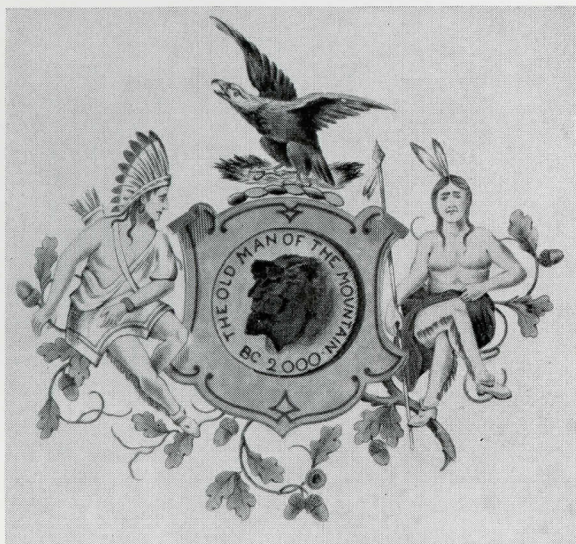


HISTORICAL NEW HAMPSHIRE

A PUBLICATION

Issued occasionally by the NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
in the interest of service to people who would broaden their knowledge
of New Hampshire's long and enduring history through an ever-
growing understanding of its collected books and papers and
its objects of art and craftsmanship which are here pre-
served for safe-keeping, reference and inspiration.



INDIAN DESIGN ON A COMMEMORATIVE PLATE
GIVEN BY MRS. CHARLES H. GREENLEAF.

October 1952

IN THIS NUMBER: "New Hampshire Remembers The
Indians," by Robinson V. Smith.

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New Hampshire Remembers the Indians

BY ROBINSON V. SMITH

Member New Hampshire Historical Society

Looked at historically few records of Indian affairs in New Hampshire have ever quite made sense. The reader has usually been induced to see events as a quarrel between the settlers and the Indians over the land or a quarrel between the New England and French churches over which religion should prevail. The French faith still prevails in many parts of New Hampshire and while the land has long since been taken from the Indians, it might be said at times that not much more is being done with some of it than the Indians did.

In compiling a new and concise account of Indian history in New Hampshire, Mr. Smith has devoted many weeks to research. First he has endeavored to give a chronological account of times and places in which there were contests between the colonists and Indians from the early 1600's to the late 1700's. To this he has added a section on the events that resulted in numerous captures of New Hampshire settlers by the Indians, and he has then given a general record of the Indian names that remain to perpetuate the memory of the tribes who roamed these woods, fields, rivers and mountains.

It has been the casual assumption by some students that the New Englanders, as elsewhere, found the Indians here and had to drive them out or make treaties with them. The latter is true in New Hampshire in some cases, just as occurred in William Penn's time and that of the Dutch in New York. But they were probably not "driven out" of New Hampshire. As English colonization advanced, they receded to the north and west where a good many of them originally came from.

With the exception of the coastwise tribes and the Penacooks, Ossipees and the Pequawkets, the Indians here cannot be considered permanent land-owners. In return, however, they might have asked of the new settlers, "Are you not committing an act of 'aggression'?" We have as much right to this land, which we at least use for hunting and fishing, as you have. There is enough land for both of us but you wish it all. Your guns are more deadly than our arrows, so we must contrive some more ingenious way to stop you."

The Indians undoubtedly wanted to roam the countryside in search of fish and game, fur and deer-meat. The Englishman who arrived on these shores laid out his land in mapped squares which would be his and no other's. But many of these squares have never been built on to

this day. Was there room enough for both the white man and the Indian? This is one of the questions raised by this article.

Another is the question of colonization. The Indians were free from the domination of a European civilization they had never known. The white man was not free from it and has never quite been to this day. He was a colonizer, forced to pay tribute to his native land. His traditions were brought from another continent. The Indian knowing no other native land than this one paid no such tribute either in money or sentiment. The white man in 1776 broke off his relations with Europe, apparently forever, only to become forced to return to them as now. This provocative account of the New Hampshire Indians raises the question as to whether the natives were not, in fact, nearer to what we call "freedom" than the colonists then were, and have since become.

The New Hampshire Historical Society Library is rich in Indian lore which has been drawn upon extensively by the writer of this article. No less than three hundred and twenty books on the American Indian are available for research, devoted to such topics as Indian treaties, captivities, wars and other general headings. The entire subject has long since needed to be explored, explained and organized as Mr. Smith has now attempted to do.

That the predominant "captive" element found here is unique in American history is evident. In no other state in the union has such a motive on the part of the Indian appeared to such an extent. The native Indian does not appear to have sought primarily to annihilate the aggressor or scalp him. He desired to capture and sell him just as he did a deer or beaver skin. His customers, the French, wished to buy the English colonists in order to absorb them into their own settlement project and to convert them to their religion. It was not necessary for the French to tell the Indians this. There was a vastly larger market for captives than for scalps and they knew it.

Only with the ending of the so-called French and Indian War, which might better have been called the French and English war, did these raids to obtain captives subside. With rare exception the history of New Hampshire's first two hundred years is not one of "massacre" and slaughter, but one of Indian treaties, trading and the taking of captives, who were ultimately ransomed.

In their desire to capture the settlers alive and then sell them, the Indians, however, defeated their own purpose. For the white man survived and brought a civilization in which the Indian way of life could not survive. The Indian names of rivers, trails, mountains, lakes, and towns remain, with here and there an exhibit or two preserving the now almost forgotten Indian relics in our museums.

EDITOR.



DECORATION FROM LOTTER'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND, 1776.
NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

THIS year (1952) marks the anniversary of General John Stark's exploratory visit to Rumney, New Hampshire, the point on the Baker River near where he was captured by the Indians and taken to Canada. It is an unusual coincidence, seldom recognized by historians, that the Baker River is named for Thomas Baker, who was also captured forty years earlier and likewise taken to Canada.

John Stark was ransomed soon after his capture, through the efforts of Captain Phineas Stevens and Major Nathaniel Wheelwright, grandson of the founder of the town of Exeter, both ambassadors to the French government of Canada sent to negotiate the exchange of prisoners.

Thus is involved a series of interesting historical coincidences, all relating to the New Hampshire Indian tribes and their neighbors, to the efforts on the part of the colonies to become safe from attacks, and to the whole colonization effort of pre-Revolutionary days.

The first of these coincidences is as before stated, that Thomas Baker, John Stark and Captain Stevens had all been prisoners of the Indians. Baker not only has a New Hampshire river bearing his name, but received a grant of land, a part of which is now Salisbury, named Bakerstown in his honor.

Originally a native of Northampton, Massachusetts, born in 1682, Thomas Baker was thirty years old when he became an "Indian scout" in command of a company of thirty men on an expedition against the Indians in the "North Country" under orders from Governor Dudley of Massachusetts. He undoubtedly received this appointment through having been captured some ten years earlier, an experience which taught him Indian modes and methods. His other important experience was his meeting in Canada, while a captive, with Madame Christine LeBeau who, when three months old, had been carried there as Christine Otis by the Indians.

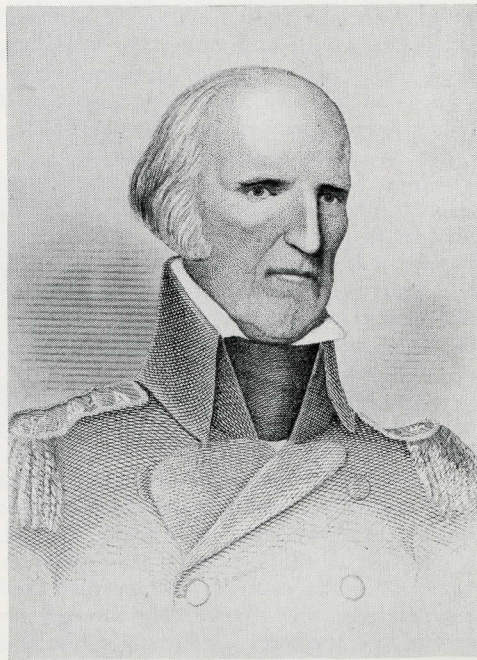
GENERAL JOHN STARK was born in Londonderry 1728. When he made his famous hunting trip and when captured in 1752, he was twenty-four. He served with Rogers's Rangers and under General Amherst at Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

John Stark's greatest fame was achieved at the Battle of Bennington, fought largely on New York soil at Waloomsac. There he and his New Hampshire soldiers intercepted the southern march of Burgoyne's army and defeated it. The occasion was said to be a turning point in the American War of Independence. Stark was made a Brigadier General. He was the author of New Hampshire's State Motto, "Live Free or Die."

Thus Captain Baker became involved in one of the few romances growing out of the French and Indian Wars. Christine LeBeau was the daughter of Richard Otis of Dover, and his wife Margaret Warren. Her father had been killed and his house burned in the Indian raid on Dover in 1689, the raid which witnessed the slaying of Major Richard Waldron, one of the leading figures in the early history of the colony.

Arriving in Canada with her mother, the daughter, Christine, had been baptized in the French Church and at sixteen married to a French gentleman, LeBeau, who appears to have died soon after. Thus she might legally take advantage of the plan for the exchange of prisoners and return to Dover.

Two interested historians have set down the events which occurred in connection with the marriage of Madame LeBeau to Captain Baker. One was the Reverend Silas Ketchum, long President of the New Hampshire Antiquarian Society, and a member of The New Hampshire Historical Society to which he left his library. The Reverend Ketchum's article appears in the New Hamp-



GENERAL JOHN STARK. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.



INDIAN BORDER DECORATION. ENSIGN & THAYER'S MAP IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

shire Historical Society's *Collections*, volume II. C. Alice Baker, in her *True Stories of New England Captives*, has also described this affair.

Mr. Ketchum is not certain whether Captain Baker met his wife in Canada or after her return to Dover, but he learned that their marriage was a happy one and that they had six children. One of these, Colonel Otis Baker, had a daughter, Lydia, who married Colonel Amos Cogswell of Dover. Another Lydia, born of this marriage, married Paul Wentworth of Sandwich and became the mother of the Honorable John ("Long John") Wentworth, first mayor of Chicago.

Christine Baker lived to be eighty-four. Captain Baker, her husband, was the first representative of the town of Brookfield, Massachusetts in the legislature and died in 1753, aged seventy-one.

These were not the only captives. The Indian history of New Hampshire in fact is more a history of persons taken to Canada by the Indians than a history of battles or scalplings. While other states were the scenes of exciting battles with the Indians, long pictured in books and legend as bloody encounters with the natives in their full regalia giving forth war-whoops and waving their tomahawks, New Hampshire has to be content with peace-making encounters, occasional "massacres," and the various captivities in which a considerable number of settlers were taken to Canada, and later redeemed.

Indian history in this state began with the coming of the colonists in the 1620's and lasted until the close of the so-called French and Indian War in the 1760's, a period of about a century and a half. The territory which is now New Hampshire with its lakes, rivers, mountains and valleys was ideal for Indian habitation. Fish and game abounded, providing both food and clothing. The tribes were by no means large and usually content to stay within limited areas.

Francis Parkman, the historian, has written a description of the Indians to the north in Acadia which seems to apply equally well to New Hampshire.

Inland Acadia, he says, was all forest, and vast tracts of it are a primeval forest still. Here roamed the Abenakis with their kindred tribes, a race wild as their haunts. In habits they were all much alike. Their villages were on the waters of the Androscoggin, the Saco,

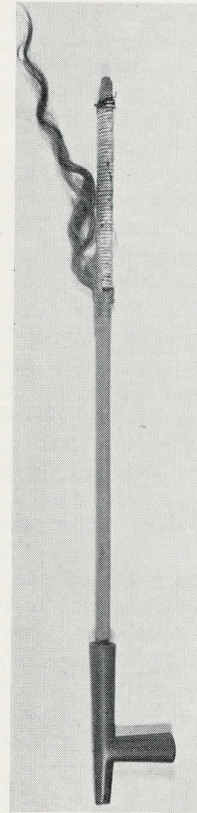
"LONG JOHN" Wentworth graduated from Dartmouth in the Class of 1836. He was a member of New Hampshire's distinguished Wentworth family. After college he went to Chicago and became editor of "The Chicago Democrat." He served as a Representative in Congress and was first elected Mayor of Chicago in 1857. He was the author of the *Wentworth Genealogy*.



THE HONORABLE JOHN WENTWORTH, FIRST MAYOR OF CHICAGO. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

the Kennebec, the Penobscot, the St. Croix, and the St. John; here in spring they planted their corn, beans, and pumpkins, and then, leaving them to grow, went down to the sea in their birch-canoes.

They returned towards the end of summer, gathered their harvest, and went again to the sea, where they lived in abundance on ducks, geese, and other waterfowl. During winter, most of the women, children, and old men



INDIAN PIPE. NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

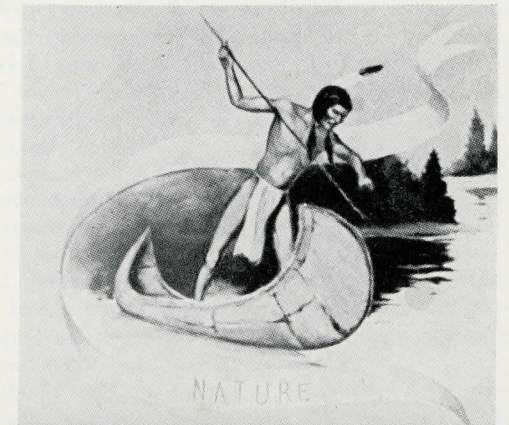
remained in the villages; while the hunters ranged the forest in chase of moose, deer, caribou, beavers, and bears.

Their summer stay at the seashore was perhaps the most pleasant, and certainly the most picturesque, part of their lives. Bivouacked by some of the innumerable coves and inlets that indent these coasts, they passed their days in that alternation of indolence and action which is a second nature to the Indian.

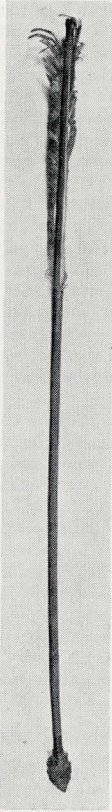
Here in wet weather, while the torpid water was dimpled with rain-drops, and the up-turned canoes lay idle on the pebbles, the listless warrior smoked his pipe under his roof of bark, or launched his slender craft at the dawn of the July day, when shores and islands were painted in shadow against the rosy east, and forests, dusky and cool, lay waiting for the sunrise.

The women gathered raspberries or whortleberries in the open places of the woods, or clams and oysters in the sands and shallows, adding their shells as a contribution to the shell-heaps that have accumulated for ages along these shores. The men fished, speared porpoises, or shot seals. A priest was often in the camp watching over his flock, and saying mass every day in a chapel of bark. There was no lack of altar candles, made by mixing tallow with the wax of the bayberry, which abounded among the rocky hills, and was gathered in profusion by the squaws and children.

The white men of England came to the southern shores of this territory and the white men from France to the northern boundaries. The colonists of these two nations differed in their relations to the original natives, although both asserted publicly that their purpose was conversion and civilization, not annihilation.



SECTION OF MURAL IN THE MASCOMA SAVINGS BANK, LEBANON, BY BERNARD F. CHAPMAN. FROM "FIFTY-THREE YEARS OF PROGRESS" IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S LIBRARY.



INDIAN ARROW WITH STONE
ARROW-HEAD. FROM THE
NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORI-
CAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

King James I for instance, had said piously when the colonists first began to embark in the early 1600's that he hoped the venture "would result not only in profit but tend to the glory of God in propagating the Christian faith among infidels and savages and bring them to humanity and civility." The French colonists, likewise, were almost unanimous in their zeal to turn the Indians into Christians, a supreme example being Father Rasle and the priests associated with him.

It cannot be assumed by any means that the early New Hampshire colonists landed here and began immediate warfare intended to drive the Indians out. There was much to be learned from them. The science of trapping, the habits of agriculture and even the skills of fishing were largely unknown to them and the Indians, as they traded, could teach them a great deal. Thus the first period of from 1623 to 1675 was a time of peace-treaties and land purchases, the agreements made by the English being to aid the Indians against other tribes and to allow them full hunting and fishing privileges. In return the newcomers might occupy their villages without molestation. That this plan worked to a degree for almost an entire generation is significant.

While there was a war against the Indians in the first half century of American colonization in New England it did not occur in New Hampshire. It was against the Pequots and conducted largely by Connecticut. The historian, Belknap, reports that during that period, Darby Field who is credited with having discovered the White Mountains was sent there in part to look for gold and in part to trade with the Indians. There had been, he said, "no remarkable quarrel with the savages except the short war with the Pequots who dwelt in the southeastern part of Connecticut and who were subdued in 1637." Captain John Underhill, afterward a leading figure in New Hampshire affairs had served in that war.

The Pequot war, however, had other indirect effects on New Hampshire history. The ill-advised capture and execution in 1643 of the Narragansett Chieftain, Miantonomo, enemy of the Pequots, aroused the ire of the Narragansett Indians against all New England of which New Hampshire was a part and open warfare was threatened.

JOHN ELIOT was born in England in 1604, coming to America in 1631. As a minister at Roxbury he met an Indian prisoner from whom he learned considerable of the Indian language. He began preaching to the Indians in Massachusetts for "praying Indians," and with his friend Major Daniel Gookin extended his activities throughout New England prior to King Philip's War.

While preaching to the Indians many significant questions were asked by them of the preacher, among them: "Why is sea-water salt and land water fresh?" To which Eliot replied, "Why are strawberries sweet and cranberries sour?"

Another question was, "If God could not be seen with their eyes, how could He be seen with their souls within?" Eliot's answer was, "If they saw a great wigwam would they think that raccoons or foxes had built it that had no wisdom? No, but they would believe some wise workman made it though they did not see him. So should they believe concerning God when they looked up to Heaven, Sun, Moon and Stars, and saw this great house he hath made though they do not see him with their eyes."

Samuel Eliot Morison, in his admirable essay on John Eliot, sums up Eliot's achievement by saying that "Indian converts could have grasped none of the intellectual subtleties of Puritanism, but if the mental attitude of prayer is worth anything Eliot performed a great and noble work."



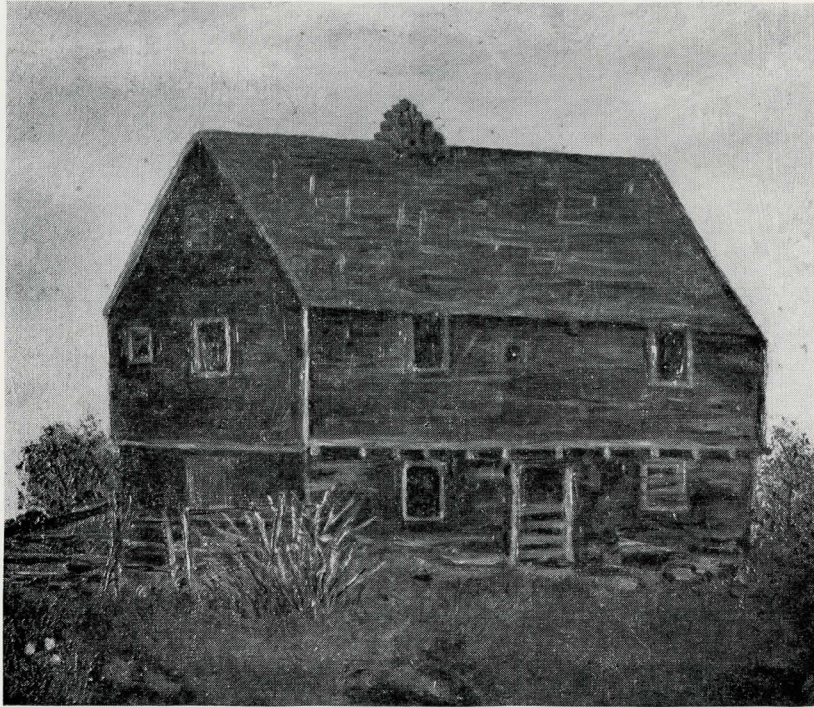
JOHN ELIOT PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.
FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

Efforts to prevent a war made by Roger Williams of Rhode Island and a council held by Governor Winthrop of Connecticut with Uncas, Chief of the Mohegans, were successful and a treaty was made by which New Hampshire was assured protection for almost two decades.

It is significant that during this period occurred one of the great events in American history, the active attempt at conversion of the American Indians to the Christian faith, in keeping with the professed aims of King James and his colonizers Captain John Smith and Captain John Mason, the pioneers of New Hampshire.

Obviously, however, none of these gentlemen had the opportunity to do anything very practical about it, but John Eliot did. He "engaged in the great work of preaching unto the Indians," according to the historian Gookin and thus was the forerunner of Eleazer Wheelock, who the next century established in New Hampshire as the same sort of preacher in a still more practical way. How much the thirty years of peace from the 1630's to the 1660's had to do with John Eliot's endeavors is a matter of speculation, but certain it is that there was peace in those years, which gave the New Hampshire colonists an opportunity to establish themselves in the new land and build up the protection they needed against the future.

The days of preparation, however, were none too long. By 1665 the growth of New England and the coast towns of New Hampshire had indicated a need for expansion to the northward. The Indians knew this too. They had no ideologies like the modern ones



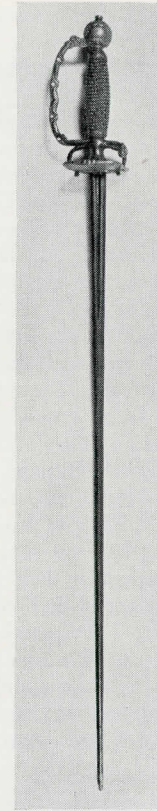
SMITH GARRISON HOUSE, DOVER. FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

CAPTAIN JOHN LOCKE, of Rye, whose sword and the sickle with which he defended himself against an attack by Indians who took his life, are among the most valued possessions of The New Hampshire Historical Society, came to America from England in the early 1600's. Settling in Dover and later near Locke's Neck in Rye, he was reaping his fall harvest when several Indians attacked and killed him but not before he had slashed one of them with his sickle and cut off his nose. Sickle and sword were given to The Society many years ago by The Locke Family Association, to which they descended through successive generations of Lockes.

of "encroachment" or "aggression" but they resented the occupation of their coastwise land, their fishing waters and their intervals by strangers whose civilization seemed to make them permanent owners and not mere tribal transients as the Indians had always been.

The result was an occasion of far-reaching consequence to New Hampshire. King Philip's War was directed primarily at Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island but it was an action by a great Confederation of Indian tribes, which included all the New England natives except the Penacooks, the Ossipees and the Pequawkets. For the first time the warriors included the tribes from the north, which took in the Mohawks and others later to be known as the "Five Nations."

The colonists hastily built stockades and blockhouses and did all they could to erect fortifications. Nevertheless there were Indian attacks on Brookfield, Deerfield and Northfield in Massachusetts and, following



SWORD OF CAPTAIN JOHN LOCKE, WHO WAS KILLED IN AN INDIAN ATTACK ON RYE, 1696. NOW IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

King Philip's War in 1676, on Major Waldron's settlement in Dover. After three years of neglect of their crops, however, the Indians discontinued their attacks.

New Hampshire commemorated King Philip's War half a century later when Governor Jonathan Belcher and Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth made New Hampshire grants to the descendants of soldiers in that war, mostly from Massachusetts: Narragansett Number Three, now Amherst; Narragansett Number Four, now Goffstown; and Narragansett Number Five, now Bedford, were all named in commemoration of the great New England war which



KING PHILIP. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

THE NARRAGANSETT WAR had other indirect effects on New Hampshire, in addition to the naming of its towns. In this war the wealthy Captain Thomas Howard was killed and his widow later married a Connecticut farmer, William Moor. Upon his death, his son, Joshua Moor, finding himself with more property than he needed, deeded land and buildings near Lebanon, Connecticut for the founding of Moor's Indian Charity School, which afterward became Dartmouth College.

THE FRENCH had early reasons to distrust the Colonists. Belknap points out that the English, under the Treaty of Breda had ceded the land from the Penobscot to Nova Scotia to the French in exchange for the Island of St. Christopher.

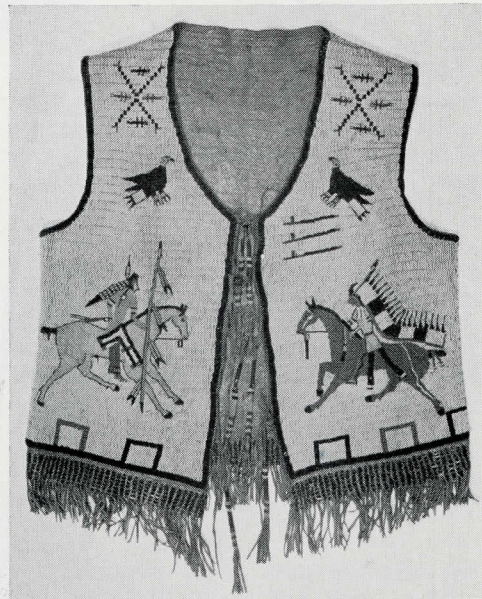
"On these lands," says Belknap, "the Baron de St. Castine had for many years resided and carried on a large trade with the Indians. In the spring of 1688, Governor Andros of Massachusetts went in the frigate *Rose*, and plundered Castine's house and fort, leaving only the ornaments of his chapel to console him for his loss of arms and goods. This base action provoked Castine to excite the Indians to King William's War."

completely annihilated the Narragansett Indians.

With an unsettled peace reigning in most of New England following King Philip's death, the New Hampshire colonists embarked on a policy of armed expansion to the north. More blockhouses were built, and scouting parties sent out. A defense force was organized in almost every town and village. Exeter and Haverhill, Massachusetts were declared the frontier and bounties were offered for Indian scalps.

In 1680 New Hampshire became a royal province and the people left with only themselves to look to for protection. Thus they continued until the outbreak of a new difficulty known as King William's War. No longer was it against the southern Indians but the fierce tribes from the North, the Abenakis. William III had become King of England in 1689 and France soon declared war on the English. Aided in America by their Abenaki allies who in turn were allied with the Penacooks, Cochecos and Pequawkets, the French and Indians were all under the implicit direction of Frontenac at Quebec.

The first outbreak occurred at Dover where the New Hampshire tribes had come to carry

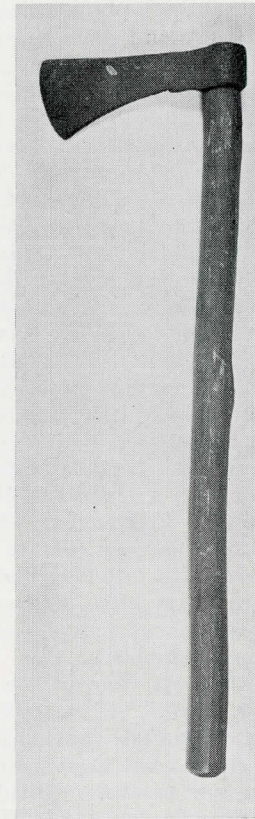


INDIAN TRIBAL CHIEF'S BEADED VEST, WITH HIS LIFE HISTORY (FRONT). FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

on their trading. Instead the occasion turned out to be an armed conflict in which Major Waldron the leader of the colonists was killed. Many died in this fight and others were captured and taken to Canada, the beginning of a long series of such captures. Indian attacks continued at Salmon Falls, Exeter, and the nearby towns. York, Maine, was burned and the Indians attacked Durham, Rye, in New Hampshire, and Haverhill in Massachusetts.

Peace was made with the Indians by Governor Dudley in 1703, the year of the death of William III and the accession of Queen Anne. The Indians, however, established themselves at St. Francis in Canada and did considerable trading with the New Englanders, who established for the first time in New Hampshire history a "trading post" at Nashua, called Queen's Garrison. In the meantime there occurred the first exchange of prisoners and the lines of towns were gradually extended to the northward.

Belknap, the historian, says of this period that "the governor of Canada had encouraged the Indians who inhabited the borders of New England to remove to Canada" where, he



INDIAN TOMAHAWK. FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.



INDIAN TRIBAL CHIEF'S BEADED VEST, WITH HIS LIFE HISTORY (BACK). FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

FOREMOST among the French missionaries to the Indians was Father Sebastian Rasle, a much loved Jesuit priest, who apparently possessed a great personal magnetism in contrast to the enthusiastic but comparatively unimaginative John Eliot.

Father Rasle is said to have hunted and fished with the Indians, "always erecting a chapel of bark that he might say a daily mass." His first church in the colonies was destroyed by the settlers in 1705 while he was absent. He built another, adorned with paintings done by himself, and maintained an Indian choir of forty voices with home-made bayberry candles at the altar which were said to have made a "blaze of light."

Sebastian Rasle compiled a French dictionary of Indian terms which has been preserved. He was killed (1724) near a cross he had erected at Norridgewock in Maine during Lovewell's War. Many years later a group of Protestants and Catholics joined to erect a monument over his grave (1833) celebrating, as his biographer says, the "patient toils of the missionary and love of the darkened soul of the Indian, placing the names of Eliot and Rasle in a fellowship which they indeed would both have rejected, but which we may regard as hallowed and true."

adds, "they became more firmly attached to the affairs of the French and could be more easily dispatched to the frontiers."

Thus the conflict between the whites and the red men took on a new aspect. The Indians engaged almost wholly in "raids," seldom in open warfare. Companies of New Hampshire volunteers often returned without meeting any, while, as in 1706, there were sudden attacks by small bodies on Dover, Oyster River and the towns to the east. Later the Indians descended on Exeter, Kingston, and Great Boar's Head, taking scalps and prisoners.

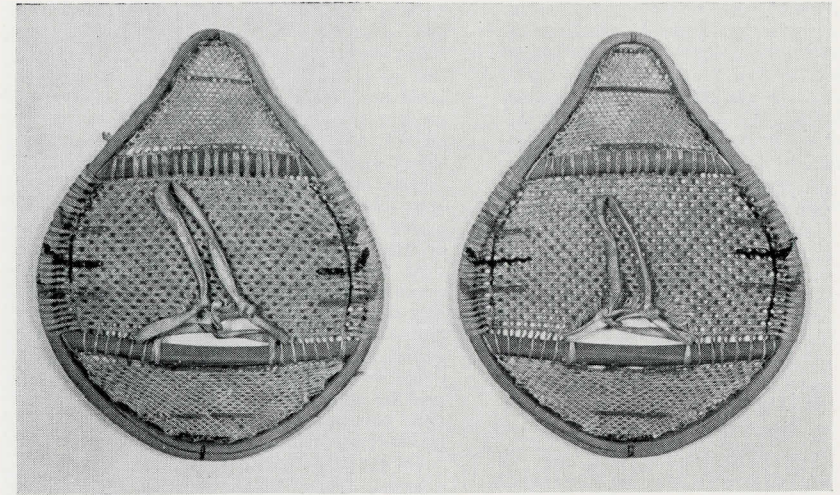
Such was the condition that prevailed at the accession of King George I in 1713. The signing of the Peace Treaty of Utrecht in that year brought a cessation of European hostilities for a period of twenty-six years and New Hampshire benefitted accordingly. There were several exceptions, however, as far as the Indians were concerned. In 1722 New Hampshire's third Indian war occurred, known as Lovewell's War, made famous through widely circulated ballads and pamphlets.

The first serious attacks were by the St. Francis Indians at Dover in 1724. Captain John Lovewell of Dunstable immediately organized a company and met them the next year at Pequawket, now Fryeburg. Jonathan Frye, whose name the towns bears, was Chaplain of the company. Although in Maine, Fryeburg was settled largely by New Hampshire people. The Indians under Chief Paugus were defeated with considerable loss to the colonists. Chaplain Frye was killed in the battle as was Captain Lovewell. The New Hampshire town of Suncook, now Pembroke, was granted to Lovewell's men three years after the fight.

Belknap has described this period in Indian history vividly.

To account, he says, for the frequent wars with the eastern Indians, usually called by the French, the Abenakis, and their unsteadiness both in war and peace; we must observe, that they were situated between the colonies of two European nations, who were often at war with each other, and who pursued very different measures with regard to them.

As the lands on which they lived were comprehended in the patents granted by the crown of England, the natives were considered by the English as subjects of that crown. In the treaties and conferences held with them they were styled the king's subjects; when war was declared against them, they were called rebels;



INDIAN CHILD'S SNOWSHOES. NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

PAUGUS was one of the Chiefs of the Pequawket tribe. He is said to have organized many of the Indian raids which brought on Lovewell's War in 1725. His warriors were attacked by Captain Lovewell on the border between Maine and New Hampshire near Fryeburg, as they were about to leave on an expedition carrying much ammunition together with spare blankets and moccasins for the use of captives. Paugus and all his men were killed in this attack.

A verse composed to commemorate the occasion begins:

'Twas Paugus led the Pequ'k't tribe:
As runs the fox, would Paugus run;
As howls the wild wolf, would he
howl;
A huge bear-skin had Paugus on.

But Chamberlain, of Dunstable,
Met whom a savage ne'er shall slay,
Met Paugus by the water-side,
And shot him dead upon that day.

and when they were compelled to make peace, they subscribed an acknowledgment of their perfidy and a declaration of their submission to the government without any just ideas of the meaning of those terms; and it is a difficult point to determine what kind of subjects they were.

Besides the patents derived from the crown the English, in general, were fond of obtaining from the Indians, deeds of sale for those lands on which they were disposed to make settlements. Some of these deeds were executed with legal formality, and a valuable consideration was paid to the natives for the purchase; others were obscure and uncertain; but the memory of such transactions was soon lost among a people who had no written records.

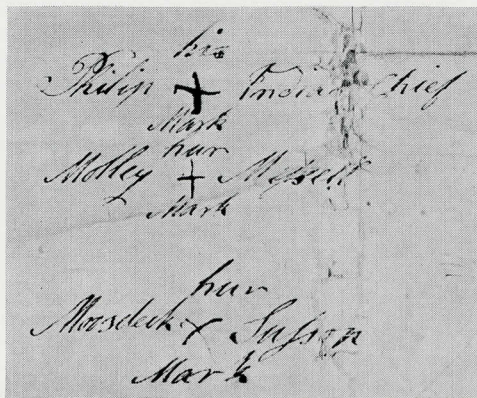
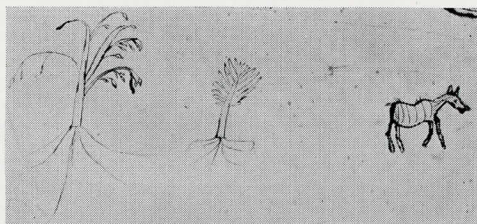
Lands had been purchased of the Indian chiefs on the rivers Kennebeck and St. George at an early period; but the succeeding Indians either had no knowledge of the sales made by their ancestors, or had an idea that such bargains were not binding on posterity who had as much need of the lands, and could use them to the same purpose as their fathers. At first, the Indians did not know that the European manner of cultivating lands and erecting mills and dams would drive away the game and fish, and thereby deprive them of the means of subsistence; afterward, finding by experience that this was the consequence of admitting foreigners to settle among them, they repented of their hospitality and were inclined to dispossess their new neighbors, as the only way of restoring the country to its pristine state and of recovering their usual mode of subsistence.

They were extremely offended by the settlements which the English, after the peace of

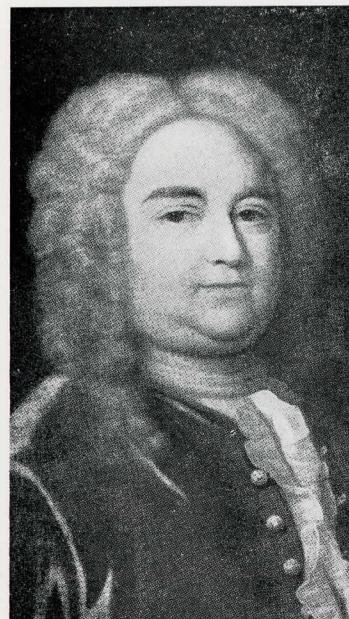
JEREMY BELKNAP, was born in Boston, 1744, entered Harvard at fifteen, graduating in 1762. He taught school in New Hampshire and became pastor of the Dover Congregational Church. He was the author of the first definitive "History of New Hampshire" in three volumes and was one of the founders of The Massachusetts Historical Society. He died in 1798.

Utrecht, made on the lands to the eastward and by their building forts, block houses and mills; whereby their mode of passing the rivers and carrying-places was interrupted; and they could not believe, though they were told with great solemnity, that these fortifications were erected for their defence against invasion. When conferences were held with them on this subject, they either denied that the lands had been sold, or pretended that the sachems had exceeded their power in making the bargains; or had conveyed lands beyond the limits of their tribe; or that the English had taken advantage of their drunkenness to make them sign the deeds; or that no valuable consideration had been given for the purchase. No arguments or evidence which could be adduced would satisfy them unless the lands were paid for again; and had this been done once, their posterity after a few years would have renewed the demand.

On the other hand, the French did not in a formal manner declare them subjects of the crown of France but every tribe, however small, was allowed to preserve its independence. Those who were situated in the heart of Canada kept their lands to themselves, which were never solicited from them; those who dwelt on the rivers and shores of the Atlantic, though distant from the French colonies, received annual presents from the



INDIAN SIGNATURES ON EARLY MAP OF NEW HAMPSHIRE "NORTH COUNTRY." FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.



GOVERNOR SAMUEL SHUTE. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

SAMUEL SHUTE was governor of New Hampshire and also Massachusetts from 1716 to 1724. Through his influence and that of his brother John Shute, Earl of Barrington, the Scotch settlers in the north of Ireland were welcomed to America in 1718, where they settled in Londonderry, New Hampshire.

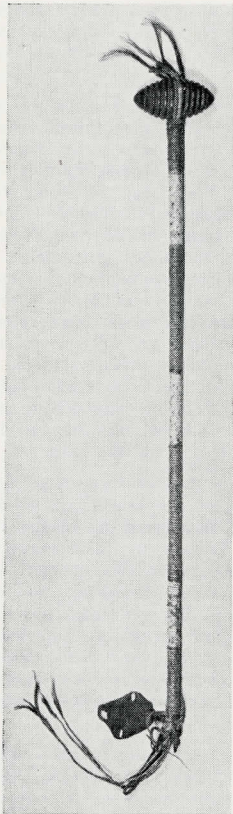
King of France; and solitary traders resided with, or occasionally visited them; but no attempt was made by any company to settle on their lands.

It was in the power of the English to supply them with provisions, arms, ammunition, blankets and other articles which they wanted cheaper than they could purchase them of the French. Governor Shute had promised that trading houses should be established among them, and that a smith should be provided to keep their arms and other instruments in repair; but the unhappy contentions between the governor and assembly of Massachusetts prevented a compliance with this engagement. The Indians were therefore obliged to submit to the impositions of private traders, or to seek supplies from the French who failed not to join with them in reproaching the English for this breach of promise, and for their avidity in getting away the land.

The inhabitants of the eastern parts of New England were not of the best character for religion and were ill-adapted to engage the affections of the Indians by their example. The frequent hostilities on this quarter, not only kept alive a spirit of jealousy and revenge in individuals, but prevented any endeavors to propagate religious knowledge among the Indians by the government; though it was one of the conditions of their charter; and though many good men wished it might be attempted.

At length, Governor Shute, in his conference with their sachems at Arrowsick, introduced this important business by offering them in a formal manner, an Indian bible, and a protestant missionary; but they rejected both, saying "God hath given us teaching already, and if we should go from it, we should displease him." He would have done much better service and perhaps prevented a war, if he had complied with their earnest desire to fix a boundary beyond which the English should not extend their settlements. A gentleman, in conversation with one of their sachems, asked him why they were so strongly attached to the French, from whom they could not expect to receive so much benefit as from the English; the sachem gravely answered, "because the French have taught us to pray to God, which the English never did."

A considerable number of prisoners having been taken during these times, New Hampshire, in 1725, made its first overtures to the Canadian authorities for their return. The French governor at Montreal arranged a meeting of the Commission, of which Theodore Atkinson of New Hampshire was one, with the Indian chiefs of the Abenaki tribe. Sixteen captives were ransomed as the result of this meeting.



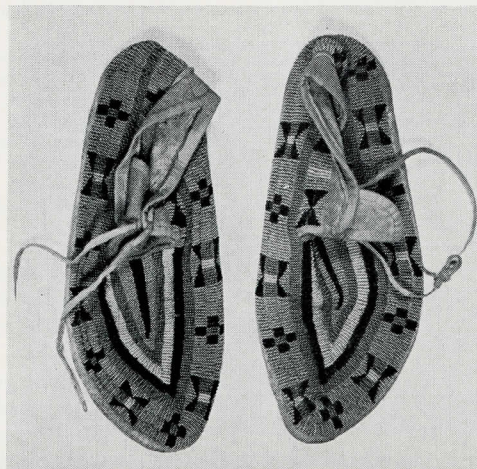
INDIAN MALLET. FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

The province of New Hampshire was blessed with comparative peace with the Indians for the next decade. Settlements advanced to the north as town after town was granted, often in tiers and named by number, one, two, three and four. Not until the accession of King George III in 1741 did the Indians again become a threat to New Hampshire.

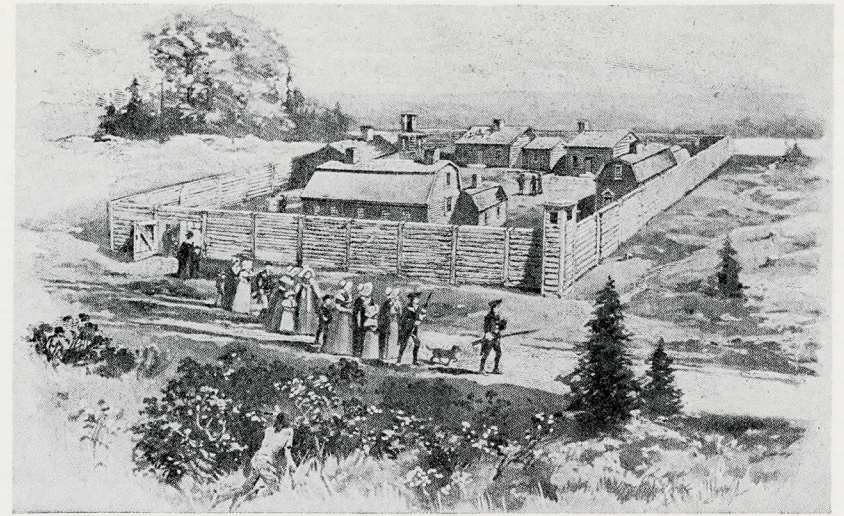
The wars between the white men and the red men had heretofore been purely local affairs. With hostilities between England and Spain, in which the French allied themselves against the English, a world conflict began. New Hampshire would be drawn into this conflict, since it lay on the borderline between France and England.

By the year 1744 there was open warfare between the New England colonies and the French to the north, said to be to protect the fishing interests at Cape Breton but probably to begin a new series of attacks against the Indian tribes considered to be allied with the French in Canada.

The extent to which this was true is uncertain. As early as 1725 Vaudreuil, the French Governor of Canada had insisted that his government "had neither encouraged or supplied them for the purpose of war." They were, he asserted (meaning the Abenakis), "an independent nation" and said that war was "undertaken by them in defence of their lands which had been invaded by the people of New England."



INDIAN BEADED MOCCASINS IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.



COLONIAL BLOCK HOUSE AND STOCKADE. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

ONE of the New Hampshire forts, or "garrisons" at Concord is described in a printed address given in 1890 before The New Hampshire Historical Society. It was built, according to this address: "of hewed logs, which lay flat upon each other."

The ends, being fitted for the purpose, it continues, were inserted in grooves set in large posts, erected at each corner. They enclosed an area of several square rods, were raised to the height of a common dwelling-house, and at two or more of the corners were placed boxes where sentinels kept watch. In some cases, several small buildings, erected for the temporary accommodation of families, were within the enclosure. Houses not connected with garrisons were all deserted by their owners, and the furniture removed. In the day-time men went forth to their labors in companies, always carrying their guns with them, and one or more of their number placed on guard. If the Indians were discovered approaching, alarm guns were fired, and the report answered from fort to fort. On the Sabbath the men went armed to the house of worship, stacked their guns around a post in the middle, and sat down with bullet-pouch and powder-horn slung across their shoulders, while their pastor, the Rev. Timothy Walker, who is said to have had the best gun in the parish, prayed and preached with his gun standing in the pulpit.

Mr. Atkinson, representing New Hampshire at the conference held in Montreal, claimed that the New England lands were outside their province and that the whites had as much right there as the Indians. It is certain that the Northern Indians occupied only a total of a few square miles of New Hampshire territory.

One thing is apparent and agreed upon by historians: that the way to the attack on Cape Breton by the New Englanders associated as they were with the English Crown, lay through Indian country and that the Indian tribes there must be overcome first. It appears, however, that there was another route and the battle of Louisbourg, the citadel of Cape Breton, was actually fought largely on the sea. Most of the New Hampshire volunteers who took part in it never saw any Indians, except those comparatively few who helped to man the forts protecting the French citizens of an otherwise peaceful city. The New England clergy who encouraged these volunteers had, according to history, several motives; first to protect the New Hampshire countryside against the Northern Indians; second to move against the French "invaders," who probably had no intention of "aggression," and third to instigate a religious "crusade" ostensibly opposed to that of the French, which would, as the Reverend George Whitefield put it, be "under the lead-

NEW BRETON was the name of a New Hampshire town granted by Governor Benning Wentworth in 1751 in honor of those who fought at Cape Breton. Among the applicants for land were Captain John Ladd and Captain Ebenezer Webster, father of Daniel Webster. In 1779 the town was re-named Andover.

ership of Christ," and in the words of Parson Moody of Portsmouth, "hew down the altars in the French churches."

Whatever actually occurred, the French and Indians did not then invade New England, since Louisbourg was subdued following a siege, with Colonel Pepperrell, Governor Shirley and Lieutenant-Governor Vaughan emerging as heroes, notwithstanding the fact that in the resulting treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the English returned Louisbourg to its original French proprietors.

The Louisbourg incident, however, was not without its Indian repercussions. The Abenaki tribes, bitter at the apparent defeat of their French patrons, soon began retaliatory warfare in earnest against New England and New Hampshire in particular. Forts were at once erected by Massachusetts at Number Four or Charlestown; Great Meadow or Westmoreland; Great Fall or Walpole; Fort Dummer or Hinsdale; Upper Ashuelot or Keene and Lower Ashuelot or Swanzey. The New Hampshire fortifications were built at Penacook, Suncook, Contoocook, Hopkinton, Souhegan East or Merrimack, Souhegan West or Amherst and at Londonderry, Chester, Epsom and Rochester.

Indian attacks recurred against most of these places. The encounters do not seem to have been by large bodies of Indians, but small groups who came down the Connecticut River from Canada and preyed upon the settlements located between the Connecticut and the Merrimack.

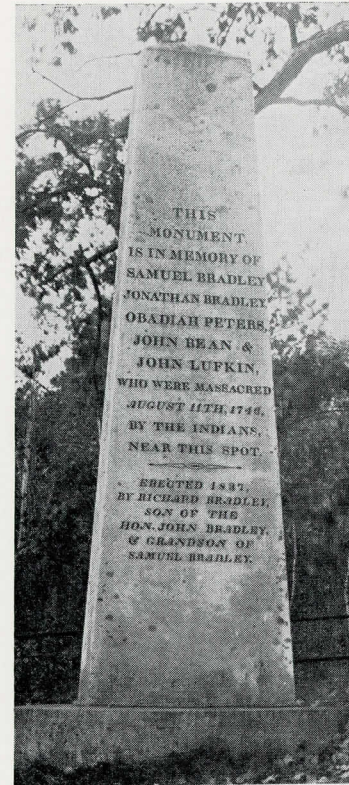
In 1747, however, Captain Phineas Stevens having organized what was probably the first company of "Rangers," arrived at Charlestown from Deerfield and set up headquarters in the Fort known as "Number Four," under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. For almost the first time an Indian "battle" occurred on New Hampshire soil, in which the attacking force was composed, in part, of French soldiers. Although this force apparently outnumbered the garrison their attack was unsuccessful. The fort, built in the form of a sturdy four-sided log stockade, an exact plan of which has been preserved, was reported to be the best of its kind in New England and a model for other towns. Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, in command of the English fleet at Boston made the garrison a gift of a handsome gold-hilted sword and

the settlement was subsequently named Charlestown in his honor.

Indian attacks similar to the one at Charlestown, but apparently not participated in by the French forces, also took place at Rochester and at Concord (then called Rumford) during the same period. The Concord attack in 1746, known in history as "The Bradley Massacre," resulted in the slaying of five citizens, whose names are inscribed on what is known as "The Bradley Monument" in the western part of the town. The monument was erected in 1837 and was later deeded to The New Hampshire Historical Society.

At the beginning of the Seven Years' War, known in America as the French and Indian War, New Hampshire volunteer troops participated in 1754 in the attack on Crown Point under the direction of Sir William Johnson. While this was not directly a campaign against the Indians, the New Hampshire soldiers had reason to learn soon the extent to which the French had made the Indians their allies. The frontier towns of Salisbury, Walpole, Hinsdale and Keene were all raided and captives taken.

These incidents led to the forming of companies of "Rangers" of which that of Major Robert Rogers claims the greatest historical interest. The account of Rogers's Rangers is



BRADLEY MONUMENT. DEEDED TO THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON was the nephew of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who bore the same name as the New Hampshire town of Warren and who received a grant of land in the Mohawk Valley from the English government. Sir William came to America and settled on this land in 1738. In 1745 it was largely through his efforts that the Mohawk Indians remained peaceful during the war between England and France.

He held numerous councils with the tribes, with whom he traded in furs and other articles and in 1755 was given the "sole management and direction of the affairs of the six nations of Indians and their allies." In this position he commanded a force of some two thousand colonial militia and two or three hundred Indians. In 1760 with a force of several hundred Indians he joined General Amherst in the attack on Montreal.

After the death of his first wife he married Molly Brant, a Mohawk Indian and sister of Chief Joseph Brant, whose Indian name was Thayendanegea and who was among the Indians educated at Moor's Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut, which later became Dartmouth College.



ROBERT ROGERS. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

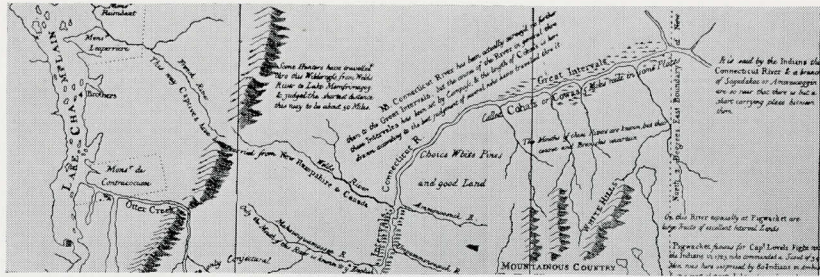
told in considerable detail by Rogers himself in his *Journal of Major Robert Rogers* of which The New Hampshire Historical Society Library has several first editions including the rare Dublin copy of 1770. The story is admirably re-told by Kenneth Roberts in his historical novel, *Northwest Passage*.

Major Rogers collected a group of excellent marksmen, all men well-equipped to face severe hardships, and after several engagements in the vicinity of Fort Edward, Fort William Henry and Crown Point, the Rangers were ordered by General Amherst to destroy the Indian village of St. Francis.

The march took them twenty-one days. They were ordered by General Amherst not to kill women and children. They attacked the village during the night, dispatched most of the men, taking the remainder prisoners and returned down the Connecticut River. General John Stark was one of the Rangers. This is the last notable Indian encounter in New Hampshire history.



CAPTAIN JOSEPH BRANT, "THAYENDENEGBA." FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.



SECTION OF CAPTAIN JOSEPH BLANCHARD'S MAP, SHOWING ROUTE OVER WHICH INDIAN CAPTIVES WERE TAKEN TO CANADA. FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

New Hampshire Persons Taken as Captives by the Indians

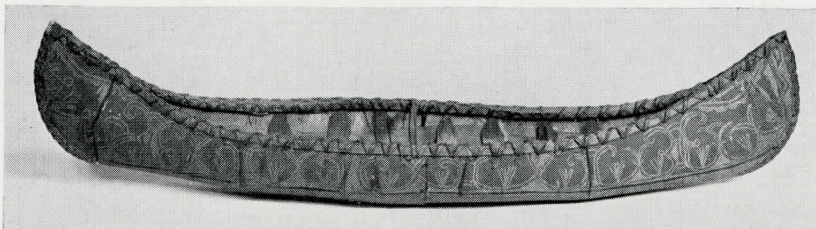
IN THE CONTEST with the Indians in New Hampshire the problem before the settlers as to who should have the land, they or the Indians, came first. These settlers had been told that if they came to America from England they could have what they found here, whether fish, or game or minerals or merely soil to be cultivated.

They had a precedent from the Spaniards. Had they not gone to South America and brought back treasure in gold and silver! But soon the New England colonists knew there was no gold and silver to be found. The story is told that at one time, long after, a gifted speaker had told his hearers that the early colonists of New Hampshire "had come here to escape religious persecution." "Nay," replied someone in the audience, "they came here to fish and make money."

New Hampshire is unique in history because of the fact that instead of fighting and killing the "intruders" the Indian natives of the soil adopted an entirely new principle; they treated the settlers as they did furs and fish seeking primarily to capture them and sell them. This is one of the strange paradoxes of history.

Again and again the Indians descended from the north on a New Hampshire town or village to "take prisoners." These prisoners were carried back over rivers and mountains to be sold to the French, not as slaves but as converts to the French faith, adding each time, they hoped, to the strength of their own colonization in Canada and diminishing that of the English colonies.

The New Hampshire Historical Society's Library has one of the best collections in America of "captive" Indian accounts. Some are mere manuscripts.



MODEL OF BIRCH-BARK CANOE IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

EMMA COLEMAN, in her fine study of "New England Captives Carried to Canada," says:

"Our Indian enemies in the Inter-colonial Wars were almost without exception from the missions, from those established on the rivers of Maine by priests going to Indian villages and from those in Canada, near Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, to which Indians from New England and New York had been urged to migrate. And back to their mission-homes they carried our people, where today many of their kin are living."

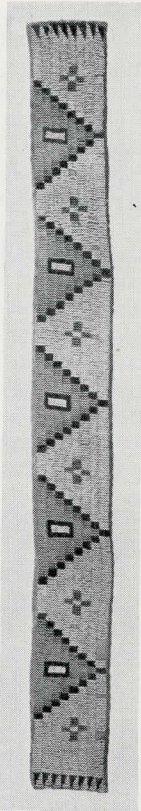
Others are fragments from collected documents. And a considerable number are printed pamphlets, either biographical or autobiographical giving the story of a specific capture and the events leading up to it.

Why these people were taken to Canada, and how they were treated and what became of those who never returned is worth considering at the outset. The religious aspect of colonization was as important to the French Catholic of Canada as it was to the Puritan of New England. Unfortunately for the New Hampshire settlements the French had far greater success in their missionary labors among the Indians than did the English. The French not only converted them to their faith but also converted them into effective allies in the great struggle for mastery of North America.

Many of these captives were thus adopted into the tribes at St. Francis in Canada and elsewhere, but of greater importance to the Indian was the opportunity of selling them to the French. Their value to the French was at least threefold. Not only would these captures weaken the English colonies, but



INDIAN DOLL. NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.



INDIAN WAMPUM BELT.
FROM THE NEW
HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.



INDIAN CHIEF. FROM A PAINTING
FORMERLY OWNED BY SAMUEL G.
DRAKE, HISTORIAN. NEW HAMPSHIRE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

they were useful for prisoner exchanges and for ransom money. Furthermore they might be employed to bolster the labor supply of sparsely populated New France. To the clerical interests it was certainly worth while to convert these heretics to what they believed to be the true faith, and this was done whenever possible. Therefore, they set up a thorough-going bounty system.

Francis Parkman, writing of King William's War, points out that

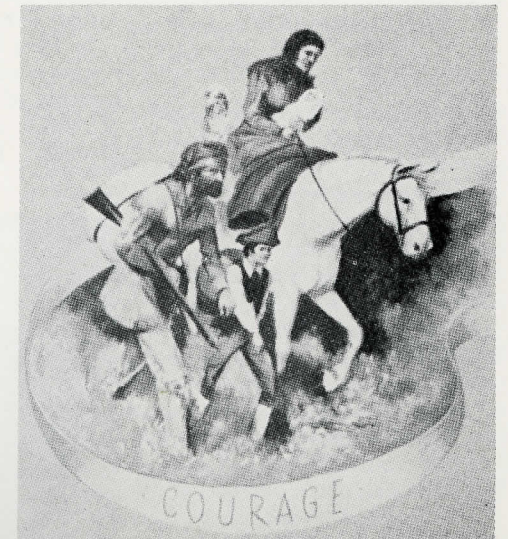
"Twenty crowns had been offered for each male white, ten crowns for each female, and ten crowns for each scalp, whether Indian or English. The bounty on prisoners produced an excellent result, since instead of killing them the Indian allies learned to bring them to Quebec. If children, they were placed in the convents; and if adults, they were distributed to labor among the settlers. Thus though the royal letters show that the measure was one of policy, it acted in the interest of humanity."

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE clergy were particularly irritated to find that captives taken to Canada by the Indians had been given special protection by the French Government. Governor Benning Wentworth voiced this concern when he wrote Lord Holderness in 1754 that "the young people (captives) are exposed to the craft of Romish clergy and are in great danger of being corrupted with the pernicious principles of the Church of Rome, who are assiduous in proselytizing them to their own religion."

The first captives to be taken to Canada by the Indians were those from Hatfield and Deerfield, Massachusetts in 1677 at the end of King Philip's War. One of these was Major Ebenezer Hinsdale, from whom the New Hampshire town was named. Another who escaped, brought back news that these Indians expected to receive eight pounds apiece for their captives in Canada even though, at the time, England and France were not openly at war with one another. The Canadian Indians, it was believed, would join the next raid if this one proved financially successful.

All the captives who survived the trek to Canada were redeemed the following spring including two infants aptly named "Canada" Waite and "Captivity" Jennings. In order to accomplish this forty-six towns contributed 344 pounds, 3 shillings and 6 pence. It is interesting to note that the town of Portsmouth made the second largest contribution to this fund. Three hundred pounds of the total went to Canada as ransom money.

Whether or not these Indians found this trade in New Englanders profitable, an increasing number of such depredations occurred during the next eighty years with New Hampshire losing its share of men, women



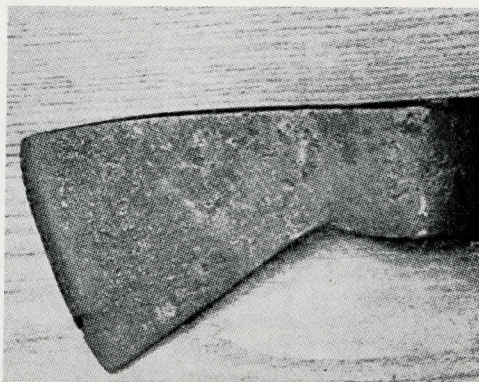
SECTION OF MURAL IN THE MASCOMA SAVINGS BANK, LEBANON, BY BERNARD F. CHAPMAN. FROM "FIFTY-THREE YEARS OF PROGRESS" IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S LIBRARY.

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT, the founder of Exeter, came from Lincolnshire, England, where he was a vicar in a country church. Sailing for America in about 1633 he purchased land at Exeter from the Indians who are said to have given him a deed. The matter was widely publicized but the deed was never authenticated as genuine. Mr. Wheelwright was pastor of the Exeter Church, later moving to Maine.

and children, "captivated" by the Indians. The settlement at Cocheco (Dover) was the next to deliver up captives to Canada. It was the raid here in which Major Richard Waldron, Indian trader and fighter, and one of the leading figures in the colony, was so brutally murdered.

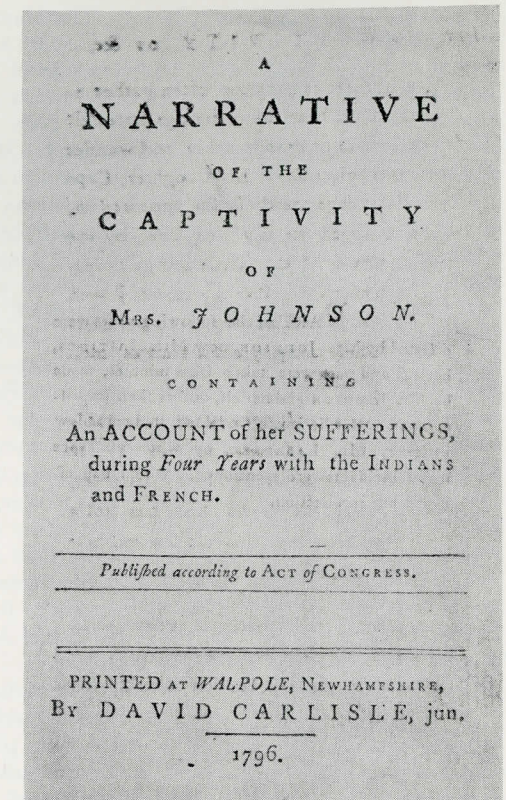
The Hannah Dustan episode is among the first records to appear in printed form. She and Mary Neff were taken prisoners at Haverhill, Massachusetts, and their captors set off in the direction of Canada. They stopped for the night near Penacook on the Merrimack River, and there Mrs. Dustan killed and scalped most of the party while they slept, returning by canoe to Haverhill. Her memory is celebrated by monuments at the two places. Hannah Bradley of Haverhill, and Hannah Eastman of Concord were captured and taken to Canada, the latter returning to become the mother of nine children. Samuel Gill of Salisbury, Massachusetts, was taken in 1697 at the age of nine, growing up in Canada and marrying an English girl. He never returned, having preferred to remain among the Indians. Three students at Dartmouth were his grandsons. In the *Histoire des Abenakis*, Abbé Mauraull records a total of nine hundred and fifty-two descendants of Samuel Gill of white and Indian blood.

In 1703 Esther Wheelwright, great granddaughter of the Reverend John Wheelwright, founder of Exeter, was captured at the age of seven at Wells, Maine and taken to Quebec. Purchased from the Abenaki In-



HEAD OF HANNAH DUSTAN'S TOMAHAWK. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

DEERFIELD was protected by a Palisade with twenty soldiers, who however, were not alert, and considerably hampered by a deep snow. Miss Baker, in her book says "The Indians came in at night like a flood upon them, and the morning dawned on a scene of horror." Emma Lewis Coleman gives a total of one hundred and twenty captives taken to Canada in 1703 from Deerfield alone.

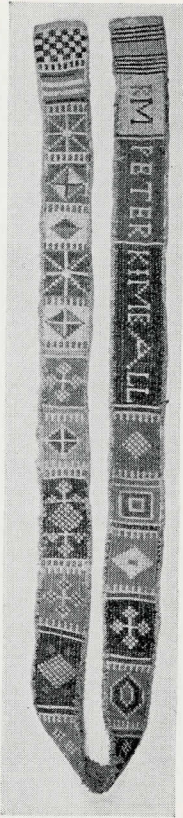


TITLE PAGE OF THE JOHNSON NARRATIVE. IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S LIBRARY.

dians by a French priest, she became a governess in the family of the French governor, Vaudreuil and later entered an Ursuline Convent, eventually to become Mother Superior of the Ursulines at Montreal, dying in 1780 at the age of eighty-four. She was the only English woman ever to be so elected.

Another instance of the unusual outcome of Indian captivity is that of Eunice Williams daughter of Parson John Williams of Deerfield who was captured in 1704 following the Indian attack there and taken to Canada. Refusing all entreaties on the part of her parents to be ransomed and returned, she became the wife of an Indian who had been baptized by the name Ambrose.

There was also the case of the Rollins family of Exeter, where a mother and her two daughters were captured, and the mother redeemed, while the daughters remained to marry into French families.



BEADED BELT MADE BY RACHEL MELOON WHILE SHE WAS AN INDIAN CAPTIVE IN CANADA, AND SENT TO PETER KIMBALL AT BOSCAWEN. ORIGINAL IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

The Hanson captivity has been widely publicized by an autobiography by Mrs. Elizabeth Hanson of Dover which appeared in several editions, a number of rare copies being in The New Hampshire Historical Society's Library. Mrs. Hanson was the wife of John Hanson, a Quaker.

In 1725 the Hanson household was attacked by eleven Indians. The husband and a daughter escaped, but Mrs. Hanson, her maid and several of her children were carried off. Mrs. Hanson, the maid and three of her children were eventually ransomed, the youngest child having remained as the wife of a French native. Two other children died at the hands of the Indians at the time of the capture.

In 1754, just at the beginning of the Seven Year's War, the Indians raided the countryside in the vicinity of Salisbury, New Hampshire, then a newly settled farm area known as Stevenstown. Here they captured Samuel Scribner, Robert Barber, Enos Bishop and Nathaniel Meloon with his wife and several children.

The Meloons were taken to Canada, along with the others, and sold to a French priest who later placed Mrs. Meloon and two of the children aboard a vessel bound for France. Intercepted by an English ship, they were returned to New Hampshire. Rachel Meloon, one of the daughters, remained in Canada, reluctantly returning to Salisbury in 1763 where she married Reuben Greeley. The New Hampshire Historical Society has a bead-work belt made by her when a captive, for Captain Peter Kimball of Boscawen, whose diary is also in the Library, written while he served in the war. All the other Salisbury captives were redeemed.

Of all the accounts of Indian captives in New Hampshire taken to Canada, the story of the "Johnson Captivity" is perhaps among the best known. A rare copy of the "Narrative" printed in Walpole, New Hampshire by David Carlisle, Jr., 1796 and called *Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson: containing an account of her sufferings during four years with the Indians and French*, is in The New Hampshire Historical Society's Library.

According to this record Captain James Johnson became a resident of "Number Four," now Charlestown, in 1750, having



JEFFERY, LORD AMHERST. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

come up the Connecticut River from Lunenburg, Massachusetts. His business was largely trading with the Indians, an occupation he seems to have enjoyed and profited by. In 1754 he left home to tour the countryside in search of trading opportunities. He appears always to have been on friendly terms with the Indians and returned with a good stock of new articles he had purchased.

Whether their motive was to get these articles away from Johnson or not is uncertain from the account, but Mr. Johnson and almost his entire household were captured on the night of his return by a band of seventeen Indians who took them to Canada with such of their belongings as they could seize. The account of the journey contains a number of interesting incidents, among them the fact that the Indians did not torture or molest them and that one of the children was placed for the night between two Indians and covered by a rope held down at each end by an Indian who lay on it, so that if she attempted to escape they would be awakened. During the journey a daughter was born to Mrs. Johnson, whom she named "Captive" Johnson.

Arriving at St. Francis the party learned that the Indians were of the St. Francis tribe into which appropriate ceremonies they were "adopted." Mrs. Johnson's husband was taken to Montreal with two others of the group. Later, she says, she was also taken there and purchased for seven hundred livres by the French government and placed in the family of Governor Duquesne while one of her daughters joined the family of the Lieutenant Governor. They were not mistreated.

Captain Johnson was released on parole to enable him to secure a ransom of one hundred and fifty pounds, which he obtained from the New Hampshire government. After a year and a half in Canada Mrs. Johnson was released, and with her sisters and two daughters returned to the Colonies. Mr. Johnson was released after three years of captivity. One of the daughters remained and became a nun in Montreal. Captain Johnson later enlisted and was killed in 1758 at Ticonderoga. Mrs. Johnson died in 1810.

With the beginning of open warfare between France and England, finally resulting in the taking by the English of Montreal and Quebec, the Indian raids on New Hampshire came to an end, although there were frequent encounters between the New Englanders and the Indians in the vicinity of the Canadian border until after the close of the Revolution.

New Hampshire Indians Have Gone but Their Names at Least Remain

NEW HAMPSHIRE, as well as all America, may well pay tribute to the memory of the Indians for at least one thing. Had it not been for them it might have gone far differently with New England soldiers who fought in the Revolution. It was in the Indian wars they learned to fight.

PASSACONAWAY was the most famous of the Penacook Indians whose lands bordered on the Merrimack river north of Concord, and their chief. He is said to have lived to be a hundred and twenty years old. His dying words are recorded to have been; "Take heed how you quarrel with the English for though you may do them much mischief, you will be destroyed and rooted off the earth if you do." Passaconaway's daughter is said to have married Winnepurkit or Winnepocket also of the Penacook tribe.

WONOLANCET was the son of Passaconaway. Although the settlers are said to have burned one of his Penacook villages in 1675, during King Philip's War, the Penacooks did not retaliate. John Eliot, writing to his friend Sir Robert Boyle, in England, calls Wonolancet "a sachem of the greatest blood of the country."

CHOCORUA is thought to have been a member of the Pequawket or Ossipee tribe, but whatever tribe he was, he has always been New Hampshire's favorite Indian. In the earliest records, the Mountain named for him was called Jeckoyva and Chocorua himself is thought to have spent a good part of his life in the vicinity of Tamworth and "died on the mountain, presumably as a result of a fall from a cliff."

Mr. Laurence Mayo, a life member of The New Hampshire Historical Society, who did considerable research on the "Legend of Chocorua," the name of his monograph, says, "There is a tradition that Chocorua was killed by white men and that his dying curse was responsible for a mysterious bovine malady in that region of New Hampshire."



PASSACONAWAY. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

For more than two decades prior to 1775, men were trained here, thanks to the Indians, to protect their homes and guard their liberty. One has but to read the record of General John Stark and his fellow-patriots, to sense the importance of the events that preceded the war for the independence of this country.



CHOCORUA. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

SAMSON OCCOM (or Occum) was an early Indian convert to the Christian faith, coming from the Mohegan tribe in Southern Connecticut of which, in 1742, at the age of nineteen, he had become one of the leaders.

Selected by the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock to attend his "college" for Indians at Lebanon, Connecticut, then called Moor's Indian Charity School, and afterward Dartmouth College, he first became a school-teacher and later an ordained minister of the Gospel. In 1764, following the close of the French and English War, he was sent by Wheelock to accompany the Evangelist, George Whitefield, to preach and solicit contributions to the school in England and Scotland. He is said to have been instrumental in raising a large endowment fund, estimated at twelve thousand pounds. In his admirable book, "Samson Occum," Harold Blodgett says that "without Occum, Dartmouth would never have been founded."

Likewise while the names of our places are largely of English origin, New Hampshire got many of them from the Indians. The names of Penacook, Ossipee and Pequawket (Pigwacket) are derived directly from the Indian tribes. Other tribes were the Nashuas, the Souhegans, the Naticooks, the Mohawks, the Namoskeags (Amoskeag), the Narragansetts, the Suncooks, the Winnepesaukee, and the Piscataquas. From the New Hampshire Indian Chiefs come our names of Passaconaway, Wonolancet, Chocorua, Kancamagus, Waternome and Paugus.

The early settlers had as much difficulty in pronouncing the Indian names as the Indians did in attempting to make theirs pronounceable. They did, however, give us Coos which they pronounced Cowash or Cowass, and which became the name of a New Hampshire county. Coheco was as near as the colonists got to what was afterward named Dover. Sunapee the Indians apparently pronounced Soo-ni-pee, a spelling still occasionally to be seen on old signs. Occum is the name of a famous Dartmouth Indian graduate.

Certain endings on our Indian names fall into recognizable classes, such as Annahookset (Hooksett), Pemigewasset and Nittissit, akin to other names ending in *set* or *sett*. The ending *cook* (or *ook*) finding itself in a grouping of Penacook, Pontoocook, Suncook, Ahquedauke, Cowissawashook (Kearsarge), Aroostook, Ammonusuc, Contoocook, Moosilauke, Monomoc, Baboosuc, Uncanoonuc, Ashuelock (Ashuelot), Massabesic, Waloomsuc, Newichwannock, Merrimac (once called Moniack, Monomac or Monomoc), has caused much speculation among philologists, some of whom consider the ending *ook* to mean merely *at*.

Since there were as many different languages or dialects among the New Hampshire Indians as there are among the various sections of the United States, it is difficult to go further than to conjecture that with the *ook* attached there might have been many words to which the syllable *at* was attached, meaning *at* the mountain or *at* the river. The philologists seem to have been balked at going further.

Another group of New Hampshire Indian names all contain the syllable *squam*, Asquam

THE HUTCHINSONS, Judson, John, Asa and Abby, of the "Tribe of Jesse" were famous in the annals of New Hampshire history as America's foremost family of singers. They were a choir of thirteen at the beginning, growing up in Milford, New Hampshire. Later as a quartet, they toured America from the 1840's to the 1870's.

They sang many popular songs and popularized others, usually on such subjects as temperance and freedom, calling themselves the Aeolian Vocalists and singing such ballads as "The Old Granite State," "Let My People Go," "What Are the Wild Waves Saying," "The Good Time Coming," "The Spider and the Fly," "Kind Words Can Never Die" and many of their own compositions.

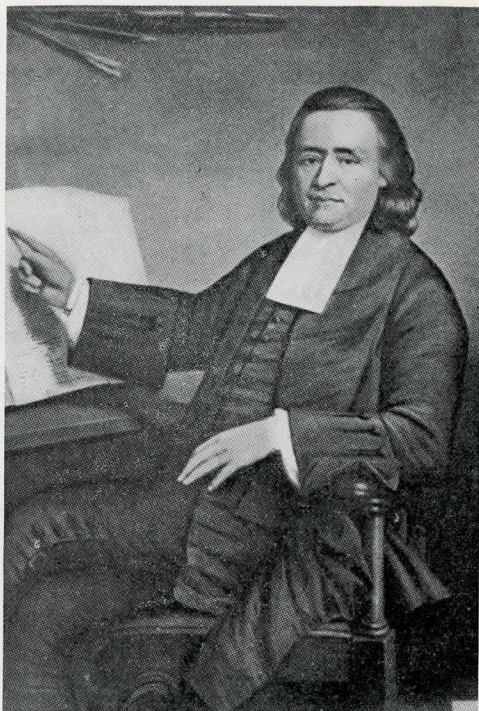
One of the most popular songs was called "Glide On, My Light Canoe" by J. W. Hutchinson with these words:

Glide on my light canoe, glide on,
The morning breeze is free,
I'll guide thee far, far out upon
The wild and troubled sea.
Hurl on ye blasts with all your might,
Hide, hide thyself thou orb of light,
Roll on ye mountain billows roll,
The wonders of the deep unfold.

Glide on and bear me from the sight
Of yonder shady vale;
For oh! there is a with'ring blight
Spread o'er my native Isle;
The whites have driven us from our
home,
And on the waves we're forced to
roam;
There's none to pity, none to save
The red man from the ocean grave.

Our evening dance is seen no more,
Its sound has ceased to flow,
And each one sings a mournful dirge
In accents sad and slow.
The whites have swept our friends
away,
Beneath the turf our fathers lay,
We soon must join them in death's
sleep
And leave our homes to mourn and
weep.

Shall I the bravest of the chiefs,
On this isle make my bed?
O no! the whites' polluted feet
Shall ne'er tread o'er my head.
I've buried my hatchet 'neath the turf,
But I will rest beneath the surf;
The foaming billows shall be my grave,
For I'll not die a white man's slave.



SAMSON OCCUM. FROM A PRINT IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

(Squam Lake, mountain and river), Winnisquam, Asquam-Schumake (Baker River), Monascon or Mascoma, Quonekticut (Connecticut) Quampeagin, Squamannagonic, (Gonic), and Squamscott. These names do not all come from the same tribe, so that to one they might have meant something quite different from another. Several indicate the meaning of *squam* to be lake, in which case the name Squam Lake might, in translation become Lake Lake! Other *squams* are said to be rivers.

The names ending in *qua*, and *ket* such as Piscataqua, Pequawket, Wataqua, Winnipaukett, seem to indicate water or rivers also, while the influence of the French may be traced, perhaps, to the translation of Chebucto to Chebeaque, the name Francois to Plausawa (Plausua Mountain), since the Indians pronounced their *fr* as *pl*, and Winnicot to Winnicoult. St. John Baptist was Sabbatis.

Odd names, such as Parmachene, Attilha, Catamount, Mahomet, Monadnock, and Opechee are difficult to trace to Indian origin,

but were at least in use by the settlers while the Indians were here. The names Tecumseh and Osceola are late comers, not, of course, related to the New Hampshire natives, but given in honor of great American Indians.

The foregoing list of New Hampshire Indian names is by no means complete, but indicates some of the permanent records they have left behind, showing that they were "here."

Many other tributes have been paid to the New England Indians. The college song of Amherst and many another ballad and story, all tell of the part they played in our early history, of which the verses of Longfellow and the books of James Fenimore Cooper are examples. Most popular among the compositions of a decade or two ago was a song composed and sung by the Hutchinsons called "Glide On, My Light Canoe," a fitting tribute to this vanished, but never-to-be-forgotten race, a copy of which is one of the treasures in The New Hampshire Historical Society's Library.



COVER OF INDIAN SONG, SUNG BY THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY. FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

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