in the relation of father, there were, as he has often remarked, several daughters of uncommon beauty.

“Yet, notwithstanding this good fortune, he still had difficulties to encounter. The tribe was divided into two parties, his friends and his enemies. The former consisted of the great mass of the tribe, who respected him for qualities, to which, they had not equal pretensions; the latter, of those who were envious of his success, and had been worsted in their contests with him. These, to humble his pride, sent far into the northern wilderness, and procured a celebrated Indian runner, to run against him. At the time assigned, the whole tribe assembled to witness the race; and a Frenchman, from Quebec, happened to be present. Perceiving the excitement among them, he advised Blake to permit himself to be beaten, intimating that fatal consequences might ensue, if he did not. The race was run, and Blake, as advised by the Frenchman, permitted his antagonist to reach the goal, a moment before he did. He persisted, however, after his return from captivity, in declaring that he might have beaten him if he had tried. The event of the race restored harmony to the tribe, and Blake was permitted to live in peace.

“But, remembering the family he had left, he felt anxious to return to his home. After much intercession, the tribe proposed, that, if he would build a house, like those of the English, he should be permitted to go to Quebec. Presuming, that, when there, he could more easily obtain his liberty, he gladly acceded to the proposition. With such tools as the Indians possessed, he prepared the necessary timber, splitting the boards from the tree, and soon completed his task. He then went to Quebec, and gave himself up to the French. He had been there but a short time, when his Indian wife came in a canoe to reclaim him. He refused to return; but she soliciting and even demanding it, he declared to her, that, if he should be compelled to set out with her, he would overturn the canoe, and drown her; upon which, she concluded to return without him. In the fall, the French commandant gave Blake his election to pass the winter, as a laborer, with a farmer, in the

vicinity of Quebec, or be confined in the common gaol. He chose the latter, and had no reason to regret his choice, as he had a comfortable room, and sufficient rations assigned him. He remained in confinement until spring, when his liberation was procured in the manner which will now be related." (Annals, pages 23-4.)

On the 16th of October, Col. Josiah Willard, commander at Fort Dummer, Capt. Ebenezer Alexander<sup>1</sup> of Northfield, and "Dr. Hall" (Jeremiah), of Upper Ashuelot, started from Fort Dummer to go to Northfield. Near the Winchester line, a little south of the Ashuelot river, they met some cattle running as if being driven off. Their suspicions were aroused, and Capt. Alexander rode on a little in advance to reconnoitre. Suddenly he came upon a man in French uniform, who dodged behind a tree, but at the same instant the captain fired and shot him in the breast. He fell, but immediately rose and came forward, asking in French for quarter. But none of the party understood his language, and supposing him to be dying, and that the shot would bring all his party upon them, they took his papers from him, left him on the bank of the river and hurried on to Northfield.

Among the papers was his commission, (still in possession of Capt. Alexander's descendants) dated at Montreal, Sept. 27 (16, O. S.), 1747. This showed that he was a cadet from Canada in command of forty savages, sent out by Boubertelat, commander at Montreal, to make war upon the English settlements. His name was Pierre Raimbault St. Blein. He was sometimes called *Sieur Simblin*. Hearing the shot, his party hastened to him and carried him a short distance, but believing, as did the other party, that their leader was dying, and fearing an attack, they abandoned him and hastened back to Canada, where they reported that he was killed by a party of twenty horsemen.

But the Frenchman, though deserted by both friends and foes, did not die. He dressed and bound up his wound as well as he could, lived on his few rations and what the woods afforded, and four days later appeared at

<sup>1</sup> The same Deacon Alexander who had piloted the first party of proprietors to Upper Ashuelot in 1734.

Northfield, five miles distant, and surrendered to Capt. Alexander, the first man he met, and the one who had shot him. He was kindly treated and placed under the care of Rev. Benjamin Doolittle,<sup>1</sup> who was not only the minister of the settlement, but surgeon and physician as well. Under his treatment the young man soon recovered, and in less than four weeks was able to be sent to Boston.

On the 14th of November, "Chevalier de Longueil" with forty Canadians and Indians surprised twelve men near No. 4, killed Nathaniel Gould and Thomas Goodale, wounded Oliver Avery, and took John Anderson prisoner. From his captive, Longueil learned that the young French officer was alive and had been sent to Boston. This fact was reported to the governor at Quebec on the 3d of December.

Raimbault was a person of good family, courteous and gentlemanly, was treated with kindness and consideration by Gov. Shirley, and made quite a sensation among the society women of Boston. But he had no desire to remain a prisoner, and soon negotiated with the governor for an exchange. Being an officer, he agreed to obtain the consent of the governor of Canada to the release of two English prisoners for himself.

Sergt. John Hawks had now reached Boston on his return from captivity. He was regarded as something of a hero from his gallant defence of Fort Massachusetts and was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant. The governor appointed Hawks, with Mathew Clesson and Samuel Taylor of Deerfield as assistants, to take the prisoner to Canada and bring back two English captives in exchange.

Hawks was a personal friend of Blake, having been well acquainted with him here in the early days of the settlement, when they worked together in the same surveying party, laying out divisions of land. He also had a nephew in captivity—young Samuel Allen of Deerfield—and it was agreed that Blake and Allen should be the two prisoners to be exchanged for Raimbault.

<sup>1</sup>The same who presided over the council that ordained Rev. Mr. Bacon and established the church here in 1738; and author of "Doolittle's Narrative" from which this story is largely taken.

The prisoner was sent to Deerfield, and the four men were there fitted out with supplies; and on Tuesday, Feb. 8, 1748, they started on snowshoes with their provisions on their backs—the three men well armed and equipped.

The Annals say: "Considering it possible that the French Governor might refuse to ratify the engagement of the Lieutenant, Mrs. Blake furnished Hawks with funds to redeem her husband." It is probable that she was then at Wrentham, near Boston, the home of the Blakes, where she would be likely to go when their new home was abandoned, and that Hawks saw her there before starting for Deerfield.

On the 10th, they reached No. 4, and the next day marched up Black river to what is now Cavendish. All that region was then a dense wilderness, and they encamped that night on a hill known ever since as Hawks's mountain. The snow was deep, the weather cold, and their bivouac each night was in the dry snow, where a fire could be made with the dead branches of trees.

At No. 4, the suggestion was made that a party should go with them one day's march to assist in carrying their luggage, but that post had been neglected by the Massachusetts officials in the distribution of snowshoes, and the men could not go. This defect in the outfit of the fort was noticed by St. Blein, without doubt, for on the very day of the arrival of Hawks and his party at Montreal, Galissoniere, then governor of Canada, sent out a French cadet with seventeen Indians to our frontier. On the 15th of March, they came upon eight men who were getting wood about sixty rods from the fort at No. 4, without snowshoes, and could not escape. They killed Charles Stevens, wounded Nathan Andrews and captured Eleazur Priest. They then went leisurely away, as they could not be pursued, and reached Montreal, March 29, with one prisoner and one scalp.

Pursuing his journey, Lieut. Hawks and his party crossed the mountains at Mount Holly, followed down Otter creek more than twenty miles, then turned westward and struck a stream which took them to Lake Champlain opposite Ticonderoga—following the Indian

trail from Canada to the English settlement in the Connecticut valley—thence on the ice of the lake and the river Sorel. Carrying a white flag, they reached Montreal on the 27th of February. Application was immediately made for the exchange of two prisoners in place of St. Blein. Under the same date, Feb. 27, Count de Galissoniere makes this record:

“Sieur Simblin, military cadet, who was wounded at the close of October last, within four leagues of the fort of Northfield, and taken to Boston, arrived at Montreal in company with three Englishmen sent with him by Mr. Shirley. We have them, well treated and closely watched. They ask to take back two prisoners, men of family, who are here. We shall see to their departure, if it be proper to release these two men.”

Young Allen was found among the Indians, but he had become so infatuated with Indian life in his eighteen months of captivity that he preferred it, and was unwilling to return home. Upon meeting his uncle, Lieut. Hawks, who had sought this mission chiefly for the purpose of releasing him, he recognized him but kept aloof and declined to talk in English. He was finally persuaded, partly by threats and promises, to return home. He lived to old age, but always asserted his preference for the Indian mode of life.

Pursuing their journey to Quebec to find Blake, the prisoner conducted the party to the house of his father, a wealthy old gentleman living near the city. St. Blein was received with great rejoicing by his relatives, who had believed the report of his death to be true, and his escort was most hospitably entertained.

At Quebec, Blake was found in prison, and Hawks applied for his release in accordance with the agreement made with Raimbault. The English version is that at first the governor refused to ratify that agreement, that Hawks persisted, represented Mrs. Blake's situation and appealed to his feelings as a man, and finally offered a ransom—that the governor at last relented and told him to take the prisoner and keep his money.

The French account of the exchange is: “April 13, 1748, the General (Galissoniere) sends back from Montreal

the three persons who came with a cartel on the 27th of February. They were conducted to the frontier by Sieur de Simblin, whom they brought back. We found no difficulty in surrendering to them the two prisoners whom they asked of us on arriving."

Receiving his order for the exchange, and "expressing his gratitude, Hawks hastened to the prison, and gave to Blake the glad tidings of his release. On their way to New-England, the party again stopped at the house of old Raimbout. The neighbors were invited; a sumptuous feast was prepared; 'wine,' to use the language of Blake, 'was as plenty as water;' the evening, and the night, were spent in dancing; the happy father and mother opening the ball, and displaying all the liveliness of youth. Quebec, it should be remembered, had then been settled nearly a century and a half, and was far in advance of all the English colonies in refinement of manners. To the rough and sedate Englishmen, who had seldom been out of the woods, the whole scene was novel, and excited emotions, to which they had not been accustomed."

(Annals, page 27.)

It was about the middle of April when the three envoys with the two exchanged captives left Montreal on their return. Ensign Obadiah Sartwell, who had been captured at No. 4, also came with them. As the war still continued and marauding parties were out on the frontier, and as some of young Allen's friends among the Indians had shown a disposition to rescue him from the party, St. Blein, with a guard of soldiers, was sent with them up Sorel river and Lake Champlain to the ridge of the Green mountains between Otter creek and Black river. There, on the 26th of April, he left the party and returned to Canada, although it had been understood that he would go with them for protection as far as No. 4. Upon bidding them farewell he advised them to hasten on and to avoid the regular trail, where they were liable to meet bands of hostile Indians.

That night they made no fire lest they should be discovered. April 27 they set out early and followed down Black river, and the next day struck the Connecticut and reached the fort at Great Falls about sunset. There they made a raft, finished it at 10 o'clock that night and started

down the river, arriving at Fort Dummer at 9 o'clock the next morning. The next day, the 30th, the party set out for Deerfield, on horseback, escorted by about twenty of their friends, and there was great rejoicing.

Nothing definite is known concerning the subsequent movements of Mr. Blake until we find him a citizen here again in 1750, but it is probable that he went directly on from Deerfield and joined his family at Wrentham.

The sufferings of the pioneers from Indian incursions in 1747 had been great, and New Hampshire still declining to provide for their protection, they again applied to Massachusetts. Upon those petitions and the representations of Col. Stoddard and others, in February, 1748, the general court of that province authorized the governor to reinforce the posts in the Connecticut valley. A bounty of five pounds was offered to men who would enlist for one year, and in some cases men were impressed. The forces at No. 4 and at Fort Massachusetts were increased to 100 effective men each. Capt. Phineas Stevens was reappointed to the command at No. 4, where he had remained through the winter with sixty men.

The company at the Ashuelots was increased to sixty-four men. Capt. Willard was a major in the militia, but accepted a commission as captain in these forces raised specially for defence. His lieutenant, William Sims, had been designated as captain in 1746, and was probably serving in the same way, as was often the case in those Indian wars. The term of enlistment for this year was eight months.

The roll of the company of Capt. Josiah Willard, Jr., at the two Ashuelots, Feb. 10 to Oct. 26, 1748, follows:

" Capt. Josiah Willard	Jos. Richardson
Lieut. William Syms	William Hunt
Serg't. Thomas Taylor	Thomas Thoyets
Serg't. William Smeed	John Evans
Clerk Jeremiah Hall	James Burt
Corp. Thomas Crisson	Jeremiah Butler
Corp. Benoni Wright	Robert Tyler
Timothy Fletcher	Samuel Hall
John Ellis	William Hill
Wm. Bickford	James Billing
Reuben Walker	Simeon Green

Jona. French	Nathaniel Hills
Daniel How jr.	Asahel Graves
Eben <sup>r</sup> Fletcher	Benj. Nichols
Robert Ewers	Thomas Robbins
John Edgehill	Josiah Crosby
John Robert	Joseph Barron
Aaron Ward	W. <sup>m</sup> Livingston
John Frost	Benj. Hoagg
Benj. Barrett	Henry Stevens
Sam <sup>l</sup> Haslington	Joel Johnson
Henry Chandler	Elijah Holton
Thomas Crisson jr.	James Holton
Nath <sup>l</sup> Fairbanks	Isaac Rice
Jethro Wheeler	James Eaton
James Jewell	John Scott
Hezekiah Elmer	Andrew Allard
Samuel Hill	Eliph. Corbin
David Nims	John Henry
David Bacon	Benjamin Osgood
W. <sup>m</sup> Blanchard	Jona. Lawrence jr.
Mathew Wyman	John Pullard."

(Massachusetts Archives.)

St. Blein, having become familiar with this region, continued his operations in the Connecticut valley. May 21, Galissoniere writes: "Fifteen Abenakis have been fitted out for a war party. They are commanded by Sieur Simblin who has only just returned from escorting the English cartels. Sieur Duplessis Fabert, Ensign of foot, with fifteen Canadians and thirty three Indians" were also sent out from Montreal by the governor on the same day.

On the 16th of June, twelve men of Capt. Willard's company of Upper Ashuelot, and two of Capt. Hobbs's company of No. 4, on their way from Ashuelot to Fort Dummer via Hinsdell's fort, were ambushed on the east bank of the river opposite Broad brook, within a mile or two of the spot where St. Blein was wounded the year before. Three of the Upper Ashuelot company, Joseph Richardson, John Frost and Jonathan French, were killed and scalped, and seven of the squad were captured. Four escaped across the river to Fort Dummer, one of whom was wounded. The great gun of the fort was fired as an alarm, and Capt. Ebenezer Alexander started immediately from Northfield with a relief party of two lieutenants and

thirteen men, who found and buried the dead; but the Indians escaped. The enemy were Raimbault St. Blein, Sieur Duplessis Fabert and Sieur La Plante, who had combined their forces under the direction of St. Blein—the same who had escorted Lieut. Hawks and his party, from Montreal to the Green mountains at Mount Holly, only a few weeks before, with friendly protection. Of the seven captured, William Bickford was killed where the Indians encamped the first night. The others were stripped of their arms and most of their clothing the first night, and reached Canada towards the last of the month. Some were thrown into prison, and four of them were made to "run the gauntlet." They reached their homes during the autumn, greatly emaciated from abuse and starvation, and Benjamin Osgood died a few weeks later.

June 25, Gov. Galissoniere records: "The three different war parties commanded by Sieurs Duplessis Fabert, Simblin and La Plante, are returned to Montreal. These parties having united and made an attack on Northfield, brought in six English prisoners and five scalps."

Scouting having proved an effective method of opposing the enemy, Capt. Melvin started out from Northfield in May, 1748, with eighteen men to scour the country above, leaving the rest of his company to protect the settlement. He marched to Fort Dummer, spent one night at Great Meadows, and reached No. 4 on the 14th. There he was joined by Captains Stevens and Hobbs with sixty men. They started the next day, following the Indian trail up Black river and across the mountains to Otter creek. Stevens and Hobbs with their men went down the right bank of the creek, turned to the north, recrossed the mountains and returned to No. 4. Melvin with his eighteen men followed the left bank and proceeded nearly to Crown Point, when they were attacked by 150 Indians and made a hasty retreat. When near Fort Dummer they were again suddenly attacked by the Indians, who had stealthily followed them. Six were killed and the party scattered, but Melvin and the other twelve men reached the fort. The whole valley was aroused and a party went in pursuit and buried the dead, but could not overtake the Indians.

Col. Stoddard died in June and Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield succeeded him as commander of the frontier.

On the 24th, Captain Hobbs, second in command at No. 4, started with forty men to scout that country to the southwest, with orders to go as far as Fort Shirley in Heath. On the 26th, they halted about twelve miles west of Fort Dummer. A large force of Indians under a half-breed named Sackett, well known to the whites and to Hobbs himself, had followed them; but Hobbs was wary and had placed a sentinel in his rear. While at their lunch the sentinel gave the alarm. The Indians gave their war-whoop and rushed upon them, but Hobbs and his men were ready and met them with a fire that laid several of them low. Sackett could speak English and called out to Hobbs to surrender, threatening to kill every man. But Hobbs defied him, and the fight continued for four hours, when Sackett was wounded and the Indians retreated, carrying off their dead and wounded. Hobbs lost three men killed and four wounded. Two of the killed, Samuel Gunn and Ebenezer Mitchell, and Ralph Rice, wounded, were from the Ashuelot company, and Daniel "McKeeney," a citizen of Upper Ashuelot, had his thigh broken and was disabled for life. Hobbs and his men retired to Fort Dummer, which they reached the next day, having buried their dead and brought off their wounded.

Early in July, Sergt. Thomas Taylor,<sup>1</sup> of Capt. Willard's company at Upper Ashuelot, was sent with six men to Northfield to bring up ten men to supply the places of those who had been killed and captured on the 16th of June. On the 12th, Col. Willard, commander at Fort Dummer, reached Northfield on his way from Boston, intending to go on to the fort the next morning. An alarm of Indians seen near Dummer reached Northfield that night, and Capt. Ebenezer Alexander with an escort started with the colonel about noon on the 13th. Meeting a scout who reported no Indians seen, Capt. Alexander with most of his men returned to Northfield, but five or six on horseback escorted the colonel through to Dummer. As they

<sup>1</sup>Sergt. Thomas Taylor was of Deerfield, and married Thankful, sister of John Hawks and aunt of Mrs. David Nims. He was afterwards with Capt. Isaac Wyman at Fort Massachusetts.

passed the upper end of Merry's meadow, in what is now Hinsdale, some of the horses showed restiveness, as they usually did when Indians were near. It was afterwards learned that Raimbault and some Indians lay concealed within a few yards of that spot, but Raimbault restrained the savages, telling them that a much larger force would soon appear.

The next morning, Thursday, July 14, Sergt. Taylor, with his ten recruits and his six other soldiers, started from Northfield for Upper Ashuelot by the same route, the travelled path being on the east side of the river, via Fort Hinsdell to Dummer. He had heard the report that Indians were in the vicinity, and remembered the fate of the fourteen soldiers, mostly from his own company, only a month before. He therefore marched with advanced guards on each side of the path. He had passed Merry's meadow and was near the ford of the Connecticut and close upon its bank, when his right flank was attacked by concealed Indians. His men returned the fire, but Taylor reported that "Not less than 100 guns were fired before we could reload;" and they saw the whole line of their foes, front, flank and rear, closing in upon them.

As prisoners paid better than scalps, the enemy tried to induce Taylor and his men to surrender, but they fled to the bank of the river, where they continued the fight and did some execution. Two of the Indians were killed and several wounded. Two of Taylor's men were killed, and himself and ten others were taken prisoners. Four escaped, two across the river to Fort Dummer, and two to Hinsdale's fort. Two of the captured were wounded, and were killed and scalped about a mile from the place of the fight. The remaining nine prisoners were conducted up the east side of the river a few miles, to a place called "Catsbane"—in what is now Chesterfield—where they crossed the Connecticut and followed up West river over the spot of Melvin's disaster, thence across the mountains to Otter creek and down that stream to Crown Point, and thence to Canada; making on an average twenty miles a day. Sergt. Taylor returned from captivity to his post at Upper Ashuelot on the 30th of September. Daniel Farmer, another

of the captured, had been wounded on the same spot in the fight of the 16th of June, had recovered, and was returning to duty in the squad of ten recruits; and five others of the Ashuelot company, Jonathan Lawrence, Daniel How, Jr., John Edgehill, Reuben Walker, John Henry, and two other men, all returned to duty. Daniel How, Jr., had been captured once before.

John Henry in his petition to the general court of Massachusetts for relief said: "Your petitioner had seven bullets through his clothes, but escaped into a thicket; when happening to see an Indian seize one of his fellow soldiers he ran up within a few feet of the Indian and shot him through the body; whereupon he was surrounded, and engaged the savages with his gun clubbed until it was broken in pieces, when he was taken and carried to Canada, where he remained two months and eighteen days, when he returned home." For killing the Indian he was barbarously treated, both on the march and while in captivity.

All the prisoners were sold to the French, who held them till the last of September, when there was a cessation of hostilities and they were allowed to return home. Sergt. Taylor also petitioned the general court for relief, and it was:

"Ordered, £100 be granted and paid to y<sup>e</sup> petitioner, to be equally divided between him and y<sup>e</sup> survivors; and y<sup>e</sup> further sum of 50 shillings be allowed y<sup>e</sup> petitioner for his bravery in y<sup>e</sup> action; also that he be allowed £7 for his expenses in travelling to Boston and attendance on y<sup>e</sup> Court; also that 26 shillings and 3 pence be allowed John Henry for his expenses, and 24 shillings to Daniel How jr for his expenses in this affair." Henry was of Concord, Mass. How and Henry went to Boston as witnesses.

This fight took place less than a mile below Fort Dummer, and upon the discharge of the first volley the "great gun" of the fort was fired, and expresses were sent to the more distant posts. Col. Williams immediately sent up a strong force from Hatfield, Deerfield and Northfield under Capt. Phineas Stevens, who happened to be at Deerfield at that time. With 129 men, he followed the enemy for several days, but could not overtake them in their rapid retreat of twenty miles a day.

Upon the urgent solicitations of commanding officers and others in the Connecticut valley, the governor of Massachusetts issued orders on the 18th of July to raise a sufficient force out of the militia for the protection of the frontiers.

We may well tender our grateful acknowledgments to old Massachusetts for all she did for the protection of this corner of New Hampshire during those perilous times. Not only did that province grant aid, but, in the poverty of the public treasury and delays in collecting taxes, private individuals and commanding and staff officers advanced large sums to defray public expenses, to be reimbursed later. At one time, Col. Williams, chief commissary of the frontier, had advanced 6,000 pounds and Col. Josiah Willard, subcommissary and commander at Fort Dummer, 10,000 pounds, of their own funds and what they could borrow on their own responsibility. They were reimbursed by the provincial government of Massachusetts.

New Hampshire had kept troops in the field and garrisons in the forts in the central and eastern parts of the province through the season of 1748. Capt. John Goffe, with two lieutenants, commanded two companies of scouts, one of thirty-two, the other of fifty-four men; Capt. Job Coleman one of forty-five men; and Capt. Moses Foster one of twenty-six men; but none were sent into the Connecticut valley. The battles of these towns had been fought by Massachusetts troops and the citizens themselves, at No. 4 and about Fort Dummer.

All through that season of 1748, while young Capt. Josiah Willard was here with his company, the charred and blackened remains of the meetinghouse and the thirty-one log cabins that had been the peaceful homes of the settlers prior to the war must have made the place a scene of desolation and sad recollections, particularly to those soldiers, inhabitants of the town, who had enlisted in the company and remained to aid in guarding their property and maintaining their rights.

Under date of August 19, 1748, Galissoniere reports that he has "ordered all hostilities to cease, and, so far as depends on him, will put a stop to all hostilities on

the part of our Indians." It was under this order that Sergt. Taylor and his men, and many others, were released.

A treaty of peace between England and France was signed at Aix La Chapelle, in October, but it was not proclaimed at Boston till the spring following, and on the frontiers not till still later; and the Indians continued to make occasional raids. On the 20th of June, 1749, they appeared again at No. 4, shot Ensign Obadiah Sartwell and captured Enos Stevens, a young son of Capt. Phineas. The lad was taken to Canada, but was soon released by the French commander and sent back by the way of Albany, reaching No. 4 in September. That was the last raid of the savages in the Connecticut valley for several years.