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**MILITARY OPERATIONS**

IN

**Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia**

**DURING THE REVOLUTION,**

**CHIEFLY**

**COMPILED FROM THE JOURNALS AND LETTERS  
OF COLONEL JOHN ALLAN,**

**WITH**

**NOTES AND A MEMOIR OF COL. JOHN ALLAN.**

**By FREDERIC KIDDER.**



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TO  
**BENSON J. LOSSING, ESQ.,**

**HISTORIAN**

***OF THE REVOLUTION AND OF THE LATE REBELLION,***

**THIS**

**Volume is Dedicated,**

**BY HIS SINCERE FRIEND,**

**FREDERIC KIDDER.**

## PREFACE.

---

The American revolution in its causes and its results must ever be considered the great event of the eighteenth century, and the details of its history increase in interest by the lapse of time, nor has even the war of the great rebellion with its hundred battles lessened its importance. Although the history of the revolution has engaged the talents of our best writers, still every year reveals new facts, and increases the list of its patriot warriors and civilians, with the record of their valor and privations, and they are welcomed to their proper place in the chronicles of the nation's struggle for freedom.

With this statement the compiler of this volume brings it forward. Though its contents have been hitherto overlooked they are still a true record of campaigns and battles, and more than all of long years of toil and watchfulness in an almost unsettled wilderness. It is perhaps necessary to state the reasons which led to the collecting and publishing of this work. In the autumn of 1852, the compiler with a few friends made an excursion to the Schoodic lakes to enjoy a few weeks in hunting and fishing in that region. Here a part of the Passamaquoddy tribe has for centuries made its home, and it was while recording by fire-light in a tent the recollections and traditional legends of this people and their fathers, that



he first heard of their services in the revolution, and of the name and exploits of John Allan. And here too he saw the documents which have been preserved with great care and fidelity by the tribe.

On looking for some published accounts of these matters, nothing of consequence could be found, and then he determined to follow the clew till some explanation could detail what these traditions had foreshadowed. In the course of some ten years the journals of Col. Allan were by the courtesy of George H. Allan, Esq., of New York, a great grandson of that officer, placed in his hands, and subsequently many valuable documents and letters were loaned him by Peter E. Vose and Nelson S. Allan, Esqrs., of Dennyville, Me. The examination of them indicated that the archives of the state would contain Allan's official correspondence. A search was made which resulted in finding more than a hundred papers by Allan and others relating to his military transactions. These have been carefully examined and collated, and those containing information of the most importance have been copied. A thorough investigation of these matters, with a comparison of the best histories of the revolution, has resulted in the conclusion that they formed an important part of that history and that they ought to be printed before the loss of the originals might make it impossible. This the writer has found it his duty and pleasure to do, making such additions and explanations as the manuscripts of that period would enable him to give.

He wishes here to acknowledge the aid he received from George H. Allan, Esq., in compiling the memoir,

which was made up largely from materials furnished by him.

To printed works he has been but slightly indebted, for the reason that he has found scarcely any account of that part of the country, its people, or of the events that have occurred there. The only exception to this is a small work entitled, *The Centennial Celebration at Machias in 1868*. From this has been copied some account of the revolutionary events which occurred there in 1775. In selecting, arranging and editing papers in their original condition much difficulty often occurs, and persons would differ much in their tastes in classification, as well as in the alteration and preparation necessary to fit such documents often hastily written for the press. The writer would therefore state that he has endeavored as near as the case would admit to arrange them chronologically, varying in some instances so as to bring kindred subjects together.

It has been thought best to print the documents and journals with the capitals and orthography unchanged, only amending the text so far as to correct apparent errors and to render the language in a few cases more explicit. Some letters and other papers, which would not otherwise have appeared, have been printed in order to fill an apparent hiatus in the series. Some matters also not coming under the general title of the work have been inserted, because they contained facts not to be found elsewhere and might be of some importance hereafter. It is possible that additional facts may yet be brought to light relative to the revolution in that part of the country, but the writer has endeavored to preserve here all which he thought of suffi-

cient importance, that his long searches would reach; and he believes that nearly all of it is so much added to our history of the revolution. The proper names are printed exactly as they were originally written, no attempt having been made to reduce them to uniformity. For instance, Lowder and Lowther appear in the documents, though they are presumed to be intended for the same person; and so with Lemont and Lemmons, as well as many others. The same plan has been followed with the Indian names, many of which were taken down as they were uttered by the Indians, and, in many instances, they had never before been represented by the letters of our alphabet.

Boston, *May*, 1867.

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### THE MAP

Is intended to show the country between the Penobscot and St. John rivers, and, with the exception of the region around Fort Cumberland, it delineates most of the localities referred to by Col. Allan, and particularly the route passed over by him and his Indian tribe in the retreat from Aukpaque to Machias, as detailed in his journal. His track is marked by a dotted line, as are also the carrying places from the southwest side of the upper Chepetnecticook lake to the Mattewamkeg. Also, that from the Sicladobsis lake to the Passadumkeag river. The principal route between Passamaquoddy and Machias was *via* Cobescook bay and some ponds, now in the town of Whiting. The portage was only about a mile to reach the Machias waters; it is still used by the Indians. The National boundary is partly delineated by a chain.





#### ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

- ✓ On page 84, 17th line, for rises read river.
- ✓ On page 146, 16th line, for Messbross read Messrs. Cross.
- ✓ On page 265, last line but two, for loaded read landed.
- ✓ On page 265, *The Miramis, &c.*, should follow the word *Hope, et seq.* on page 266.

✓ Monsieur Beaubair settled on the Miramichi in 1753. He was a trader with the Indians and a man of note among them, and was no doubt the *Mons. Bawhatan* and *Beanebeau* mentioned on pages 96 and 190.

## MEMOIR OF COL. JOHN ALLAN.

---

To the American people the incidents of the revolutionary war are of peculiar and enduring interest. So much time having elapsed since the termination of that conflict, we may well believe that most of the attainable details of those eventful times have already been communicated to the public. Though the military operations of the revolution may seem comparatively insignificant when compared with the gigantic war for the Union just past, we must remember that in the events of the former period, were laid the foundations of that mighty republic, whose enduring perpetuity is now insured in the interest of free institutions and equal rights. In the present sketch, the object of the writer is to present a few incidents in the life of one of those worthy men who, in "the times which tried men's souls," stood nobly forward in the defense of liberty, and for this, sacrificed wealth, family connections and public honors. While his name is not found prominently inscribed upon the roll of the famous men of those times, or identified with any of the memorable battles of that period, it can be said of him, that in his difficult and often dangerous position, he acted well his part, and faithfully and energetically performed his duty.

John Allan was the eldest son of William Allan, one of the earliest settlers of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was born in Edinburgh Castle, Scotland, Jan. 8d, 1746, O. S. His father, William Allan, born about the year 1720, was a Scottish gentleman of means, and an officer in the British army. Tradition says his rank was that of a major. But little is known of his early history except what is learned from a family record in his own handwriting, a copy of which is appended. He married July 9th, 1744, Isabella Maxwell, daughter of Sir Eustace Maxwell, a gentleman of Scotland, and at the

time of the birth of his son, in January, 1746, he was temporarily residing in Edinburgh Castle, to which fortress his family, with others, had repaired for refuge during the troubles of the rebellion.

Peace with France being fully restored by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, the British government began to devise ways and means of providing for the large number of soldiers and sailors discharged from the service; and of all the plans proposed, none seemed more promising than a systematic colonization of the province of Nova Scotia, till then, though nominally a British province, inhabited only by neutral French and Indians. The government made liberal provision for all who would decide to settle in the new colony, and in 1749 under the inducements thus offered, William Allan with his wife and little son John, then but four years of age, bade adieu to his native land, and in company with more than 2,000 other settlers, sailed for America.

A brief glance at the history of Nova Scotia may be found interesting. Although the claim of England to a large part of North America depends upon the discovery of the country, in 1497, still the colonial history rests entirely on the great charter of James the 1st, April 10, 1606, by which sundry of his subjects were authorized to establish colonies between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. Subsequent grants to the companies of Virginia and New England extended this title as far north as the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and over this broad belt of fourteen degrees from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean.

Under this grant, colonies had been established principally by Englishmen as far south as Florida, and at the time of which we write (1750), the English flag waved from that point, along the coast to Cape Breton. The country called Nova Scotia was occupied by the French in 1608, and a settlement made at Port Royal, and subsequently at Mount Desert. In 1613, Capt. Argal was sent to dislodge them, which he effected. In 1621, the territory was granted to Sir Wm. Alexander, secretary of state for Scotland, who gave it its present name. The name of Acadie, which was given it by the French is the Indian word for Pollock, a fish very abundant on that coast. During the next eighty years this

country had been taken and retaken alternately by the English and French, but at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, it was ceded by the French to Great Britain.

The accession of George I soon followed the treaty of Utrecht, and while great progress had been made in all the other English colonies in America, nothing of any importance had been done in Nova Scotia towards settling that country.

The governor resided at Annapolis Royal, a small settlement chiefly composed of neutral French; the facility of communication with New England enabling him to maintain his position with a few companies of provincial troops usually supplied by the old colonies.

The necessity of a British station and military post on the Atlantic coast of the Peninsula had long been felt; but latterly the continued breaches of neutrality on the part of the French population, together with the loss of Louisbourg under the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in October, 1748, rendered such an establishment indispensably necessary to support the dominion of the British crown in the province.

A plan was accordingly submitted to government in the autumn of 1748, and being warmly supported by Lord Halifax, advertisements appeared in the *London Gazette*, in March, 1749, under the sanction of his Majesty's authority, "holding out proper encouragement to officers and private men lately discharged from the army and navy to settle in Nova Scotia. Among other inducements, was the offer to convey the settlers to their destination, maintain them for twelve months at the public expense, and to supply them with arms and ammunition for defense, and with materials and articles proper for clearing the land, erecting dwellings and prosecuting the fishing, and also ample grants of land. The encouragements appeared so inviting, that in a short time 1,176 settlers with their families, in all 2,376 persons, were found to volunteer, and the sum of £40,000 being appropriated by parliament for the service, the expedition was placed under the command of Colonel, the Honorable Edward Cornwallis, M. P., as captain general and governor of Nova Scotia, and set sail for Chebucto Bay, the place of destination early in May, 1749."—*Akin's History of Halifax*, p. 5.

The fleet consisted of thirteen transports and a sloop of war, and arrived in safety in the bay of Chebucto early in June, 1749. Such

was the care taken for the comfort of this large number of settlers, that but one death occurred on the passage.

During the winter months the people were kept actively employed in cutting pickets for fences, and wood for fuel, and in erecting new dwellings. Mills were established, stores opened, supplies of cattle and horses obtained from the Acadian French, and when the spring opened, grain of various sorts was sown. Deputations from the Acadian French, and also from the various Indian tribes were received, and arrangements perfected for the better management of public matters. About this time a fearful epidemic visited the colony, and nearly one thousand persons fell victims during the autumn and following winter.

In August, 1750, about 350 new settlers arrived in the ship *Alderney*. Most of these were sent across the river and commenced the town of Dartmouth. The next year the Indians who in consequence of the intrigues of French emissaries had become troublesome, attacked the little village at night, killed and scalped a number of the settlers, among whom was John Pyke, father of the late John George Pyke, Esq. (who afterwards married Col. Allan's sister Elizabeth). The night was calm, and the cries of the settlers and whoops of the Indians were distinctly heard at Halifax.

It is presumed that when William Allan emigrated, he was still an officer in the British army and was on half pay. He did not remain more than three years at Halifax; for we find him in the latter part of 1752, at Fort Lawrence, on that narrow neck which connects Nova Scotia with that part of it now known as New Brunswick. What his position was, cannot now be inferred; possibly he may have been its commander, but more probably he was a subordinate officer. It is certain he remained there till 1759. It was from near this place that the Acadians were taken in 1755, by the New England forces under Gen. John Winalow, their villages destroyed, and the inhabitants removed and distributed among the colonies. Only a small part of them escaped to the woods, and these with those that managed to return, are represented by their descendants who retain the name of Acadians, with the language and many of the characteristics of their ancestors. The fall of Quebec, and consequently the surrender of all the French possessions on this continent, soon caused a great change in the affairs of Nova



Scotia. The British gave liberal grants of that part of the province from which the Acadians had been removed, and the officers of the army secured a large share of that fertile soil. A county was formed and probably named Cumberland,<sup>1</sup> from the fort before mentioned. It may be stated that this was the same which Col. Eddy attempted to capture in 1776. See Eddy's letter, page 67.

It may be supposed that Wm. Allan served as an officer through the French war from 1754 to 1763, and then receiving a large grant of fertile alluvial land, which the poor Acadians had with much labor banked in, to protect it from any inroads of the bay, and commenced life as a farmer. In a few years he was known to be wealthy and prosperous; his large farm was cultivated mainly by the labor of the French Acadians, who became for a time servants to the conquerors of their own territory. He was a member of the colonial legislature, and occupied some other positions of trust and honor.

His children, nine in number, received educational advantages, and eventually became connected with the best families in the province. In religion, he was probably an Episcopalian, and was undoubtedly a man of intelligence and of energy. His wife died in 1767; he married a second time, and died some years subsequent to the close of the revolution.

Of the boyhood of his son John, the subject of this memoir but little can be gleaned, but we may suppose he early displayed indications of that vigor and self-reliance which was so characteristic of him in his manhood. It is certain that he received for that period and locality a very respectable education, of which his long and able letters give us such proofs, and from some of his papers we know he was well read in the books common at that period, particularly in English history. He was acquainted with the French

---

<sup>1</sup> Cumberland county is unquestionably the most productive part of Nova Scotia, and not inferior to any portion of America, of the same extent. Here stood the two rival forts of Beau Sejour (Fort Cumberland) and Lawrence, separated from each other by the little stream of Missiguash. From the bastion of Beau Sejour Fort, there is a splendid view embracing the great Tantimar and Missiguash meadows, Barons fields, Westmoreland and the country at the foot of the Shepody mountains; vast stacks of hay cover these alluvial lands, as far as the eye can reach, and the substantial farm houses and numerous herds, bespeak the wealth and independence of the yeomanry.—*Martin's History of Nova Scotia*, p. 22. London, 1822.

language, which he probably learned to speak in his boyhood from the Acadians, and had some knowledge of the Indian dialects; of one of these a brief vocabulary still remains among his papers.

It has been supposed that John Allan, at some period of his early life, resided in Massachusetts to obtain his education: this is very probable. Many distinguished men were at or in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland during the removal of the Acadians, and for several years afterwards there was quite a business between there and Boston. It is very likely that his father may have desired to send him there for an education; and he would be likely to place him under the care of some gentleman whose acquaintance he had made while they were with Gen. Winslow's command at Cumberland.

The following appears to be a copy of a letter written by him, dated Cumberland, Sept. 21, 1767. It has no address, but it seems he had just returned home after a long absence, and there are indications in it which show that even then there was an estrangement on political matters between father and son. How natural that an ardent young man should have learned a lesson in political rights in Massachusetts at that period, that may have influenced his future life. This view of the case will account for his devotion to our cause, though at the expense of almost everything he held dear. It will be noted that in the letter he speaks of the death of his mother, which had occurred during his absence. He says:

"No doubt you have been informed of that Fatal Stroke which happened in my Fathers Family by the Loss of so kind a Parent as my mother. Although it is the Divine Will which I ought to submit to, yet it gives me many sorrowful hours; but I have again the Satisfaction of meeting my Father. He is, at present, Indulgent, but we have never spoken upon any of our late proceedings. I am at present overlooking his Harvest, which deprives me of writing to you in such a manner as I could wish. My intention of what we have spoken upon so often is still the same, but I am prevented of proceeding in it till things are more settled."

About this time he made the acquaintance of Mary Patton, whom he soon afterwards married. It is related that, upon one occasion, she came into his father's store to make some trifling purchase with a skein of cotton thread wound loosely about her neck. He playfully tried to take it off, when she resisted, and a merry struggle

followed. From this time they became intimate, and were married Oct. 10th, 1767.

It is supposed that after his marriage, his father gave him a part of his large domain, and he commenced life in agricultural and mercantile pursuits. His farm known as "Invermary," was one of the best in the two counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and included 848 acres of land. Its location was seven miles from Fort Cumberland on the road to Bay Verte. Upon it, besides his own dwellings, were six or seven common country houses occupied by French Acadian families as tenants, two large barns and four smaller ones. Col. Allan also held several public positions, among which were the offices of justice of the peace, clerk of the sessions, clerk of the supreme court, &c. In the spring of 1770, he was elected a representative to the provincial assembly, which position he held till his seat was declared vacant for nonattendance June 28, 1776.

The following extract from a letter written April 5th, 1775, is signed "I. Winslow." It was no doubt from Doctor Isaac Winslow, who it seems had visited Mr. Allan, but it certainly shows that Allan had once been a resident in Massachusetts, and they had been acquainted there. Doctor Winslow graduated at Harvard College, in 1762, and settled in his native town, Marshfield, as a physician, he enjoyed a high reputation in his profession, particularly in his treatment of the small-pox. He died in 1819, aged 81. Like most of his family he was a loyalist, but resided on his estate through the war without molestation. The letter indicates his attachment to the royal cause, and however friendly they may have been, Allan could not have sympathized with him in his political sentiments.

"You enjoy in your present retired situation, many satisfactions which I do assure you, are far from general in this Country, which is now totally the reverse from that Pleasant & happy part of the world which you once knew it, in the *days of your youth*. Instead of which, Discord & Contention seem to have joined their Banners far & wide, & I am at times ready to fear that Desolation is at their heels, & just upon the eve of taking place among us. God only knows what events may befall this Land within the Course of the ensuing Summer, but very great ones we have Sufficient reason to apprehend."

The accounts of the military operations on the 19th of April, 1776, and of the battle of Bunker Hill, soon reached Western Nova Scotia, and Mr. Allan saw, during the ensuing summer, that a decision must be made. Doubtless for some time the purpose had been forming in his mind to join the western colonies in their resistance to British tyranny, and the strength of his convictions was such, as to lead him to express his sentiments openly and fearlessly, regardless of consequences. It soon became evident that he was not to be permitted thus to give utterance to his feelings and opinions, for the provincial government began to concert measures for his apprehension, on a charge of treason to the king. His life being now in danger, he resolved to leave the province for the United States; but previous to his departure he made several excursions among the Indians to the northward, and by his influence, secured for the revolted colonies the cooperation of a large number of the Mic-Mac tribe.

These Indians, allied to the French settlers in religion as well as in arms in the French wars of 1758-1763, and looking upon the English as intruders in their country, had never regarded them with much affection, and for this reason could be readily induced to act against them. Hence their letters to congress with offers of assistance and cooperation. A fragment of a journal of Mr. Allan, still in existence, gives an interesting account of his flight to New England. He immediately began his preparations for the journey, traveling mostly by night, when compelled to be from home. He took his final departure from Cumberland on the 3d of August, 1776, with a few companions in an open boat, and after a stormy passage along the bay of Fandy, arrived at Passamaquoddy on the 11th. On the 18th, they entered Machias bay, where they saw a schooner, which proved to be from Machias with Col. Eddy and twenty-eight men on board, designing to capture Fort Cumberland. Knowing the insufficiency of this force to capture the fort or to hold it if captured, Mr. Allan endeavored to induce Col. Eddy to abandon his rash design, but without effect. The schooner went on its way, and Mr. Allan proceeded up the river to Machias. Here he conversed with Col. Shaw and Messrs. Preble and Smith, on the movements of Eddy, and finding the sentiment of the people strongly against sending the expedition to Fort Cumberland, he wrote an earnest letter

to Col. Eddy, again urging him to desist, which letter he sent by a special messenger, Mr. Longfellow, who returned in two days saying Eddy was still determined to proceed. Mr. Allan spent the remainder of the month, Oct., 1776, in Machias and Goldsborough, and then sailing westward, arrived in Piscataqua river on the 3d of November. Thence by stage to Boston, where he arrived on the 7th. Here he saw many prominent men in relation to the business, including Messrs. Adams, Austin and the members of the council, but little promise of aid in furnishing the Indians with supplies could be given, owing to the great need and scarcity at home, and he therefore determined to visit Congress and lay the matter before them.

On the 29th of November, he started from Boston on horseback, for Philadelphia, passing through the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania. His journal of this trip is very interesting, and gives many incidents as they occurred. At Providence he called on Governor Cook, and at Norwich met Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, who gave him a pass through the country. He arrived at Hartford, Dec. 6th, and thence went to Fishkill, where he crossed the Hudson river, avoiding New York City, then in possession of the British. After a variety of adventures and hardships, owing to the roughness of the country, he fell in with Gen. Gates, whom he accompanied to the head-quarters of Gen. Washington, to whom he was presented and with whom he dined on Sunday, Dec. 22d. On the 25th, he left for Philadelphia, and the next day heard that Washington had crossed the Delaware with 2,500 men. The weather being bitter cold, he had a difficult journey to Baltimore, where he finally arrived on the 30th. He was received by congress on the 4th of January, and gave them a full statement of matters in the provinces. He was soon after appointed Superintendent of the Eastern Indians and Colonel of Infantry, and having received his instructions from Hon. John Hancock, he left Baltimore on the 17th, for Boston. He arrived at the latter place on the 3d of February, having received intelligence on the way, of Col. Eddy's disastrous repulse at Fort Cumberland.

The attack on Fort Cumberland caused great excitement in Nova Scotia, and the government was greatly exasperated. The following is extracted from the records:

"At a Council holden at Halifax, on the 17th Nov., 1776, Present, the Honorable the Lieut. Governor, the Hon. Charles Morris, Richard Bulkly, Henry Morton, Jonathan Binney, Arthur Gould, John Butler.

"On certain intelligence having been received, that Jonathan Eddy, William Howe & Samuel Rogers have been to the utmost of their power exciting & stirring up disaffection & rebellion among the people of the county of Cumberland, & are actually before the fort at Cumberland with a considerable number of rebels from New England, together with some Acadians & Indians. It was therefore resolved to offer £200, Reward for apprehending Jonathan Eddy & £100, for taking each of the others, so that they be brought to justice. Also £100, for apprehending of John Allan, who has been deeply concerned in exciting the said rebellion."

Beamish Murdock, Esq., the historian of the province, in a letter to the compiler says: "If the traditions I have heard about John Allan are correct, he could not have been much over *twenty-one years old* in 1775. As he had no New England ancestors, his escapade must be attributed to ambition, romance or *pure zeal for what he thought was just and right*. For the feelings against the crown in Nova Scotia, in 1775, were confined to the Acadian French who resented their conquest, the Indians who were attached to them by habit and creed, and the settlers who were emigrants from New England."

The conduct of the soldiers at Cumberland after they had defeated Eddy was very savage; they burnt many of the houses of the persons who had fled to the States, and Col. Allan's was one of the first destroyed with nearly all its contents. His family fled without other clothing than they happened to have on at the moment, and hid themselves three days in the woods almost without food. Mrs. Allan crawled up to the smoking ruins of her late happy home, and found some potatoes which had been baked, or rather burnt by the fire. On these, she and her five little ones subsisted till she was found almost in a starving condition by her father, Mark Patton, who took her home and made her comfortable. His house was soon surrounded by British soldiers, who demanded the immediate surrender of the rebel's wife. Resistance was useless, and she was carried to Halifax a prisoner, though still very ill, leaving

her three little boys at their grandfather's. She was taken before the governor who commanded her to tell where her husband was, or be imprisoned. She remained firm, and gave them no information for some weeks. She then told her persecutors that "her husband had escaped to a free country."

Mrs. Allan remained in prison at Halifax, six or eight months, separated from husband and children. She was small in stature, delicate in constitution, and not well suited to this kind of treatment. She was often insulted, and suffered much from the insolence and brutality of her overseers. At the sacking of her house many valuable articles were burned and destroyed; others were carried off by the soldiery. Among the latter were several silk dresses, which were given to the soldiers' wives who by wearing them in her presence, strove to annoy and wound her feelings in every possible way.

After Col. Allan's return from his visit to Congress, and his interview with Washington, he remained in Boston about three months, urging upon the members of the council the necessity of protection to the eastern part of Maine, as well as the great advantage to the country of the taking possession of the western part of Nova Scotia, and advocating the sending of an armed force for that purpose, which they consented to do. But above all he represented the condition of the Indians there, and the absolute need of conciliating and assisting them by establishing truck-houses to furnish them with the articles they so much needed.

After his return from the expedition to the St. Johns of which his journal and letters give a full account, he assumed the duties of Superintendent of the Indian tribes. As they had assisted and shown much bravery in the defense of Machias, many of them were enlisted and did duty as soldiers for a month or two, till the danger of another attack had passed, when most of them were fitted out with supplies for a winter hunt upon the Schoodic lakes and in that vicinity, and returned in the spring to repay with their furs and skins the advances made to them. This was the course of matters for several years. Thus keeping them within his control, and where runners could in a few days reach them should he want their assistance; but in the spring and summer they came near the salt water where they could furnish themselves with fish, and for the last two years of the war, he seems to have kept them much of

the time on Passamaquoddy bay, where he says they could find food more plenty, and also hold that place as our outpost. He kept a truck-house or depot of supplies at Machias, which he received from the government at Boston, and the Indians always expected to be furnished at stated periods. He kept a regular set of books, and an account with the head of each Indian family. These are still extant in the archives of Massachusetts. But from the poverty of the country, and the great difficulty of bringing goods coastwise, the supply was generally scanty and often times were very long delayed. After the British captured and held the Penobscot and the country adjacent, it was almost impossible to reach Machias from Massachusetts.

This was the source of great anxiety and trouble, for when there was plenty, the Indians were quiet and easily controlled; but in times of scarcity, were impatient and often insolent and threatening to take vengeance on whoever came in their way, and as Col. Allan had to promise them that aid would soon arrive, and when they found it did not come, he alone had to bear the blame, and his life was often in danger. Hardly any situation could be more unpleasant than trying to appease a set of half starved Indians and keep them loyal to our side, while the British emissaries were sending messengers, and offering them everything they wished if they would come to them and join their cause. During this period Col. Allan was constantly pleading for the much needed supplies; his letters to the government are very numerous and earnest. In the absence of the Indians on their long winter hunts, they generally left their families near Machias, and they became hostages for their faithful return. In the fall of 1780, the British Indian agent, as will be seen in another part of this volume, made unusual efforts to induce them to leave our cause and join the enemy. For a long period no supplies had reached Machias and a famine almost prevailed. As a last resort, Col. Allan announced his intention of going to Boston to obtain the so much needed aid, but the Indians believed that he would never return, and they should be left to the tender mercies of their enemies, demanded some security for the fulfillment of his promises. It was finally arranged that he should leave his two oldest sons, William and Mark, in the hands of the Indians as hostages; and they remained with them one or



two years, living on fish, parched corn and seals' meat. William was thirteen years old and Mark eleven at this time. They suffered many hardships and were in a wretched condition when finally restored to their home — ragged, dirty and covered with vermin, — as the Indians were then living nearly in a savage state.

It would be difficult to furnish a more trying case than this, or one that showed a stronger devotion to the cause, and of fidelity to his adopted country. The boys were great favorites with the Indians; they learned their language and always had an attachment to them, and in after life aided them in various ways. The writer has often heard the old Indians speak of their living with the tribe, and particularly about John, who always resided not far from their homes.

He often spoke of the circumstance, and when he was more than eighty years old communicated many facts in relation to it. He died at Whiting, Washington county, Maine, in 1868. Among the family papers is a letter to the boys from their father, containing kind advice, such as only a good father would impart to his children. The following is an extract :

It is dated Fort Gates, Machias, May 21, 1782. Col. Allan, after some directions about supplies, gives them some advice as follows :

“Be very kind to the Indians & take particular notice of Nicholas, Francis Joseph and Old Coucouguash. I send you your books, papers, pens & ink, wafers, & some other little things; shall send more in two or three days. Let me entreat you my dear children to be careful of your company & manners, be moral, sober and discreet. \* \* \* Duly observe your Duty to the Almighty, morning & night. Mind strictly the Sabbath Day, not to have either work or play except necessity compels you. I pray God to bless you my dear boys.”

The British were very bitter against Col. Allan, and for years a price was set upon his head, and the soldiers sought every opportunity to take him dead or alive. They also incited the Indians to take his life repeatedly, and tried to bribe them to do so. An attack was made upon him at Machias, in a house now occupied by Obadiah Hill. Col. Allan was sitting in a room with his sons, William and John, when an Indian came in; he did not say much, but they noticed him go behind the door. Being on intimate terms

with Col. Allan, little attention was paid to the circumstance. Soon a powerful Indian from the eastward, towards Halifax, strode into the room, and advancing directly to Col. Allan as he sat in his chair, brandished a huge knife over his head, and glared at him with ferocity. Col. Allan kept his seat, and looked him steadily in the eye. Just as the savage was about to strike, the friendly Indian sprang from behind the door, and felled the assassin to the floor in an instant. He was disarmed, and Col. Allan sent him off home in a birch canoe.

He was once traveling on skates among the Schoodic lakes when he was set upon by a party of Indians in the service of the British, also mounted on skates. They gave chase and closely pressed him for a mile or two, when coming to an open place or channel of water, he gave a tremendous jump and landed safely on the other side. The Indians appalled at his daring feat, stopped at the brink of the water, and none of them daring to follow, Col. Allan was seen safe and entirely beyond their reach.

His enemies attempted frequently to entrap him. At one time some friendly Indians heard of a plan the British had formed to take him when he was suffering with the gout. They wrapped him in blankets, carried him off to the woods and thus baffled the English. At another time the captain of an English merchant vessel sent a polite note to Col. Allan inviting him to dinner. Col. Allan was pleased with the courtesy, and was about to go, when Capt. Dyer,<sup>1</sup> who feared treachery, begged Col. Allan to remain and let him go instead. Col. Allan refused, but finally yielded, and the captain went in his stead. He proceeded to the English ship, and was no sooner on deck than the perfidious captain cried in exultation, "Now, thank God, I've got you, you d——d rebel!" "No, you haven't got him, said the brave Dyer, you've only got me." Capt. Dyer was taken to Halifax where he died, some time afterwards a prisoner of war.

Col. Allan had a sixteen oar barge, on which was mounted a small swivel gun. On one occasion he was sailing on Passamaquoddy bay with his sons William, Mark and John, and seeing an English raft of lumber, bore down upon it and fired a shot. The men in charge,

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<sup>1</sup> Capt. Allan refers to this in one of his letters in this volume.

about twenty in number, took fright and fled to their boats. Col. Allan broke up the raft and set the fragments adrift. No one was with him except his three sons. This was done almost under the guns of an English ship of war, from which three barges, well manned, were immediately sent in pursuit. An exciting chase ensued. Col. Allan's barge behaved nobly, and kept well ahead. Rapidly rounding a point of land he drew a plug from the bottom of the boat, which caused her to fill with water and she soon sank. Jumping into the water, Col. Allan with his boys swam to the shore, and secreted themselves in the woods. The English boats came sweeping round the point confident of catching him in the little bay; but to their consternation, nothing could be seen of either man or boat. They returned to their ship fully persuaded that Col. Allan was in league with the devil. The boat was soon after raised and did good service in many a subsequent cruise.—*Relation of Mr. John Allan at the age of eighty-two.*

At the close of the war Col. Allan returned to Boston, and resigned the position he had filled so long and with such fidelity, to the cause he had espoused, and honorably closed his accounts with government as the following certificate shows :

BOSTON, Sept. 24, 1788.

To the Honorable Senate and Hon. House of Representatives :

The Committee appointed by the Honorable Court by their resolve of 8d July, 1788, to settle the Accounts of Col. John Allan, Supt. of Indian affairs in the Eastern Department & Commander of the Post at Machias, have attended that Service. They have carefully collected and examined all the charges against him in Cash and Supplys received from the Late Board of War & the Commissary General, & they have also particularly examined all his accounts & returns for the expediture of the same with his Vouchers to support said Charges, & we find he has been particularly attentive to the business committed to his charge. Very regular & correct in keeping his Books & Accounts, & after critically examining the same & every Voucher, We find his accounts right cast & well

vouched, and that on a final settlement which we have made with him, there remains a balance due to him of sixteen hundred & fourteen pounds, nineteen shillings, Sixpence, for which we have given him a Certificate.

All of which is submitted,

(Signed)

THOMAS WALLBY,

PETER BOYER,

JOHN DEMING,

Committee.

£1614:19:0

In 1784, he removed to Maine and the next year commenced a mercantile business on Dudley, afterwards called "Allan's Island," near Lubec. In this he does not seem to have been successful, for his generosity of heart was such that it prevented him from taking proper measures to collect debts due him. The result was, that in two years he closed up the business and retired to Lubec Mills, at which place he resided until his death. The island, however, remained in possession of his family for several years.

In 1792, about 22,000 acres of wild land were granted to him and his associates by the government of Massachusetts, now the town of Whiting, but owing to its location and the soil being hard and barren, it did not prove of much value to him or his family.

In 1801, he made a representation to Congress of his great losses consequent on his joining the American cause. This amounted to more than ten thousand dollars. An appraisement was made and testified to by most of the prominent men in Cumberland county, many of whom had been his old neighbors. After much effort, he received a grant of about two thousand acres of land in Ohio, upon a part of which the city of Columbus now stands. This locality was then apparently more distant than Oregon is now, and but little could be realized from it, and it proved of but small advantage to him or his family. He took considerable interest in the incorporation of Eastport, and in surveying and locating the settlers on their lots.

Like a large part of the officers of the revolution, he felt the difficulties and trials incident to poverty. The country and people were passing through a state of depression and exhaustion of which

we can hardly conceive, and he never lived to see the prosperity which finally resulted from the privations and toils of the patriots who achieved our liberties.

It is evident from his letters that he took a great interest in the adoption of the constitution, and the settlement of our national government; he was also interested in the adjustment of our boundary as fixed by the treaty with England, always contending that the Magaguadavic was the true St. Croix, and was much dissatisfied by the strange decision of the commissioners which gave the island of Grand Manan to the British.

But the exposures and privations of Col. Allan seem to have undermined his constitution, and from a private journal which he kept, he was in the autumn of 1804 suffering severely from asthma. It is painful to follow his entries as he almost daily records his sleepless and suffering nights, as well as the dark and dreary days of winter and the gloom that was around him. The last entry is Sunday, Dec. 9th. It was evident he was fully aware of his critical situation, and that his end was near. He appears to have borne his trials with fortitude, but continued gradually to decline till the evening of February 7th, 1805, when he expired at the age of fifty-nine years.

He was buried on the island where he had previously lived, and which now bears his name.

Here in August, 1860, his descendants from many distant homes assembled to dedicate an elegant monument they had caused to be erected to his memory. During that pleasant day the eldest related to the young the story of the life, sufferings and services of their ancestor, which can now never be forgotten. Two years later when the country he had served so faithfully was in the midst of a terrible struggle for the preservation of those principles, and to protect the same territory he had so successfully defended eighty years before, a battery was erected on this island, and near his grave. It was indeed fitting that his last resting place should be surrounded by the emblems of national defense, and that the flag of his adopted country should wave over his tomb.

In considering the character of Col. Allan, I do not intend to claim that he was better than many of his associates, or free from imperfections, but to testify so far as I have found verified by un-

questioned documents, to his ardent love and fidelity to the cause he adopted, a cause he could not have joined in its darkest days, and at great pecuniary sacrifice, from any other motives than a love of liberty and the rights of man.

Of the value of his services and their results, it would seem all who carefully peruse this volume must conclude that they were very great. For, looking at the condition of the territory east of the Penobscot, and the sparse and feeble settlements along its seaboard, we can see that had the four tribes of Indians done what the British government earnestly wished, and would have aided them to do, they could have united and destroyed, or driven away every inhabitant east of the Penobscot. This Col. Allan foresaw, and to prevent it, made a long journey to report these facts to Congress, and Gen. Washington. They saw the danger, and that Col. Allan was the man to wield the necessary influence with the Indians, and so control them, as to make them our friends, and often to aid in defending our people. Without this aid it is most likely that Machias, our eastern outpost, must have been abandoned.

Had this place been given up, it would have been an abandonment of the whole territory, and must have disastrously affected the settlement of our eastern boundary. This Col. Allan seems to have anticipated, as his papers show. It is now generally conceded that our present boundary was fixed mainly on the ground of occupation, and had we not been able to hold it, we cannot say what river in Maine would now divide us from a British province.

Judge Jones, who resided a long period at Machias, and who well knew the history of Eastern Maine, stated in 1820, "That it was an immense advantage to the inhabitants eastward of the Penobscot that the great majority of the Passamaquoddy & St. John Indians joined with us instead of adhering to the enemy, for had they been against us, and been set on by the British to plunder our towns and settlements, the whole population must have been destroyed. Great credit is due the Indians for their rigid adherence to our cause, although at times the commissary's department was destitute of provisions and clothing for them."— *Williamson's History of Maine*.

Is it then saying too much for Col. Allan, to assert that mainly to his efforts was this result due, and should we not at this late day

render this long deferred tribute to his memory, and rank him among the revolutionary worthies who deserve the gratitude of our country?

— According to the testimony of those who remember him, Col. Allan was a man who won the respect of almost all about him. He was ardent, but energetic; rigid and exacting as an officer, but humane to all who had done wrong. He was hospitable and generous, and although very exact in all business matters, particularly when entrusted with the property of others, he was too lenient with his debtors to succeed in business affairs. Though not connected or sympathizing with any particular church, he had strong religious feeling as many of his letters and other writings show, and rather looked to the practically carrying out the principles of the Sermon on the Mount, than to have rested his faith on any sectarian theory.

In personal appearance he was rather tall and straight, inclining in his last years to be corpulent, with dark brown hair and blue eyes; in conversation animated and generally interesting.

In taking leave of this subject the writer would say, that he has been induced to pay this poor tribute to his memory only from a feeling that the value of his services had been overlooked, and it was the duty of some one to make an enduring record of what he had done for posterity. The lesson of his life has not been lost upon his descendants, over thirty of whom responded to the call of their country in the late war for the Union; and in their various positions have done what they could to perpetuate the blessings of liberty. The gratitude of a nation is due, not only to those who founded it, but also to those who have aided in its preservation.





## GENEALOGY OF THE ALLAN FAMILY.

COMPILED BY GEORGE H. ALLAN, OF NEW YORK.

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*Copy of an Original Record of the Family of William Allan, born in Scotland about 1720, came to Halifax, N. S. in 1749. Died about 1790.*

1744. July the 9<sup>th</sup>, (O. S.). William Allan & Isabell Maxwell; married.

1746. Jan. 8<sup>d</sup>. John Allan born about half after one o'clock Friday afternoon in Edinburgh Castle; Bap<sup>t</sup>as'd by Mr. Glasgow the 5<sup>th</sup>.

1747. Aug<sup>t</sup> 16. Mery Allan born about 11 at night, Sunday, in Perth and Died the 22<sup>d</sup>, Same month.

1750. Dec. 25<sup>th</sup>. Elizabeth Allan born about 8 o'clock in Halifax; bap<sup>t</sup>ized by Mr. Tully, in the church of England; Mr. Forbes Baker, Mr. Sennacherib Martyn & Mrs. Coupland, Godfathers & Godmother. Marry'd Thursday, August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1772, to John George Pyke.

1752. Octob<sup>r</sup> 27. William Allan Born about 4 in the morning, at Chignecto, Fort Lawrence, Friday; Capt. John Halo<sup>c</sup>, Lieut. Rob<sup>t</sup> Pateshell & Mrs. Bishop, Godfathers & Godmother. Bap<sup>t</sup>ized by Mr. Wood.

1754. Sept. 30. George Allan Born about 4 o'clock Monday Morning, Chignecto, Fort Lawrence; Mr. Sennacherib Martyn, Godfather, Bap<sup>t</sup>ized by Mr. Wood. Dyed the 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1804, a little before five O'clock on Saturday Afternoon.

1756. Aug. 25<sup>th</sup>. James Allan Born Tuesday, about Fort Cumberland; Bap<sup>t</sup>ized by Mr. W. Wood; Died November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1757.

1759. April, 10<sup>th</sup>. Joan Allan, Born Tuesday half after 10 at night, Fort Cumberland; Bap<sup>t</sup>ized by the reverd Mr. Thomas

Wilkinson. 1775. February 7th, Tuesday, marry'd to Thomas Cochran by the reverend Doct<sup>r</sup> Breynton.

1760. Nov. 21st. Winckworth Allan Born; Christned by Joshua Tiff.

1762. July 28. Isabella Allan Born.

1767. Isabel Allan (wife of William Allan Senior), Departed this life about the Turn of the Night between the 30th & 31st of August, 5 minutes before 12 O'clock.

NOTE. It will be seen by the above record, that seven of the nine children of William Allan, were born in America. Two of them, Mary and James, died in infancy, and as near as I can ascertain, George and Winckworth were never married. The latter went to England and became a wealthy merchant in London where he died. The three daughters, Elizabeth, Jean and Isabella, became connected by marriage with the Pyke, Cochran and Hill families of Halifax. Their descendants are numerous, influential and wealthy. Many of them have occupied prominent positions in provincial society; several of them have occupied high rank in the British army, and have been knighted by the queen for bravery in India and the Crimea. William Allan, Jr., removed from Halifax to Fort Cumberland, and in 1787, married Sarah Dixon. He died Oct. 4, 1806, leaving a widow and four sons. Of these, two are still living, Thomas Cochran Allan, born 1790, cashier of the Miramichi Bank, still an active and energetic business man at the age of 77; and his brother, William Maxwell Allan, a prominent merchant of Halifax. The latter has 8 sons and 2 daughters. A list of the descendants of John Allan, the eldest son, is appended. Col. John Allan was the eldest son of William Allan, one of the original settlers of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was born in Edinburgh Castle, Scotland, Jan. 3d; 1746, Old Style. He came to Halifax, N. S., with his parents in 1749, and Oct. 10th, 1767, married Mary Patton b. Feb. 8, 1746; d. June 8, 1819. He was a representative in the provincial parliament of Nova Scotia from 1770 to 1776, when he was obliged to flee for refuge to the United States, his ideas of freedom having made him obnoxious to the British government, who offered rewards for his apprehension. He came to the States in the autumn of 1776. Proceeding to Philadelphia, he had several interviews with General Washington and also waited upon

congress. He was soon after appointed colonel of infantry and Superintendent of Eastern Indians, and was stationed throughout the war at Machias, Maine. He remained at his post till 1788, when he commenced a mercantile business, which not succeeding well, he turned his attention to agriculture, in which he continued till his death, which occurred Feb. 7th, 1805. He had 9 children as follows :

2. William Allan b. in Halifax, N. S., July 23, 1768; m. Alice Crane, b. 1770; died 1841. He died March 6, 1814. Had 11 children.

3. Mark Allan b. in Cumberland, N. S. March 31, 1770; m. Susan Wilder, b. 1774; died 1852. He died Sept. 22, 1818. Had 18 children.

4. John Allan b. in Cumberland, N. S. Dec. 23, 1771; m. Mehitabel Crane, b. 1779; died 1846. He died Oct. 8, 1863. Had 18 children.

5. Isabel Maxwell Allan b. in Cumberland, N. S. Oct. 23, 1773; not married; d. July 12, 1829.

6. George Washington Allan b. in Cumberland, N. S. March 13, 1776; m. Mary Cutts Hart, b. 1779; died 1864. He was drowned at sea, Aug. 24, 1806. Had 8 children.

7. Horatio Gates Allan b. in Machias, Me., June 13, 1779; m. Charlotte Crane, b. at West Point, N. Y., Sept. 25, 1782; died Dec. 19th, 1840. He was drowned Oct. 20, 1837. Had 5 children.

8. Anna Allan b. in Machias, Me., April 16, 1781; d. in Boston, Aug. 21, 1788.

9. Elizabeth Allan b. in Machias, Me., April 16, 1781; d. unmarried, in Whiting, Me., June 22, 1863.

10. Winckworth Sargent Allan b. Lubec, Me., May 31, 1788; he was drowned unmarried Oct. 2, 1811.

William Allan (2), b. 1768; d. 1814, had 11 children, viz :

11. Alice Allan (1), b. Apr. 8, 1790; m. Jonathan Greaves. He died. She is still living (Feb. 67). Had 9 children, as follows: Elizabeth,<sup>1</sup> William,<sup>2</sup> Mary,<sup>3</sup> Alice,<sup>4</sup> John,<sup>5</sup> George,<sup>6</sup> (1st Mass. Vols.), Jonathan,<sup>7</sup> Harriett,<sup>8</sup> and Jane.<sup>9</sup> Most of them died young. Elizabeth m. Mr. Woodell, had 1 child; George, m. Edna Campbell and has 1 son.

12. John Allan (2), b. Oct. 19, 1791; d. Oct. 26, 1793.

13. Mary Allan (8), b. Feb. 14, 1794 ; m. Abijah Gregory. She died Feb. 19, 1837. Had 4 sons, Uriah Warren<sup>1</sup> b. May 18, 1819 ; d. Apr. 29, 1841. William Allan<sup>2</sup> b. Dec. 18, 1820 ; m. Alice Crane ; George Albert<sup>3</sup> b. May 20, 1822 ; d. Feb. 19, 1858. Abijah<sup>4</sup> (m. Anna Fessenden) b. Feb. 16, 1824 ; d. Dec. 31, 1851. The two last died in California.

14. Mehitabel Allan (4), b. June 2, 1796 ; m. Rev. George Brown. Both living. Had 2 children, Georgiana<sup>1</sup> b. Apr. 19, 1832 ; drowned May, 1859. Lucius<sup>2</sup> born 1835 ; m. Harriet J. Crane. Has 1 child.

15. Isabel Maxwell Allan (5), b. Oct. 2, 1797 ; m. (1) John Everett 1794-1826 and (2) Isaac Parrit, 1782-1842. By her first husband she had 4 children. (1) Alice Allan Everett b. 1818 ; m. Geo. H. Stevens. She died 1852. Had 4 children all living, viz : Sarah, Isabel, Everett and Ella. (2), Charles Henry Everett b. 1821 ; m. Adelia Ketchum. Had 2 children, Mary b. 1848 ; and John Forrest b. 1850. (3), Emeline Everett b. 1823 ; m. (1), L. M. Jordan, and (2), O. M. Tinker. Has 2 children, Octavia b. 1849 ; and John Henry b. 1854. (4), Mary Gregory Everett b. 1827 ; m. John W. Hill. Has 3 children, Charles, b. 1852 ; d. 1859, Georgiana b. 1860, and Lewis b. 1863.

16. Eliza Ann Allan b. June 14, 1799. Resides in Machias, Me.

17. William Allan b. March 24, 1801 ; died Dec. 26, 1824.

18. George Washington Allan b. Sept. 25, 1802 ; m. 1831, Mary Ann Rotch b. 1810. Resides in Boston. Had 3 children, George Hayward<sup>1</sup> b. June 16, 1832 ; Frances Maria<sup>2</sup> b. Oct. 16, 1834 ; m. W. H. Thomas b. May 5, 1824. Has 1 dau. Mary A. b. Jan. 2, 1858 ; and Edward Jerome<sup>3</sup> b. Sept. 7, 1838 ; d. May 27, 1858.

19. Charlotte Crane Allan b. June 24, 1804. Resides in Machias, Me.

20. Susan Patton Allan b. Oct. 15, 1806 ; m. James Crane b. 1807. Had 5 children. Jared,<sup>1</sup> (6th Maine Vols.), b. Oct. 23, 1836 ; m. Hannah Longfellow. Has 1 child Helen May. Helen<sup>2</sup> b. 1839 ; d. an infant. Harriet Jacobs<sup>3</sup> b. Nov. 29, 1840 ; m. Lucius Brown. Has 1 child. James Eustace,<sup>4</sup> (6th Maine Vols.), b. Sept., 1842 ; m. Jennie Whelpley. Susan E.<sup>5</sup> b. Feb., 1846 ; m. Frank H. Beale.

21. Harriet Cochran Allan b. Dec. 29, 1809; m. Asa Jacobs; d. July 29, 1840. Had 1 son, Wm. Wirt Jacobs b. June, 1840; d. Aug., 1840.

Mark Allan (8), 1770-1818, had 13 children, viz:

22. Susan Allan (1), b. Jan. 8, 1798; m. Samuel Wheeler. She died 1851. Had 5 children, Susan,<sup>1</sup> Samuel,<sup>2</sup> Mark,<sup>3</sup> Catharine,<sup>4</sup> William.<sup>5</sup>

23. Anna Allan (2), b. Feb., 1794; died in infancy.

24. Mary Patton Allan (3), b. Apr., 1795; m. Andrew Sprague. Had 11 children, Andrew,<sup>1</sup> Mary A.,<sup>2</sup> Benjamin,<sup>3</sup> Susan,<sup>4</sup> Samuel,<sup>5</sup> Elisa,<sup>6</sup> Sarah,<sup>7</sup> George,<sup>8</sup> Elijah,<sup>9</sup> Martha,<sup>10</sup> and Caroline,<sup>11</sup>, most of whom are married and have families of children.

25. Lydia C. Allan (4), b. Aug. 9, 1797; m. True Bradbury. Had 5 children Wyer, Samuel, Stephen, Sarah and Mary, all of whom are married and have families. Several members of this family enlisted in the army and navy during the late war.

26. Elizabeth Allan (5), b. Feb., 1799; m. Eben Chickering. Had 1 son, John Newton Chickering.

27. Jane Cochran Allan (6), b. Dec., 1800; m. Eben Wilder. Had 8 children, Eben,<sup>1</sup> Mariner,<sup>2</sup> Jane,<sup>3</sup> Mark,<sup>4</sup> (28th Maine Vols.) Heman,<sup>5</sup> Abigail,<sup>6</sup> Harriet,<sup>7</sup> and William,<sup>8</sup> some of whom married and had families of children.

28. John Allan (7), b. Sept. 3, 1802; m. (1), Lydia Kilby, (2), Emma Wiswell. Had 2 sons, John<sup>1</sup> b. 1840; and William<sup>2</sup> b. 1846; d. 1846.

29. Theophilus W. Allan (8), b. Apr. 28, 1804; m. Martha R. Sargent. She died 1865. Had 8 children, Nelson S.<sup>1</sup> b. Feb. 22, 1830; m. Abby G. Hobart. Has 2 children. Martha Ann<sup>2</sup> b. March 27, 1832; m. A. L. Todd. Has 2 children. Theophilus<sup>3</sup> b. Nov. 21, 1834; d. Feb. 9, 1859. Harriet L.<sup>4</sup> b. Dec. 27, 1836; m. Rev. A. J. Rich. Has 3 children. John Davis<sup>5</sup> b. March 11, 1839; m. Margaret Horsey. Susanna<sup>6</sup> b. July 18, 1842. Elizabeth<sup>7</sup> b. April 10, 1845, and William R.<sup>8</sup> b. May 24, 1847.

30. Sally Allan (9), b. July, 1806. Resides in Dennysville, Me.

31. William Allan (10), b. March 18, 1808; m. Jane Potter b. 1814. Had 3 children, Mary Eliza<sup>1</sup> b. 1842. Susan<sup>2</sup> b. 1848; d. 1852. Wm. F.<sup>3</sup> born 1850; d. 1854. Resides Dennysville, Me.

82. Patton Allan (11), b. 1810; d. 1812.

83. Abigail Allan (12), b. June 11, 1818. Resides in Dennyville, Me.

84. Ebenezer W. (13), b. 1818; d. 1825.

John Allan (4), 1771-1868, had 18 children.

85. Charlotte Allan (1), b. Sept. 29, 1798; m. James Nutter. She died 1842. Had 16 children, viz: Matthias<sup>1</sup> b. 1817; d. 1838. Mehitabel<sup>2</sup> b. 1818. Mary<sup>3</sup> b. 1820. James<sup>4</sup> b. 1821; d. 1841. Susan<sup>5</sup> b. 1822; d. 1845. Martha<sup>6</sup> b. 1825. Jackson<sup>7</sup> b. 1826. Abijah<sup>8</sup> b. 1827; d. 1829. Valeria<sup>9</sup> b. 1829; d. 1834. Josephine<sup>10</sup> b. 1831. Ellen<sup>11</sup> b. 1832. Ursula<sup>12</sup> b. 1835. George<sup>13</sup> b. 1836; d. 1861. Daniel<sup>14</sup> b. 1838. Emma<sup>15</sup> b. 1840. Joanna<sup>16</sup> b. 1842; d. 1846. Several of these have families.

86. John Crane Allan (2), b. Jan. 31, 1800; m. 1825 Achsah Sawyer. Had 5 children. Anna<sup>1</sup> b. 1826; m. James Carey. Has 2 children. George Washington<sup>2</sup> b. 1829; m. Mary Moore. Has 2 children. Nathaniel,<sup>3</sup> 6th Maine Vols., b. 1832; died Libby Prison, Richmond, 1864. Amelia<sup>4</sup> b. 1834; m. Israel P. Smith. Has 3 children. Albert<sup>5</sup> 15th Maine Vols., born 1838; d. 1862.

87. Horatio Gates Allan (3), b. Dec. 6, 1801; m. 1823, Margaret Leighton b. 1806; d. 1843. Had 5 children. Mary L.<sup>1</sup> b. 1830. Edward H.<sup>2</sup> b. 1832. Kesiah<sup>3</sup> b. 1835. Melissa<sup>4</sup> b. 1839; d. 1842, and William<sup>5</sup> b. 1845. The first three have families.

88. Elizabeth Allan (4), b. Sept. 14, 1808; m. 1827, Major Joseph Allan. Had 6 children, Louisa,<sup>1</sup> William,<sup>2</sup> Elbridge,<sup>3</sup> Isabel,<sup>4</sup> Albion,<sup>5</sup> and George,<sup>6</sup> 6th Maine Vols. Four of these are married and have families.

89. Winckworth Allan (5), b. Aug. 25, 1805; m. 1828, Hannah Robinson. Had 9 children. Sophronia<sup>1</sup> b. 1829. Benjamin<sup>2</sup> b. 1831; d. 1852. Joseph<sup>3</sup> b. 1834. Fernando<sup>4</sup> b. 1838; d. 1848. Sophia<sup>5</sup> b. 1840. John<sup>6</sup> b. 1842; d. 1848. William<sup>7</sup> b. 1845. Emma<sup>8</sup> b. 1847. Mary<sup>9</sup> b. 1850. Several of these have families.

40. George Washington Allan (6), born June 27, 1807; d. unm. Oct. 10, 1832.

41. Mehitabel Crane Allan (7), b. Aug. 29, 1809; m. Wm. Goodwin. She died 1850 in Northern Michigan. Had 3 children, Alma,<sup>1</sup> Laura<sup>2</sup> and Frank.<sup>3</sup>

42. Henry Dearborn Allan (8), b. Oct. 30, 1811; m. Catharine Morang b. 1812. He was killed by the bursting of a cannon, July 4, 1866. Had 5 children. Alvrah W.<sup>1</sup> b. 1843. Susan<sup>2</sup> b. 1845. Elizabeth<sup>3</sup> b. 1850. Isabella<sup>4</sup> b. 1852, and Sarah<sup>5</sup> b. 1854.

43. Isabella Allan (9), b. March 25, 1814; m. Hiram Huokins. She d. 1848. Had 6 children, John,<sup>1</sup> Valeria,<sup>2</sup> Alice,<sup>3</sup> James,<sup>4</sup> Henry<sup>5</sup> and Emerson.<sup>6</sup> Two of these are married.

44. Mary Ann Allan (10), b. Aug. 22, 1816; m. Edward Goodwin. Had 9 children. Joanna b. 1837. James b. 1838. Elizabeth b. 1839. Aurelia b. 1841. George, 28th Maine Vols., b. 1843. Franklin b. 1845. Sarah b. 1853. Joseph b. 1855; d. 1858, and Adda b. 1861; d. 1862. Two or three of these are married.

45. Evelina Allan (11), b. Feb. 6, 1819; m. Benj. P. Bridges. Had 4 children. Henry, 28th Maine Vols., b. 1840. Mohitabel b. 1844. Eliza Ann b. 1846; d. 1862, and Zachary Taylor b. 1849. Henry died in the army in 1863, at Plaquemine, La. Mary m. J. B. Leighton.

46. Alice Allan (12), b. May 20, 1821; d. next day.

47. Abijah Gregory Allan (13), June 5, 1823; m. Sarah Jewett. Had 3 children. John b. 1848. Harriet b. 1855, and Ella b. 1856. He enlisted in 18th Maine Regt., and died in N. Orleans, July 27, 1862.

George Washington Allan (6), b. 1776; d. 1806. Had 3 children.

48. Theodore Cutts Allan (1), b. Dec. 26, 1808; m. Nancy Hall. He died 1865. Had 2 children. Theodore b. Feb., 1844, and Mary born April, 1847. She is married and lives in Orland, Me.

49. John George Allan (2), born Apr. 5, 1805; d. April, 1824.

50. Mary Elizabeth Allan (3), b. March 15, 1807; m. George Comstock b. Apr. 19, 1799. Had seven children. Hiram b. Feb., 1828; m. Mary E. Brown. Has 1 child. Mary Ardolia b. Dec. 20, 1829; d. Aug. 8, 1849. Ann Maria b. May 21, 1832; m. John A. Davis. Has 2 children. Theodore Allan (Navy) b. May 8, 1834; acting Master U. S. Steamer "Onward." Eurilla Elizabeth b. Jan. 8, 1838; m. Alfred Small. Lucia Emily b. May 8, 1848. Sarah Jeannett b. June 11, 1845.

Horatio Gates Allan (7), b. 1779; d. 1837. Had 5 children.

51. Charles Hill Allan (1), b. Nov. 15, 1809; m. Clarissa Varney. He died 1864.

52. Winckworth Sargent Allan (2), b. March 11, 1812; m. (1) to Hannah Libby, and had by her, 2 children. Prontias, (12th Regt. Me.,) b. 1841, and Emma b. 1842; m. (2) to Catharine B. Libby, and had by her three children. Edgar b. 1848. Catharine b. 1855, and an infant daughter; d. 1847; m. (3) to Susan Knox. Had by her 1 child, Lena b. 1861.

53. William George Allan (3), b. Aug. 9, 1814; m. Anna Lander. Has 3 children. Mary Isabella b. Sept. 18, 1848; m. J. H. Winchell. Georgiana Brown b. Sept. 1, 1845. Alice Kate b. Feb. 18, 1851. Resides, Haverhill, Mass.

54. Alice Crane Allan (4), b. Oct. 7, 1818; m. Asaph Sawyer. Has 3 children. Charlotte b. Aug. 11, 1846. Alice b. March 27, 1848. Nathaniel Gates b. Apr. 24, 1850.

55. Mary Isabel Allan b. Nov. 16, 1821; died unmarried Sept. 23, 1841.



## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

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### *The Early History of the Eastern Part of Maine and its Condition Previous to the Revolutionary War.*

The district of country lying east of the Penobscot river, and now forming the northeastern frontier of the United States, seems to have attracted but little attention from the historian or naturalist, and a large part of it is yet comparatively unknown except to the hunter and the lumberman. And although it was explored and a temporary settlement made there earlier than at any other place in New England,<sup>1</sup> still it was the last to have a permanent population. And so little progress had been made for the century and a half that had elapsed since the great charter of James the first in 1606, by which it became a part of his domain, that at the capture of Quebec in 1759, it is believed not an individual speaking the English tongue was residing in any part of this territory.

The Plymouth council in England made a grant for a trade with the Indians along this coast, probably under the charter before named, or under that of 1620 to the well known active merchants Isaac Allerton and Richard Vines, and under this right they traded in the harbors, and established a small trading house at Machias in 1633, which first brings that name into history. This trade had for

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<sup>1</sup> See an account of DeMont's discoveries and settlement at the St. Croix, where he passed the winter of 1604, in Williamson's *History of Maine*, vol. 1, p. 190.

some time been enjoyed by the French, and La Tour, who was acting governor of Acadia, prosecuted it with energy, which soon brought Vines and his parties into collision. This resulted in the destruction of the trading house, and the death of two of Vines's men. A demand was made on La Tour for reparation, and a long contest of words and documents succeeded, the Frenchmen claiming that the English had no rights east of Pemaquid; and although ten years afterwards he was obliged to promise Vines full and complete restitution for his pecuniary losses, the promise was never fulfilled, and the national rights remained undecided, while the French probably held uninterrupted possession.

In 1688, Governor Andros caused an account of the inhabitants on this territory to be taken; they numbered but forty-five persons, all Frenchmen.

In 1704, the celebrated Capt. Church visited this coast in pursuit of the Indians, and believing that these people aided and encouraged them in their wars with the colonists, he destroyed their habitations and brought them all away as prisoners, thus maintaining the claim to the country for the English.

At length the government of Massachusetts seems to have become aware of the value of this territory, and in 1748 employed Richard Hazen to make surveys and form a chart of the coast west of the Passamaquoddy bay. In 1768, the governor recommended the adoption of some practical measures for settling the country. This brought forward various plans for the grant of land and the introduction of settlers; but the territory was too remote, and the fear of the French, and more particularly the vicinity of the Indian tribes rendered these projects futile, the great decision of what race should inhabit and control the largest and best part of North America, had not yet been made.

The fall of Quebec in 1759, and the conquest of Canada that soon succeeded, gave all of Acadia and New France to England, and changed the condition of the Indians so completely, that from wielding a power that kept our frontiers in fear, they soon became suppliants for our favor. The effect of this change on the value of remote lands can hardly be described. A perfect fever for emigration from the older towns commenced, and a very few years sufficed to carry civilization over the largest part of Vermont, New Hampshire and much of Maine, along and west of the Penobscot.

In the spring of 1763, a colony of sixteen persons from the ancient town of Scarborough landed at Machias; they were men of energy and perseverance, and none better fitted for the trials and privations that always await the pioneers of a new territory could have been found: their principal object was to build mills and convert the then unlimited pine forests into lumber; and for this purpose no site of equal value could have been selected, as is proved by the quantity that has for a century been manufactured there, and is still increasing to the present year. In three years the colony had been supplied with houses and mills, some land had been cleared, and farming on an humble scale had commenced; the extensive marshes furnished them with hay to supply the cattle so necessary in furnishing their mills with logs, and comfort and prosperity soon rewarded their industry. It would seem that this territory was debatable ground, no colonial government laid claim to it; the Machias settlers were anxious to obtain a grant for a township which would give them a title to the lands they had settled on, but so little was known as to which colony it belonged, that they twice made a formal application to the government of Nova Scotia for a grant which should include their settlements. Not succeeding, they then applied to Massachusetts, and

in 1770, received the wished for instrument, signed by Governor Hutchinson.

The dozen years which brings us down to the revolution were active ones for this new colony; its business and trade had increased every year, and it was as prominent as any place east of Falmouth. During this time<sup>1</sup> explorations had been made along the coast and up the river, settlements had followed, and every river west of the Passamaquoddy had its village containing saw-mills and facilities for building small vessels needed for the lumber trade: some inhabitants had also located on the larger islands; while on the main land Narraguagus, Pleasant river, Naskeag, Union river, Frenchman's bay, Gouldsboro, and various other points were well known, as each contained the germ of a town, whose inhabitants were soon to go out in defense of their homes and country, as well as to undergo privations and trials far beyond what the inhabitants of the longer settled portions of Maine could experience, as they were almost entirely dependent on the older settled country for bread-stuff and most of the necessaries of life.

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<sup>1</sup> For one of these, see *Journal of J. Holt*, probably a surveyor, which gives the date of the survey of some of the townships and the naming of Union river.— See *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 10 for 1856. The date is 1768.

## COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION,

WITH

### THE MILITARY OPERATIONS AT MACHIAS IN 1775.

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Although the situation of Machias and the neighboring settlements were almost completely isolated from the principal towns, and no mails or regular conveyances reached them, still the news of the operations of the British at Concord and Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775, soon arrived there, and they were well informed of the preparations of the patriots to resist these usurpations at whatever cost, and no doubt discussions had taken place, and resolutions had been made to stand by their friends at Boston and elsewhere to the last, and the opportunity to show their bravery was soon to arrive.

Capt. Ichabod Jones, who had for several years been interested in the trade of Machias, was at Boston with his two sloops, and was desirous of returning there with his family and household furniture, and also his customary supplies to trade for a return cargo. Admiral Graves, then in command of the British fleet, was in want of lumber for the use of their troops, and Jones was supposed to be well inclined towards that party, an arrangement was soon made that Jones should have the necessary permit, provided he would return with cargoes of lumber, for which he should receive a fair remuneration. In order to protect Jones, and insure his return with the

lumber, the admiral decided to send with him the armed schooner *Margaretta*, of about 100 tons, carrying about forty men, commanded by Midshipman Moore, who was a relative of the admiral.

The two sloops, the *Unity* commanded by Jones, and the *Polly* commanded by Capt. Horton, as also the cutter, arrived at Machias on the second of June. As the people had agreed to the non-intercourse pledge against trading with persons acting by or with the enemy, some difficulty occurred in obtaining liberty for Jones to sell his cargo and purchase the lumber to load his sloops; but at a meeting held for the purpose, the matter was discussed and finally a vote was passed that he could sell and purchase as he had formerly done, the probability being that the supplies were very much needed and they could not refuse them.

But while this business was going on, some of the most ardent of the Whigs were dissatisfied with the arrangement, and agreed that Jones ought not to be permitted to carry the cargoes of lumber to aid the British army then occupying Boston.

If they had looked at the matter from a selfish standpoint, no people ever had more to fear from commencing hostilities with the British than themselves, and no community could be more exposed to retaliation and less hopeful of aid in their day of peril. Their only method of communication with their friends for help in men and supplies, was by sea, and these could effectively be cut off by the enemy, and so isolate them from the world. To most men any opposition to such a power would seem foolhardy in the extreme; but so did not reason the brave men of Machias. Among the bold and daring men who were ready to take the first step in this almost desperate enterprise was Benjamin Foster: he was an energetic man, had served as a soldier in the old French war, was at the taking of Louisburg, and was familiar with danger; he had

arranged with a few trusty friends to make a sudden attack on the *Margaretta* and capture her, and then secure the two sloops.

On Sunday, the eleventh day of June, they prepared to put their plot into execution; as the officers were at church, it was intended to take them prisoners, and then it was thought the schooner could be captured without any loss of life. But while Foster and his men were attempting to surround the church, an alarm was given, the officers escaped out of the windows, and succeeding in getting on board their vessel, they soon got her under weigh and dropped below the Narrows, sending word that if the people molested the sloops, they would return and burn the town. It was decided to take possession of the sloops at once, which was done. It was then proposed that Jeremiah O'Brien should assume the command of one of them, and obtain a crew of forty men, while Foster should proceed to the East village and get ready a schooner, and, with a complement of men meet O'Brien in the sloop at the Rim, the next morning, and then pursue the *Margaretta*. The men were soon on board, but on an examination of the armament it was found to be twenty muskets with a few charges of powder, mostly on board O'Brien's sloop, and on both vessels thirteen pitchforks and twelve axes. The vessels were soon in pursuit; but before reaching the *Margaretta*, Foster's vessel got aground; yet O'Brien, nothing daunted, pushed on. The plan was to put the sloop alongside, and carry the British cutter by boarding. On approaching the enemy, Captain Moore hailed the sloop to know their demands, adding, if they approached nearer, he would fire. O'Brien called on him to fire, but Moore seemed desirous of avoiding a collision, and he crowded all sail to get away; in jibing the *Margaretta* carried away her main boom and stood into a small bay where she obtained a spar and a pilot from a vessel lying there. Standing out to sea

she endeavored to escape from the sloop which was following her; but the sloop proved the fastest sailer, and as soon as she got within range, Moore opened fire on her; O'Brien replied to him with their muskets with good effect and the vessels were soon alongside. Captain Moore threw hand grenades in person, but was soon mortally wounded, and just at that time she was boarded from the sloop. A young midshipman, who had succeeded to the command, lost his presence of mind and fled to the cabin, and O'Brien and his men took possession without further resistance. Of our adventurous band one man was killed, one mortally and three badly wounded. On board the *Margaretta*, four persons were killed, and Captain Moore mortally wounded. The *Margaretta* was soon taken up to the village, the killed were buried, and the wounded placed under suitable care. Captain Moore received every attention, but died the next day. The crew of the cutter were held as prisoners of war.

Hostilities having thus commenced, Jones's sloop, which was now called the *Liberty*, was fitted up with bulwarks, and armed with swivels. Being prepared for sea, and authorized by the committee of safety, she proceeded on a cruise in the bay of Fundy, but returned in a few weeks unsuccessful. Soon after they heard of a British schooner and her tender being in Buck's harbor; Captain O'Brien in the *Liberty*, and Captain Foster in a coaster, surprised and captured them both. The crews were transported to Falmouth, and O'Brien and Foster proceeded to headquarters at Cambridge with the news, and congress voted them their thanks for courage and good conduct.



## THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY, 1775-76.

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[We now introduce to the reader, the revolutionary documents. They are printed as copied mainly from the archives of Massachusetts, where they have been found scattered through many volumes. They do not follow in any regular sequence, as no doubt much of the correspondence has been lost. The compiler has endeavored to arrange them in a chronological order, and keep the same subjects as near together as possible.]

WATERTOWN, *July 1st, 1775.*

In Provincial Congress.

May it please your Honors!

The distressed situation of the Eastern parts of this Province, calling for the serious attention of the humane, this Congress beg leave to address you in their behalf.

By reason of a number of our friends removing from the Seaports into the interior town and a large army before Boston, to support the rights of the Colonies, this Colony is unable to spare the necessary supplies of grain & provisions to our friends in the province of Maine.

By which means & an Embargo laid upon grain & provisions in your Colony, they are reduced to the alternative of Starving, or supplying the ministerial troops with Lumber, either of which they deprecate.

We would therefore suggest to your Honors the expediency of taking off the embargo, so far as to permit the Inhabitants of the Eastern parts of this province to purchase grain & provisions for themselves. They producing

a Certificate from any of the Committees mentioned in the enclosed list & giving bonds to your officers that they will deliver it to such Committee.

We are with the greatest sincerity,

*Your Honors most obedient Humble Serv<sup>ts</sup>.*

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Governor & Company of the Colony of Connecticut.

Accepted & ordered to be authenticated & sent forward as soon as may be.

**MACHIAS —**

James Lyon, *Chairman*, POWNALBORO —

George Stillman, *Clerk*,

Jeremiah O'Brien,

Benj<sup>n</sup> Foster,

Sam<sup>l</sup> Scott,

Manwaring Beal,

Nath<sup>l</sup> Sinclair.

Tim<sup>o</sup> Langdon, *Chairman*,

Ebens<sup>r</sup> Whittier, *Clerk*,

John Getchel,

John Huse,

Tim<sup>o</sup> Parsons.

**BRUNSWICK —**

Aaron Hinckley, *Esq<sup>r</sup>*,

Benj<sup>n</sup> Stone,

Sam<sup>l</sup> Stanwood.

**NUMBER FOUR —**

John Stevens,

Phineas Whitten.

**GOLDSBOROUGH —**

Benj<sup>n</sup> Glasher,

William Shaw.

**NARRAGUAGUS —**

Joseph Wallis,

Alex<sup>r</sup> Campbell.

**FALMOUTH, CASCO BAY —**

Hon. Jedidiah Preble, *Esq<sup>r</sup>*,

Hon. Enoch Freeman, *Esq<sup>r</sup>*,

Mr. Richard Codman,

Capt. John Waite,

Mr. John Butler,

Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Freeman,

Mr. Benj. Winalow

**BOOTHBAY —**

David Reed,

— Emerson.

**BERWICK, in the County of York —**

Hon. Benj. Chadborn,

Mr. John Hill,

Mr. Robert Turners.

**GEORGETOWN —**

Dummer Sewell,

John Wood.

To the Council &c., at Watertown, July 19, 1775.

*Petition for authority to Raise a Company at Machias.*

The Petition of the subscribers in Behalf of the Inhabitants of Machias in the County of Lincoln and Province of Massachusetts Bay

Humbly Sheweth, that your Petitioners in the Present unhappy Times have been at great Expence in guarding the Coast at Machias, by which means the inhabitants have done but very little else for two months past, which leaves us in a very distressed situation: unable to defend our selves or the Common Cause for Which our Country in general is Contending. However, We beg leave to hold our Selves Ready and Willing to Exert our selves still further, by Virtue of such incouragement, as your Honours shall think proper, we therefore pray your Honours would please to allow us the priviledge of Raising a Company of men amongst our selves on the Expence of the Province by which means we humbly conceive we should be enabled to guard our own Fort by continuing the young men in the place, which at Present are wholly out of employ, and so contribute in some measure to the Necessities of the poor Inhabitants, the Company so raised to be under such Restriction & Regulations as your Honours shall think fit. We would also beg Leave to Represent to your Honours that we have not a sufficiency of Powder & Ball to make any considerable Defence in Case of an invasion, we therefore humbly Pray your honours would supply us with two Hundred weight of Powders & Balls in Proportion.

Your Honours are Doubtless Sensible of the great Cost & Charge your Petitioners must necessarily be at, in the Conveyance of a number of Prisoners from Machias to Watertown Near three Hundred & Fifty miles Distant, the Particular accomts of which we Beg Leave to Lay before your Honorable Committee, we therefore Pray your Honours would Please to Grant such a sum of money to be

Paid unto your Petitioners as will enable us to Defray all such charges as shall be found Right & Just and your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever Pray

JEREMIAH OBRIAN  
BENJ<sup>r</sup> FOSTER

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*State of the Country.*

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly of the Province  
of the Mass. Bay, at Watertown.

The Petition of the Committees for the Townships of Gouldsbrough Number Four, Narraguagus & Pleasant River laying in the Eastern parts of said Province Humbly sheweth, that whereas the present alarming situation of this Country & the Province in general, particularly the several Towns to which we belong, being at present Destitute of all legal and Constitutional Government, beg leave to Inform your Honours that we have taken such steps as we Thought proper to govern ourselves in our Different Departments agreeable to the once happy Constitution of this Province, according to our Judgment, the Copy of which proceedings We beg leave to transmit by the bearer Capt. Alex<sup>r</sup> Campbell. However, being suspicious of our Abilities in matters of that Nature, We beg to come under the Direction & Protection of your Hon<sup>ble</sup> Body & to have such Laws and Rules prescribed for us, as you in your Wisdom may think most suitable & we for ourselves & Constituents do heartily engage to Conform to the same from Time to Time as your Honours shall Direct.

It may be Needless for us to Represent to your Honors the very Distress'd Situation of this Country with respect to Provisions and almost every Necessary of Life. We Humbly pray that your Honor's would take this matter

into your wise Consideration and Point out some Method, that the Distress'd Inhabitants may be Reliev'd, in that way your Honors may Think best. We beg leave to Refer you to Cap<sup>t</sup> Alexander Campbell for any further particulars Relative to this Country, and your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

WILLIAM NICKELS, }  
 JONATHAN TRACY, }

Committee for Gouldsborough.

ALEX<sup>d</sup> CAMPBELL, }  
 JOHN RUALL, }

Committee for Narraguagua.

HENRY DYER, }  
 PHINEAS WHITTER, }

Committee for Number Four.

Chair Man, DANIEL MERITZ, }  
 JOHN HALL, }

Committee for Pleasant River.

*Goldsborough, 22d July, 1775.*

*Resolution authorizing a Company to be raised.*

The Committee appointed to take into Consideration a petition from the Committeys of Gouldsborough Narraguagus Numb<sup>r</sup> Four & Pleasant River having Conferred with Cap<sup>t</sup> Alexander Campbell as Referred to in said petition.

House of Representatives, Aug. 17, 1775.

*Resolved* that one Company of fifty men including officers be raised & stationed in the above mentioned towns to be on the same establishment as those already raised in the County of Lincoln to the Eastward of S<sup>t</sup> Georges and that they be supplied with one hundred pounds of powder five hundred flints and Ball equivalent and that the

powder Ball and flints be transported to Falmouth in the County of Cumberland at the expence of this Colony & that the above mentioned articles be delivered to Cap<sup>t</sup> Alexander Campbell for the use of said Company when raised, Cap<sup>t</sup> Campbell together with the petitioners to be accountable to this Court for the same all which is humbly submitted.

Aug. 18, 1775.

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*Report on Petition of James Lyon.*

The Com<sup>tee</sup> on the petition of James Lyon<sup>1</sup> Chairman of the Com<sup>tee</sup> of Safety at Machias beg leave to report the following resolve viz<sup>t</sup>.

In the House of Represent., November 11, 1775.

*Resolved* That it be recommended to the several Towns in this Colony to supply the people at Machias with such a part of their Town stock of powder as they can spare to relieve them in their time of great danger and the said Towns are desired to deliver the same to the said Lyon or such person or persons as the Inhabitants of Machias shall appoint, so as the whole do not amount to more than three barrells, they to be accountable to this Court for the same and this Court will replace such powder as shall be so supplied them by such Town or Towns, as soon as may be, or pay them for the same not less than five shillings a pound for such powder.

Passed. Sent up for Concurrence.

J. WARREN, Spk<sup>r</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. James Lyon was the first minister of Machias, settled in 1771, died in 1786. He was an ardent whig, and did much to aid that cause of his country.

*Petition of Benj<sup>s</sup> Foster and others for Machias.*

Petition of Benj<sup>s</sup> Foster & Jeremiah O'brien in behalf of the Inhabitants of Machias — Whereas your Petitioners have been at great expence in fitting out a Privateer for the Defence of the Place, and its situation is such that it may be easily blocked up by a small vessel and stop all Communication, we Intreat with Submission that there may be Commissions for the officers and some men stationed on board of her to be Ready in any emergency to take the Troops on Board that are stationed there when thought Proper by our Committee, otherwise we humbly conceive that if said Privateer should engage an armed vessel and be taken (which we are Determined by Divine assistance never to be) we shall be Deemed & Treated as Pirates. We would also inform your Honours that there is an estate belonging to Ichabod Jones, formerly of Boston, in the hands of Stephen Jones of Machias, your Petitioners humbly beg that your Honours would take it into Consideration and order said estate to be taken Care of by the Committee of Safety at Machias or some proper person that your Honours shall point out and that the income of said estate may defray some of the charges that have arisen by reason of s<sup>d</sup> Jones' being an enemy to his Country. We would inform your Honours that in taking the first Tender, one of the men that was killed has left a poor helpless Widow & six small children entirely destitute of the Necessaries of life; and a number of wounded men who have lost their whole summer by being wounded who will stand in great need of some relief if your Honours after Consideration would be Pleased to give Directions so that the Profits of said Jones' estate may be applied for the benefit of those that have met with these mis-

fortunes and your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever Pray

BENJ<sup>A</sup> FOSTER  
JEREMIAH O'BRIEN

In Council Aug. 18, 1775.

Read & sent down.

*Petition of Jeremiah O'Brian.*

Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner has been in the Colony service since the Twenty-first Day of August last as Comm<sup>r</sup> in Charge of the Sloop *Machias Liberty*<sup>1</sup> & Schooner *Diligence* which two vessels are in Newbury Compleatly equipt for Sea, with about fifty Men on board them Ready for any Service the Honorable Court shall think fit to employ them in, one vessel has four Carriage Guns Ten Swivels the other has five Carriage Guns & Twenty Swivels has Ports for Eight Carriages, has accommodations for sixty-five men each. We are all waiting the Determination of the Hon<sup>l</sup> Court whether we are to be Discharged or to be further employed in the Colony service. Your Petitioner can Recommend to y<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>d</sup> Court the under Officers & Guners to be men well skil'd in the Business.

As in duty bound shall ever Pray

JEREMIAH O'BRIEN.

In Committee Feb. 2, 1776.

Read & sent down.

<sup>1</sup> This following is printed as a curiosity. Many of the men who were  
of the reckless kind, and committed many ex-  
ces, for it was then difficult to distinguish on



*Resolve to Man Two Vessels at Machias.*

Whereas the Inhabitants of Machias have been at Considerable Expence in fixing Two armed vessels for the Defence of the Sea Coasts and are in continual Danger of having their Harbour Blocked up by the Tenders & Armed vessels of our Enemies, Therefore

Resolved that proper officers be commissioned to take the Command of s<sup>d</sup> vessels and that the Commanding officer who shall be appointed be authorized to Inlist a proper

which side they really did belong. This bill will certainly equal anything that can be found at the present day.

|  | s. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| Diging of the Grave and Tolling the Bell for one | 3  | 16 | 0  |
| 1776 man belonging to Privateer Machias Liberty  |    |    |    |
| Capt. Jer <sup>h</sup> O'Brien.....              |    |    |    |
| Mr. Parson's Bell.....                           | 0  | 15 | 0  |
| for 8 porters.....                               | 9  | 00 | 0  |
| for Nesorices Charges.....                       | 1  | 03 | 6  |
| for 1 Gallon of Wine.....                        | 2  | 05 | 0  |
| for 2 Quarts of westings Rum.....                | 0  | 18 | 0  |
| for pipes and Tobacco.....                       | 0  | 04 | 0  |
| for 2 Gallons of Snake Root.....                 | 3  | 12 | 0  |
| for 2 Gallons of Cherry Rum.....                 | 4  | 10 | 0  |
| for 1 Sheet.....                                 | 5  | 13 | 6  |
| To the hire of 2 Women.....                      | 1  | 10 | 0  |
| To 2 pound of Sugar and 5 Gallons of Beer.....   | 1  | 11 | 6  |
| To 2 pound of Cheese.....                        | 1  | 12 | 0  |
| To Basket.....                                   | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| To 1½ yard of Gauze.....                         | 1  | 10 | 0  |
| To my Trouble.....                               | 4  | 10 | 0  |
| To 1 Squair of Glass.....                        | 0  | 07 | 6  |
| To making of the Coffin.....                     | 4  | 10 | 0  |
|  | 46 | 00 | 0  |
| To the Barber Shaving.....                       | 10 |    |    |
|  | 46 | 10 | 0  |

Received of Jeremiah O'Brien in full of the above accompts  
By **ELIZABETH WEAVER**

Number of seamen not Exceeding Thirty to navigate each of said vessels. And that said officers and seamen shall be under such pay of this Colony as shall be here after allowed. And that the Commanding officers of s<sup>d</sup> vessels from time to time be directed to apply to the Committee of Safety of said Machias for men to Mann s<sup>d</sup> vessels upon any Emergency from the Company which is to be stationed at said Machias under the Command of Cap. Stephen Smith.

*Resolve to raise fifty Men at Machias—with a Petition.*

In the House of Representatives, Watertown, August 16, 1775.

*Resolved* that there be raised at Machias a Company of fifty men, officers included, on the same Pay and for the same time as the forces that are already raised for the defence of the sea Coasts, and that they be allowed by this Collony six shillings pe<sup>r</sup> week, p<sup>r</sup> man billeting dureing their service and the Colony to supply said Company with fifty Weight of Powder and ball equivalent. Said Company, when raised, to be under the direction of their Capt<sup>n</sup> as to their station.

Also *Resolved* that M<sup>r</sup> Jeremiah Obrien be Paid out of the Treasury of this Colony the Sum of one hundred pounds on his Acc<sup>t</sup> exhibited with this Petition, he giving security for the same with one surety (to this Colony treasurer) until he brings proper vouchers to support said account.

Sent up for Concurrence

SAML. FREEMAN Speak<sup>r</sup>

Concurred.

P<sup>r</sup> Temp.

*Letter to the Eastern Indians.*

In Provincial Congress Watertown May 15, 1775.

Friends & good Brothers

We the Delegates of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, being come together in Congress to consider what may be best for you & ourselves to do, to get rid of the slavery designed to be brought upon us have thought it our duty to write you the following Letter.

Brothers, the great wickedness of such as should be our friends but are our enemies, we mean the ministry of Great Britain, have laid deep plots to take away our liberty & your liberty, they want to get all our money, make us pay it to them when they never earnt it, to make you & us their servants & let us have nothing to eat, drink or wear but what they say we shall and prevent us from having guns & powder to use and kill our Deer and wolves & other game, or to send to you for you to kill your game with and to get skins & fur to trade with us for what you want. But we hope soon to be able to supply you with both guns & Powder of our own making.

We have petitioned to England for you & us & told them, plainly, we want nothing but our own & dont want to hurt them, but they wont hear us and have sent over great ships & their men with guns to make us give up and kill us, and have killed some of our men, but we have drove them back & beat them & killed a great many of their men. The Englishmen of all the Colonies from Novascotia to Georgia have firmly resolved to stand together and oppose them, our liberty & your liberty is the same, we are Brothers and what is for our good is for your good. And we by standing together shall make them wicked men afraid & overcome them and all be free men. Capt. Goldthwait has given up Fort Pownall into the hands of our enemies. We are angry at it & we hear you

are angry with him & we dont wonder at it. We want to know that you our good Brothers want from us of Clothing or warlike stores, & we will supply you as fast as we can. We will do all for you we can & fight to save you any time & hope none of your men or the Indians in Canada will join with our enemies. You may have a great deal of good influence on them. Our good Brothers, the Indians at Stockbridge, all join with us & some of their men have listed as soldiers & we have given them that listed each one a Blanket & a Ribbon & they will be paid when they are from home in the service and if any of you are willing to list us we will do the same for you.

We have sent Captain John Lane to you for that purpose and he will send you his orders for raising one Company of your men to join with us in the war, with your and our enemies.

Brothers we humbly beseech that God who lives above, and that does what is right here below to be your friend & bless you, to prevent the designs of those wicked men from hurting you or us.

Brothers, if you will let M<sup>r</sup> John Preble know what things you want he will take care to inform us and we will do the best for you that we can.

Passed. Or<sup>d</sup> to be authenticated & sent forward.

In Provincial Congress, June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1775.

The Committee appointed to consider the request of the Indians now in Watertown reported.

The report was accepted & as follows, viz<sup>d</sup>.

We the Delegates of the People of this Province assembled in Congress being appointed to transact the public business have no doubts that any engagements we shall make for, and in behalf of our Constituents will on their part be faithfully ratified & adhered to. We do not doubt of the integrity & honest intentions of our brethren of the

Penobscot tribe, and hope on their parts that they entertain no jealousies of the uprightness and fidelity of us their brethren. The inhabitants of this Colony disdain to make use of unjustifiable force or artifice to rob their unsuspecting brethren of their rights, and are heartily disposed to prevent any injuries and encroachments upon their neighbors, and to restrain and chastise such invaders as have evidenced any such unjustifiable dispositions, & we hereby strictly forbid any person or persons whatsoever from trespassing or making waste upon any of the lands and territories or possessions beginning at the head of the tide on Penobscot river, extending six miles on each side of said river now claimed by our brethren the Indians of the Penobscot tribe, as they would avoid the highest displeasure of this Congress. We thank our brethren of the Penobscot tribe for their generous offers of friendship and assistance in our present war with our brethren in Great Britain who are endeavoring by murder and violence to rob us of our lands & property and hereby engage to their just claims against every invader. As soon as we can take breath from our present fight, we will take care that our brethren the Penobscot tribe shall be furnished with a proper Commissary, who shall be directed to furnish them with provisions, ammunition and goods at a reasonable rate, and proper and effectual measures shall then be taken to prevent any dishonest persons from carrying on a fraudulent traffick with them.

We accept of Cap<sup>t</sup> Lane as an Agent appointed by our brethren of the Penobscot tribe, who is hereby authorized and empowered to take cognizance and make report to this Congress or any future assembly of this Colony of any molestation or depredation which the Indians of the Penobscot tribe may hereafter sustain from any person whatsoever, so that seasonable & effectual measures may be taken to afford those our brethren such redress as their

circumstances may require. To the fountain of all justice we dare appeal that our intentions are equitable towards all our neighbors, and on that almighty Being we rely that while we are struggling against rapine & tyranny, we shall be supported in the conflict, and our just endeavors be finally crowned with success.

True copy of *Provincial Congress Record*,

Attest

JOHN AVERY jun. Secy.

To the Hono<sup>ble</sup> The Council &c.

Ambroice & Peire Toma two of the Heads of the S<sup>t</sup> Johns Tribe of Indians came in here this day and desired me to write you the following Letter from their own mouths and forward it to you by the first opportunity and to request an Answer from you.

I am

Gentlemen

with the Greatest Respect

Your Most Obedient

Humble Servant

JON<sup>A</sup> LOWDER.

Penobscot Falls, *Sept. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1775.*

At the Truckhouse, Penobscot Falls, *Sept. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1775.*

Capt Thomas Fletcher & Lieut Andrew Gillman Interpreters Present

We Ambroice & Peire Toma the Heads of y<sup>e</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Johns Tribe and in behalf of said Tribe and the Micamac Tribe.

We salute the Chiefs of the Colony of y<sup>e</sup> Massachusetts and wish you health, and that God would prosper you in your present war with Great Britain.

We have talked with the Penobscot Tribe and by them we hear you are engaged in a war with Great Britain, & that they are engaged to join with you in opposing you and our Enemies.

We heartily join with our brethren the Penobscot Indians in every thing that they have or shall agree with our Brethren of the Colony of the Massachusetts and are resolved to stand together & oppose the People of Old England that are endeavouring to take yours and our Lands & Libertys from us.

We are brothers of one father & one God made us all, & we will stand by you as long as the Almighty will give us strength, & we hope you will do the same for us.

We have nowhere to look too for assistance but to you & we desire that you would help us to a Priest that he may pray with us to God Almighty.

We have no place to go to but to Penobscot for support & we desire you would provide Amunition Provisions & Goods for us there, and we will come in there, & give you our fur, & skins, & take our support from you in return and will be thankful to you for the Kindness.

Brothers We pray God to Bless you & Prosper you & strengthen & Lengthen this New Chain with us.

Presented to the Council Octo. 9<sup>th</sup>, 1776.

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*The Petition of a Number of the Inhabitants of the Eastern Part of the County of Lincoln.*

Humbly sheweth, That the Indians of the S<sup>t</sup> Johns and Passamaquada tribes are in great distress for want of cloathing and Ammunition, which prevents their getting sufficient quantitys of provisions to support their family's — That the Government of Nova-Scotia have offered to supply them with all such necessary's provided they will join the enemies of the United Colonies — That the said tribes

have informed us of said application from Nova Scotia, and have declared their desire to join their Brethren of the United Colonies, provided they could be supplied with such things as they wanted, and take their furs in return for the same: for which end the said Tribes have sent three of their principle Men to wait on your honors; & that they appear to be very uneasy that something is not yet done for them. Your Petitioners apprehending if said Indians are not supplied by your honors, they will be necessitated to join our enemies; humbly pray your honors would appoint a Truck-Master at Machias for that purpose; and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray &c.

BENJ. FOSTER,  
STEPHEN SMITH,  
JAMES NORBLE-SHANNON,  
ALEX. CAMPBELL,  
JAMES LOUD,  
PHILIP HODGKINS,  
FRA. SHAW.

Watertown, Feb. 5, 1776.

Committed to M<sup>r</sup> Story & Coll<sup>r</sup> Smith.

Committee directed to confer with the Indians on the subject.

WM. STORY,  
COLL SMITH.

Watertown, Feb<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1776.

The Committee of both houses appointed on the petition of a number of the Inhabitants of the County of Lincoln — setting forth the necessity of granting supplies for the S<sup>t</sup> Johns & Passamaquoda Tribes of Indians, have attended that service & report as followeth: viz<sup>t</sup>. that said Indians place of abode is about eighty miles from Machias and consist of about sixty Families, they are in want of Olothing, Provisions, ammunication, & their fire arms Repair'd. Your



Committee were informed by Cap<sup>t</sup>. House that he had traded with those Tribes & that the trade was to y<sup>e</sup> amount of 1600£. L. M<sup>o</sup> Annually, and s<sup>t</sup> Indians appear to be Desirous of giving the Trade to our Colony provided we will supply them by putting a Quantity of goods into the hands of a proper person to Trade with them at Machias. Your Committee also find that one John Steel, with two sons, will remove to Machias & as an armorer for soldiers wages, provided he is allowed for the use of his tools & that he has twelve or fourteen pounds in store that he will take down with him for y<sup>e</sup> Colonys use. All which is submitted.

1776

W. SPOONER by order.

In Council Feb. 9, 1775.

Read & sent down.

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*Indians decline to go to War.*

**Friends Brothers & Countrymen**

<sup>1</sup>In the spring of the Year we received with Joy and Gladness, a very kind Letter from our Friend & Brother His Ex<sup>t</sup>y George Washington.

What he said therein gave us great satisfaction and Determined we were to Continue in that Friendship, with the same faith as he professed towards us and to Keep the chain bright for Ever.

A few days ago an alarm was spread among us that another paper was come, to require us to take up the hatchet.

We met thereupon, and found that some of our Young

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<sup>1</sup>In the spring of 1776 a treaty was made with the St. John Indians, and ratified by Col. Francis Shaw.

men had been with you in the Character of Chiefs and made a Treaty to go to war, Contrary to our Desire, and as we understand from them was not rightly understood.

Our situation and Circumstances being such at present, Our natural inclination being Peace, only accustomed to hunt for the subsistence of our family, We could not Comply with the Terms—Our numbers being not sufficient among other objections. And as it was not done by our authority & Consent of the Diff<sup>r</sup> Tribes we are necessitated to return it.

Still depending upon the promise of our Brother Washington, and relying upon the friendship of all our Brothers & friends your way we hope & trust no offence in sending it back.

And Protesting at the same time that the Chain of Friendship is still subsisting between us on our side & that we hope for Ever—A further Account of our situation will in our Name be Deliverd our brothers & Countrymen by John Allan Esq Bearer of this—Our Love and friendship be with you all

We are

Your Friends & Brothers

JOSEPH SAPAROUH Chief of Miramichi  
 JEAN BAPTIST ALYMPH Chief of Reehibouctou  
 AUGUSTIN MICHEL of Reehibouctou  
 THOMAS ATHANAGE Chief of Chediac and Cocaga  
 JEROME ATHANAGE of Chediac  
 BAPTIST ARGUIMON Chief of Chiguenictou  
 JEAN NEOL ARGUIMON of Chiguenictou  
 CHARLES ALERIA of Cape Sable.

At Coquen, Septem<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup>, 1776.

Each of the above Chiefs made their marks, not being able to write.

Brothers of the St Johns Tribe

It gave me great Pleasure to hear by Major Shaw, that you Kept the chain of Friendship, which I sent you in February last from Cambridge bright & unbroken.

I am glad to hear that you have made a Treaty of peace with your Brothers and neighbors of the Massachusetts Bay, who have agreeable to your desire established a Truck House at St Johns out of which they will furnish you with everything you want and take your Furs in Return—

My good Friend & Brother Gov' Pierre Tommar and the Warriors that came with him, shall be taken good care of, and when they want to return home, they and our Brothers of Penobscot shall be furnished with every thing necessary for their journey—

Brothers, I have one thing more to say to you, our enemy, the King of Great Britain, endeavored to stir up all the Indians from Canada to South Carolina against us But our Brethren of the Six Nations and their Allies the Shawnee and Delawares would not listen to their advice, but Kept fast hold of our ancient Covenant Chain. The Cherokees and the Southern Tribes were foolish enough to hearken to them and to take up the hatchet against us, upon which our Warriors went into their Country burnt their Houses destroyed their corn and obliged them to sue for peace and to give Hostages for their future good behaviour—

Never let the Kings wicked Counsellors turn your hearts against me and your Brethren of this Country, but bear in mind what I told you last February & what I tell you now—

In token of my Friendship for you I send you this from my Army on the Banks of the Great River Delaware this 24<sup>th</sup> day of December 1776.

<sup>1</sup>G. WASHINGTON.

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<sup>1</sup>A similar letter was sent to the Passamaquoddy tribe, and was in their possession in 1863.

*Letter from Stephen Smith, Machias, June 23, 1776.*

To the Council; &c. Hon<sup>ble</sup> Gentlemen:

When your Honors was pleas'd to appoint me Truck Master for the Indians I was not apprized of the Task I had to perform; the Numbers of them far Exceed my Expectations, and the Offers they have from the Factors of Nova Scotia causes them to be very Troublesome.

The sum of 400£ L My granted by your Honors to supply at least One Thousand Men Exclusive of their Family, is but small, your Honors cant Expect I can satisfy them & keep Friends with that sum, as I was obliged to Credit near £200 for their spring hunt which they have not yet paid, the News of the Defeat at Quebec has reached them, that with the advice of Gen' Washington obliges Me to put up with many Insults.

I have given the Bearer Major Francis Shaw jun<sup>r</sup> a power of Attorney to Receive any further sum your Honors may be pleased to grant, with Directions to purchase such articles as are most wanted, as soon as they come in with their spring hunts I shall send the Fur up; in the Mean Time I am in much want of many articles for them.

With Major Shaw comes up Ten Chiefs of the Different Tribes, knowing the Trouble & Expence they would be at, We Endeavour'd with all our art to Detain them, without Effect, as they had Letters from your Honors & His Excell<sup>ty</sup> Gen' Washington they were determined either to proceed or Rely on the Assistance of Nova Scotia; of the two evils I have Endeavour'd to choose the least, and have accordingly prevailed on Major Shaw to take the Charge of them, which I hope will Meet your Honour's approbation.

The Indians that were at Court last Winter have Receiv'd a supply and one has since refused to pay, as he

says His Excell<sup>y</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington told them they should be paid for coming up as well as carrying Letters to the Mickmac Tribe.

I am likewise much troubled with the Inhabitants supplying them with Rum & as it makes them very Troublesome & Quarrelsome, I should be glad your Honors would give some order that they may not have Liberty to sell or give, as they take their furs for much less than their value & Detain them longer than is Needful.

I have hitherto given 8s<sup>d</sup> for Beaver to hinder their Trading with Nova Scotia and shall do it until I hear from your Honors, this I do, as I am sensible from the best accounts from Nova Scotia that they take every Measure to Defeat your Honors Plans, and to bring them against the New Settlements in this Country.

As Major Shaw has been here, and Witness to their proceedings I refer your Honors to him for any further Intelligence and Remain with much Respect,

Your Honors much oblig'd Hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

STEPHEN SMITH.

“Read in Council July 10, 1776. Read in House of Representatives & committed.”

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*Notes on that part of Nova Scotia, now New Brunswick.*

The earliest English settlement made on the St. John river was at Mangerville in 1766. A considerable grant of land had been procured from government on condition, and quite a number of families from Massachusetts and Connecticut commenced a settlement which at the commencement of the revolution may have contained nearly a hundred families. Nearly all of these sympathized with the colonies.

The documents which follow show the feeling of the people, and, considering their insulated locality and the vicinity to the old and well fortified towns in possession of an English army and navy, they are remarkably bold. It also gives the number of men settled on the river, viz: 125 who signed the resolves; about 12 who did not. These last we may conclude were in favor of the British, most of whom resided at the mouth of the river — two of the persons who had houses there were Simonds and White. Mr. William Hazen was also residing there or up the river: they were all originally from Massachusetts; but their interests were much dependent on British ascendancy, and they eventually did all in their power to uphold that flag. This was the condition of things on the river previous to the first and most disastrous expedition to Nova Scotia under Col. Eddy in the fall of 1776, and it was among this people that he and his people found rest and aid after his unsuccessful attack on Fort Cumberland.

So universal was the sympathy for the Americans in the county of Cumberland, that in the townships Truro, Onslow and Londonderry only five persons would take the oath of allegiance to the British government, and therefore their members were excluded from the house of assembly. In Kings county, N. S., a large liberty pole was cut and made ready to be hoisted, when the arrival of a detachment of rangers put a stop to the movement.

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*Action of the People on the St. John River.*

Whereas the inhabitants on the River St Johns in the County of Sunbury and province of Nova Scotia being regularly assembled at Mangerville in s<sup>d</sup> County on the 14th Day of May 1776 did then and there make Choice of us,

Jacob Barker, Phin<sup>r</sup> Nevers, Israel Perley, Daniel Palmer, Moses Pickard, Edward Coye, Tho<sup>r</sup>. Hartt, Israel Kinney, Asa Kimball, Asa Perley and Hugh Quinton a Committee in behalf of the Inhabitants of s<sup>d</sup> County, to make Immediate application to the Congress or Gen<sup>r</sup> Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay for Relief under their present Distressed Circumstances.

Now Know ye that we the Committee above named have by these presents Constituted and appointed two of s<sup>d</sup> Committee (viz) Messrs. Asa Perley and Asa Kimball to act as agents for the body of s<sup>d</sup> Committee to go personally to the s<sup>d</sup> Congress or Gen<sup>r</sup> Assembly and there present our Petition, also to act and transact, Determine accomplish and finish all Matters touching the premises as effectually as the body of s<sup>d</sup> Committee might do, and we in behalf of the inhabitants of s<sup>d</sup> county ratify and confirm whatsoever our s<sup>d</sup> agents shall cause to be done in this matter.

Names signed, May 20, 1776.

All officers, civil or military, in the united provinces and all others are desired not to molest or hinder the within Asa Perley and Asa Kimball in their progress, on the Contrary to Encourage and Assist them, as they would merit the Esteem of all Lovers of their Country's Liberty and the thanks of this Committee.— Vol. 144, p. 158.

The Inhabitants of the County of Sunbury in the province of Nova Scotia being regularly assembled at the Meeting house in Mangerville in s<sup>d</sup> County on Tuesday the 14 day of May 1776 to Consult on some measures necessary to be taken for the safety of the Inhabitants.

1<sup>st</sup> Chose Jacob Barker Esq<sup>r</sup> Chairman.

2<sup>nd</sup> Chose Jacob Barker, Israel Perley, Phin<sup>r</sup> Nevers, Esq<sup>m</sup> and Messrs Daniel Palmer, Moses Pickard, Edward Coye, Tho<sup>r</sup>. Hartt, Israel Kenney, Asa Kimball, Asa Perley, Oliver Perley, and Hugh Quinton a Committee to

prepare a Draught proper for the Proceedings of the Assembly. The meeting then adjourned till three of the clock in the afternoon.

Being again met the Committee Reported the following Resolves which were read and after a second Reading the Resolves were passed in the affirmative, unanimously.

1<sup>st</sup> *Resolved*. That we can see no shadow of Justice in that Extensive Claim of the British Parliament (viz) the Right of Enacting Laws binding on the Colonies in all Cases whatsoever. This System if once Established (we Conceive) hath a Direct tendency to Sap the foundation, not only of Liberty that Dearest of names, but of property that Best of subjects.

2<sup>nd</sup> *Resolve*. That as tyranny ought to be Resisted in its first appearance we are Convinced that the united Provinces are just in their proceeding in this Regard.

3<sup>rd</sup> *Resolve*. that it is our Minds and Desire to submit ourselves to the government of the Massachusetts Bay and that we are Ready with our Lives and fortunes to Share with them the Event of the present Struggle for Liberty, however God in his Providence may order it.

4<sup>th</sup> *Resolve*. That a Committee be Chosen to Consist of twelve Men who shall Immediately make application to the Massachusetts Congress or general assembly for Relief, and that s<sup>d</sup> Committee or the Major part of them shall Conduct all Matter Civill or Military in this County till further Regulations be made.

5<sup>th</sup> *Resolved*. That we and Each of us will most strictly adhere to all such measures as our s<sup>d</sup> Committee or the Major Part of them shall from time to time prescribe for our Conduct and that we will support and Defend them in this Matter at the Expence of our Lives and fortunes if Called thereto.

6<sup>th</sup> *Resolve*. That we will Immediately put ourselves in the best posture of Defence in our power, that to this End



we will prevent all unnecessary use of gun Powder or other ammunition in our Custody.

7<sup>v</sup> *Resolved*. That if any of us shall hereafter, Know of any person or persons that shall by any ways or means Endeavour to prevent or Counteract this our Design, we will Immediately give notice thereof to the Committee that proper Measures may be taken for our Safety.

8<sup>v</sup> *Resolved*. that we and Each of us will Pay our proportion of all such sums of Money as may be Necessary for Carrying these matters into Execution, and finally, that we will share in and submit to the Event of this undertaking however it may terminate, to the true performance of all which we bind and obligate ourselves firmly each to other on penalty of being Esteemed Enemies and traitors to our Country and Submitting ourselves to popular Resentment.

The whole assembly subscribed to the foregoing Resolves.  
The Body then Voted.

1<sup>v</sup>. that the above named Committee shall be a standing Committee to make application to the Massachusetts Congress.

Also to Conduct all Matters Civil or Military in the County till further Regulations be made.

Voted that we will have no Dealings or Connections with any Person or Persons for the future that shall Refuse to Enter into the foregoing or similar Resolutions.

A true Copy from the Minutes.

ISRAEL PERLEY Clerk

Dated at Manguerville on the River  
8<sup>v</sup> Johns May the 21, 1776.

Memorandum — by Desire of the Committee.

Represent the Conduct of the Indians that Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington's Letter set them on fire and they are Plundering all People they think are torys and perhaps when that is Done, the others may share the same fate. We think it

necessary that some person of Consequence be sent among them.

If it be asked what Lands are granted on the River, it may be answered — there is four towns and a half granted to be gentlemen mostly officers in the army's the towns are a hundred thousand acres each.

There is several other Large tracts of Land granted to particular gentlemen.

These townships and other Lands have but few settlers on them.

If it be asked what proportion of the People signed the Resolutions it may be answered, There is 125 signed and about 12 or 18 that have not, 9 of whom are at the Rivers Mouth.

In General Court.

The Committee of both Houses to whom was referred the Petition of Jacob Barker, &c. from the County of Sunbury in the Province of Nova Scotia beg leave to report by way of Resolve That the Commissary General be and hereby is directed to deliver one Barrell of Gun Powder, Three hundred & Fifty Flints & Two hundred & fifty weight of Lead from the Colony Stores to Asa Perley and Asa Kimball or their Order agents of the Committee appointed by the Inhabitants of the County of Sunbury, for the use of their Constituents, and that they the said Perley & Kimball be accountable to this Court for the same, and that the said agents have liberty to purchase from such of the Inhabitants of this Colony as shall be Willing to part with the same, Forty stand of small arms for the use of their Constituents, and that the Committees of Correspondence & in any of the Sea Ports within the Colony, are directed to grant permits to the said agents to Transport the same or any other Goods or merchandize that may legally be Transported from Port to Port within this Colony. Jer: Powell p<sup>r</sup> Order, consented to, June 26, 1776.— Vol. 144, P. 158.

*Col. Eddy's letter of Jany. 5, 1777.*

To the Hon. Council & House of Representatives of the  
State of Massachusetts Bay:

I have Endeavored to inform your Honors in some part  
of my Proceedings since my Departure from Boston.

I left the long Wharf in Boston together with M<sup>r</sup> Row  
& M<sup>r</sup> How and arrived at Newbury the second Day, where  
we Chartered a small Vessell to carry us to Machias at  
which Place we arrived (after Many Unfortunate Acci-  
dents) in about three weeks from the Time of our setting  
out.

During my Stay at Machias I met with Col. Shaw, by  
whose Favor I obtained Cap<sup>t</sup>. West & several other good  
Men, to the amount of about Twenty, to join me in the  
Expedition against Fort Cumberland. Then Proceeded to  
Passamaquoddy where I was joined by a few more; from  
thence to the River St John's & went up the same about  
sixty Miles to the Inhabitants whom I found almost uni-  
versally to be hearty in the Cause,—and joined us with 1  
Cap<sup>t</sup>. 1 Lieut. & Twenty five Men, as also 16 Indians; so  
that our whole Force now, amounted to Seventy two Men,  
and with this Party I set off for Cumberland in Whale  
Boats and Canoes, and standing up the Bay arrived in a  
few Days, at Shepody in the s<sup>d</sup> County.

At Shepody we found and took Cap<sup>t</sup> Walker and a  
Party of thirteen Men who had been stationed there by  
Col Gorham Cominander of the Garrison at Cumberland,  
for the Purpose of getting Intelligence &c.—Thence we  
Proceeded to Memrancook, and there had a Conference  
with the French, who Readily joined us, although they  
saw the Weakness of our Party. We then marched 12  
Miles through the woods to Sackville & there were met  
by the Committee who Express<sup>d</sup> their Uneasiness at seeing  
so few of us, and those unprovided with Artillery, Never-

theless hoping that Col Shaw would soon come to our Assistance with a Reinforcement they unanimously joined us. The same Night I sent off a small Detachment who marched about 12 Miles through very bad Roads to Westcock & there took a Schooner in Aulack River, loaded with Apples Cyder, English Goods &c. to the Amount of about £800, but finding afterwards that she was the Property of M<sup>r</sup> Hall of Annapolis, who is a good Friend to the Cause of Liberty, I discharged her. I afterwards sent another Boat Load of Men, as a Reinforcement to the first Party, making together about 80 Men, in Order to take a Sloop which lay on the Flats below the Fort, loaden with Provisions and other Necessaries for the Garrison: After a Difficult March, they arrived opposite the Sloop; on board of which was a Guard of 1 Serg<sup>t</sup>. & 12 men, who had they fir'd at our People, must have alarmed the Garrison in such a Manner as to have brought them on their Backs. However, our men rushed Resolutely towards the Sloop up to their Knees in Mud, which made such a Noise as to alarm the Centry, who hailed them & immediately called the Serg<sup>t</sup> of the Guard: The Serg<sup>t</sup>. on coming up, Ordered his Men to fire, but was immediately told by M<sup>r</sup> Row that if they fired one Gun, Every Man of them should be put to Death; which so frightened the poor Devils that they surrendered without firing a Shot, although our People Could not board her without the Assistance of the Conquered, who let down Ropes to our Men to get up by. By this Time the Day broke and the Rest of our Party made to their Assistance in the Schooner aforementioned & some Boats. In the mean Time Came down Several Parties of Soldiers from the Fort not Knowing the Sloop was taken (who) as fast as they Came, were made Prisoners by our Men & order'd on board: Among the Rest, Capt Barron, Engineer of the Garrison, and M<sup>r</sup> Eagleson, who may be truly Called the

Pest of Society; and by his unseasonable Drunkenness the Evening before, prevented his own Escape and occasioned his being taken in Arms.

The Sloop now beginning to float & the Fog breaking away, we were discovered by the Garrison, who observing our Sails loose thought at first, it was done only with an Intent to dry them, but soon Perceiving that we were under Way, fired several Cannon shot at us & marched down a Party of 60 Men to attack us, but we were at such distance, that all their Shot was of no Consequence.

We then sailed to Fort Lawrence, another Part of the Township, and there landed Part of the Stores on board the Sloop to Enable us to attack the Garrison.

Having left a small Guard on board the Sloop to secure the Prisoners, I marched the Remainder to Cumberland side of the River and Encamp'd within about one mile of the Fort, and was there joined by a Number of the Inhabitants so that our whole Force was now about 180 Men, but having several outposts to guard, & many Prisoners to take Care of, the Number that Remained in the Camp, did not Exceed 80 men;—I now thought Proper to invest the Fort & for this Purpose sent a Summons to the Commanding Officer, to surrender, (a Copy of which together with his Answer I have Enclosed)—

Upon Col. Gorhams Refusal to surrender we attempted to storm the Fort in the Night of the 12<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> with our scaling Ladders & other Accoutrements, but finding the Fort to be stronger than we imagined (occasioned by late Repairs) We thought fit to Relinquish our Design after a heavy firing from their Great Guns and small Arms with Intermission for 2 Hours, which we Sustained without any Loss (Except one Indian being wounded) who behaved very gallantly, and Retreated in good Order to our Camp.

Our whole Force in this Attack, Consisted of about 80 Men, while the Enemy were 100 strong in the Fort, as I

learned since from some Deserters who came over to us ; a greater number than we imagined. I must needs acquaint your Honors that Never Men behaved better than ours, during the engagement never flinching, in the midst of a furious Cannonade from the Enemy.

In this Posture we Continued a Number of Days and totally cut off their Communications with the Country, Keeping them closely block'd up within the Fort, which we Expected to take in a little Time by the Assistance of a Reinforcement from Westward.

In the mean Time on the 27<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> arrived in the Bay a Man of War, from Halifax, with a Reinforcement for the Garrison consisting of near 400 Men & landed on that and the day following.

Nov. 30<sup>th</sup> The Enemy to the Number of 200, Came out in the Night by a round about March ; got partly within our Guards, notwithstanding we had Scouts out all Night, and about Sunrise furiously Rushed upon the Barracks where our Men were quartered, who had but just Time Enough to Escape out of the Houses and run into the Bushes where, (notwithstanding the Surprise in which we were) our Men Killed & wounded 15 of the Enemy while we lost only one man who was Killed in the Camp.

In the midst of such a Tumult they at length proceeded about 6 Miles into the Country to the Place where they imagined our stores &c. to be & in the Course of their March burnt 12 Houses & 12 Barns in some of which the greater Part of our Stores were deposited. In this Dilemma My Party being greatly weakened by sending off many for Guards with the Prisoners &c. & our Stores being Consumed, it was thought Proper by the Committee that we should Retreat to St. Johns River & there make a stand, till we could have some certain Intelligence from the Westward, which we hope we shall have in a short time by the Favor of the Committee, who are gone for-

wards — And as it appears to be the opinion of the Committee of Cumberland and St Johns River that I should Remain here, I am determined to make a Stand, at this Place, till I am drove off, which I believe will not be Easily done, unless the Enemy should send a Force from Halifax by Water on Purpose to subdue this Settlement, as I am continually Reinforced by People from Cumberland & the Neighboring Counties, so that I believe we shall be able to Repulse any Party that may be sent from the Garrison at Cumberland, though I imagine we shall not be troubled by any Irruption from them this Winter as the Reinforcement is chiefly gone, having left only about 200 Men in the Fort, and those in a bad Condition for the want of Clothing; and if 200 men could be sent us by Land this winter we could Reduce the Garrison by cutting off their Supplies of wood which they are obliged to go 8 or 9 Miles for through a Country full of small Spruce, Fir & such like Wood, Consequently very Convenient for us to lay an Ambush, as we are perfectly acquainted & the Enemy Strangers thereto; And this your Honors may Easily Conceive, as we Destroyed a Number of Houses the Property of Friends to each Side, which lay adjacent to the Fort & the Commanding Officer having given orders to pull them down & carry the Timber into the Fort for Firing, the Committee ordered me to Prevent it by firing them which I did accordingly; and left them destitute of anything to burn within some Miles — On this River are a considerable Number of Indians, who are universally hearty in the Cause, 16 of whom together with the Governor Ambrose accompanied me in the Expedition and behaved most gallantly, but are a little uneasy that no Goods are yet arrived for them from Boston, agreeable to the late Treaty with them, which was Ratified by Coll Shaw in Behalf of the States, & I should be very glad if your Honors would Satisfy them in this Point as soon as pos-

sible, as they have been Extremely faithful during this Contest; and if this is done I am confident I can have near 200 of them to join me in any Expedition against the Enemy.

All my Transactions in this Affair have been done by the Authority of a Committee of Safety for the County of Cumberland & many Difficulties having arisen for want of Commissions I hope your Honors will send some blank ones for the raising of a Regiment in this Province if the Hon. Continental Congress should think fit to Carry on the War further in this Quarter, so that Proper Regulations may be make & many disorderly actions prevented.

I am &c

JONATHAN EDDY

Maugerville on the R. St John, *Jan*y 5<sup>*th*</sup> 1777.

*To Joseph Gorham Esq. Lieut Colonel Command<sup>r</sup> of the Royal Fencibles Americans Commanding Fort Cumberland.*

The already too plentiful Effusion of Human Blood in the Unhappy Contest between Great Britain and the Colonies calls on every one Engag'd on either side, to use their utmost Efforts to prevent the Unnatural Carnage, but the Importance of the Cause on the side of America has made War necessary, and its Consequences, though in some Cases shocking are yet unavoidable. But to Evidence that the Virtues of humanity are carefully attended to, to temper the Fortitude of a Soldier; I have to summon you in the Name of the United Colonies to surrender the Fort now under your Command, to the Army sent under me by the States of America. I do promise that if you Sur-



render Yourselves as Prisoners of War you may depend upon being treated with the utmost Civility & Kind Treatment; if you refuse I am determined to storme the Fort, and you must abide the consequences —

Your answer is expected in four Hours after you receive this and the Flag to Return safe.

I am Sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Hbl<sup>e</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JONA EDDY

Commanding Officer of the United Forces.

Nov. 10, 1776.

FT CUMBERLAND<sup>1</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1776.

Sir —

I acknowledge the receipt of a Letter (under coular of a Flag of Truce Signed by one Jona<sup>s</sup> Eddy Commanding officer expressing a concern at the unhappy Contest at present Subsisting between great Britain and the Colonys and recommending those engaged on either side to use their Endeavors to prevent the too Plentifull effusion of human Blood and further Summoning the Commanding officer to surrender this Garrison —

From the Commencement of these Contest I have felt for my deluded Brother Subjects and Countrymen of America and for the many Innocent people they have

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<sup>1</sup> Fort Cumberland. "In 1750, M. La Come, the French Commandant in this quarter, built Fort Beau Sejour, at the mouth of the Missiquash. The English immediately erected another fort on the opposite side of the river, called Fort Lawrence, in honor of Major Lawrence. Beau Sejour was taken and named Fort Cumberland. It has long since been abandoned as a military station, and the walls of its antagonist have fallen downward to the earth. The intrenchment is, however, still to be seen."—*Geener's Nova Scotia*, p. 85.

Col. Gorham is described as "acting the part of a humane, good man," in his treatment of the disaffected, p. 50.

wantonly Involved in the Horrors of an Unnatural Rebellion, and entertain every humane principle as well as an utter aversion to the Unnecessary effusion of Christian Blood. Therefore command you in his Majestys name to disarm yourself and party Immediately and Surrender to the Kings mercy, and further desire you would communicate the Inclosed Manifests to as many of the Inhabitants you can and as Speedily as possible to prevent their being involved in the Same dangerous and Unhappy dilemma—

Be assured Sir I shall never dishonour the Character of a Soldier by Surrendering my command to any Power except to that of my Sovereign from whence it originated.

I am Sir

Your most hble serv<sup>t</sup>

Jos. GORHAM L<sup>t</sup> Col. Com<sup>nd</sup>

R. F. A. Commanding Officer

at Fort Cumberland—

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*Note to Col Eddys Letter of Jany 5, 1777.*

This letter is very important as it is most likely the only true account of the expedition to capture Fort Cumberland extant. By reference to Williamson's *History of Maine*, vol. 2, p. 451, it will be seen that he gives a detailed narrative of this expedition, taken, as he says, from a son of Col. Eddy; who was with him at that time. It is strange that his story is so completely erroneous. He states that the plan originated and was organized in Cumberland county, Nova Scotia, was composed of residents there, who were induced by *persuasion, promises and threats* to join him.

He does not mention the demand made for the surrender of the fort or the reply. He says several of the assailants were killed and wounded, and that their houses were burnt by the enemy. He gives Sept. 27th as the date of the attack; it will be seen the true date was Nov. 10th. It is strange that Williamson should have fallen into these errors, as many of Col. Eddy's associates settled at Eddington in the vicinity of his (Williamson's) abode, and were living at the time he wrote. Col. Jonathan Eddy was a native of Norton, Massachusetts, and was one of the emigrants to Cumberland county, who were induced to take the grant of lands there about 1768. This place was formerly occupied by the Acadians, who were transported to New England in 1755. A large part of the settlers there were from Massachusetts, and sympathized with the revolutionary movement. After this repulse they were driven from their homes and suffered greatly. Col. Eddy made a second expedition to Nova Scotia under orders from the government of Massachusetts, as was the first one, but he again returned unsuccessful. See Allan's *Journal*. At the close of the war he obtained for himself and his comrades a grant of a township of land above Bangor, called after their old commander Eddington. "He was active, brave and patriotic," and I will add was rash and lacked the necessary judgment to succeed in military enterprises. He died at Eddington in 1804, aged 78. His descendants still reside there and in that vicinity.

*Petition to the Genl Court.*

Whereas Capt Eddy with a small party has invaded Cumberland & taken a guard of 12 men also a provision Vessel with her guard and a vessel from Annapolis with produce for this place and has attempted to storm the Garrison but finds it impossible with all the assistance he can raise here & as intelligence has already gone to Halifax, we are in the utmost distress, & therefore beg for the preservation of our lives & the lives of our families for the immediate aid of 500 or a regiment of men if it may be with 2 Mortars Amunition & provisions & we your humble petetioners will Ever pray

Signed by the Committee of Safety  
for the County of Cumberland.

CUMBERLAND Nov. 18th 1776.

*A List of the Inhabitants of Cumberland Countie in Nova Scotia Who Left that Place on account of the Enemy and Arrived at Saint Johns River and afterwards at Machias.*

|                         |             |                   |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Elijah Ayer             | } Committee | Ambros Cole       |
| Capt. Obadiah Ayer      |             | Daniel Thornton   |
| Capt. Nathanel Reynolds |             | Christopher Paine |
| Ebenezer Garnor         |             | Nicholas Thomas   |
| William Maxwell         |             | Edward Humpson    |
| Semion Chester          |             | Lewis Lesdernser  |
| Robert Foster           |             | John Day          |
| Capt. Jonathan Eddy     |             | John Eackly.      |
| Capt. Amasa Killan      |             | Elijah Ayer Juner |
| Capt. Saml Rogers       |             |                   |
| John Fulton             |             |                   |

|                         |                                  |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| John Megown             | Jonathan Eddy Jun <sup>r</sup> . |
| James Crayford          | William Eddy                     |
| Joseph Sharp            | Atwood Failes                    |
| Mathar Sharp            | Sam <sup>l</sup> Failes          |
| Josiah Throop           | John Sibly                       |
| Zebulan Row             | Robert Sharp                     |
| Anthony Burk            | John Stewart                     |
| Isbrock Eddy            | William How                      |
| Daniel Eairl            | Sam <sup>l</sup> Creth           |
| Mr. Bradford            | Eaghtean men                     |
| James Deckay            |                                  |
| David Jenks             | Capt Budrow with about           |
| John William            | 18 Frenah.                       |
| George Rogers           |                                  |
| Zebulon Row Juner       | 18                               |
| Edward Cole             | 18                               |
|                         | 28                               |
|                         | <hr/>                            |
| Arived at Boston 28 men | Total 59 Men                     |

Besides a Considerable Number in the woods that would not Surrender them selves as prisoners of war But are Waighting for Relefe from the Staits. [Most of these are supposed to have settled in Maine.]

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*A Return of the Indians who were present at the Attack on Fort  
Cumberland.*

*St. John Indians*  
 Govener Ambrose Pier  
 John Coleans  
 Att Juennis  
 Tomo Squatpan  
 Pier Prunay  
 Newelis Newel  
 John Baptist  
 Pierre Tomo  
 Michael Baptist  
 Joseph Tomo  
 Jos Tomo jr  
 Pierre Colean  
 Abaham  
 Subabbit La Port  
 Pasil

*of the Micmac tribe*  
 Capt Charles  
 Andrew  
 Pierre Paul  
 Nicholas

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**NOTE.**—Lieut. Chaloner brought to Boston (Dec. 20, 1776), twenty-five prisoners taken at Fort Cumberland who were confined in Boston Jail—the officers, Capt. Barron, Wm. Collam and N. Eggleston were kept in the jailor's house. These prisoners were taken by Col. Eddy.

Henry Bronsfield, of Boston, who visited the St. John; was often employed in public business; in Nov. 1776, he was appointed on the board of war, which he declined.

## ALLAN'S JOURNAL.

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This journal is contained in a small bound memorandum book, in size adapted to the pocket, and, although but a fractional part of it is in the handwriting of Col. Allan,<sup>1</sup> it properly bears his name, as it is the official daily record as briefly as possible of the doings while on the expedition to the St. John river, the experiences there, and on the return, as well as the operations at Machias for several months afterwards, embracing a period of about eight months. The book itself bears internal evidence of hard experiences in its discolored and faded appearance, and the writing shows that it may have often been done in storms by day and over a straggling fire light in the encampment at night. It contains no record of the numbers who accompanied them through the great wilderness, but several years after Col. Allan stated they numbered in all about five hundred. Probably most of them were Indians, and a large majority were women and children. Let us follow this exodus from their own territory to where they would be under the supervision of their Moses, and free from the allurements and promises of the British agents, who were endeavoring to instigate them to join their side and fall upon the feeble settlements, and destroy or drive off their inhabitants.

On the 18th of July, they left the St. John just below

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<sup>1</sup> It was mainly written by Lieut. Frederic Delesdernier, who was acting aid-de-camp. He was a native of Nova Scotia, probably of French parentage. He afterwards resided at Eastport, and was for a time collector of the port.

old fort Meductic, and moved across the portage five miles, to a bend in what is now known as Eel river. An Indian informed me that when the water is high it is customary to use the river, particularly when bound to the St. John as it is crooked and has many falls, but when the party is bound to the lakes they use the portage. The next day they followed up the stream to a pond now known as the first Eel lake, and having crossed it they passed the Metagnuckschesh carrying place and pond to what is now called North pond, which crossing and descending its outlet, soon reach the north end of the upper Cheputnecticook lake. On the south side of this lake is a short portage to the Metawamkeag and over to the Penobscot. The carrying place between Eel and North lake to which is now restored its long original name, has been the great Indian road for centuries, and is still sometimes used by them and hunters who pass with canoes from the lakes to the St. John. It bears evident marks of long use. A gentleman of veracity who lately traveled over it, states that where the narrow file of Indians passed over the flat rocks—a coarse granite—it has been worn down by their moccasins a depth of two or three inches, and this is authenticated from other sources. It has undoubtedly been used for many centuries, and may be pronounced the most ancient evidence of mankind in New England.<sup>1</sup> The Indians always follow in the same narrow path, and no matter how numerous the party may be they never widen the old track or make a new one. A curious feature in northern and eastern Maine is the facility with which the unsettled districts can be passed over in a birch canoe, with those occasional links of carrying over the land between the lakes and streams. Of the trials and

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<sup>1</sup>The writer has seen rocks worn by Indians' feet on the carrying place between the Schoodic lakes, but not so deep as is mentioned here. The rock though hard is not so fine grained as that in Massachusetts.



privations incident to removal over these hard roads of a large number of women and children, with all the property of the tribe, we can have but a faint idea. It must have tried the patience of Col. Allan in the extreme, as it will be seen by the journal they often did not move five miles a day, which distance is counted a day's journey for Indians. It must have been tiresome to the whites, but the Indians are seldom in any haste and often spend a month on a short journey, that could be accomplished in three days. It will be seen that a whole week was spent on these two beautiful lakes which are about forty-five miles long, and then they entered the eastern branch of the St. Croix river, which, with the lakes and river, now form our national boundary. This river having numerous rapids, they found it very dangerous and difficult navigation till they reached the junction or west branch, properly called the Scoodic. Then they had to struggle against the stream till they arrived at what is now known as Loueys island where they entered some ponds, which having passed they reached the lower Scoodic lake, the Indian name of which is Gena-sor-ga-naw-gum — in the journal it is called Passamaquoddy lake. Here, on a slight elevation, they encamped. This is now the site of an Indian village and church. Their ancient residence was a point about two miles west. The whole township now belongs to the Passamaquoddy tribe by treaty. Here they reposed for two days, when crossing the lake and up a long cove they landed, and in a short portage reached the upper part of the Machias river, and so with much difficulty in a few days arrived at Machias. The reader who feels an interest in tracing this long and weary travel is referred to the map where their trail is marked by a dotted line, but an examination of this gives but a faint idea of the labor, weariness and privations experienced in this long march.

The journal may be considered as one of the most

valuable of the unpublished documents relating to the revolution. The expedition to the St. John was no doubt planned by Col. Allan, but the government of Massachusetts entered heartily into the scheme, as will be seen by the documents which follow, and from the officers detailed it was no doubt intended to send a strong force; but the calls for men for Washington's army was almost constant, and during the summer of 1777, the invasion of Burgoyne required larger drafts than ever before, so we may suppose that but a small part of the intended force was forwarded for this expedition. That part of the province of Nova Scotia, now known as New Brunswick did not then contain one thousand white inhabitants, but nearly all of them were friendly to our cause, and looking at the then condition of that country we may infer that could Col. Allan have been furnished with only five hundred men in addition to what he had, he would with the help of the three tribes of Indians have held that extensive domain for our cause, a new state would have arisen there, and the wide bay of Fundy would have been made the eastern boundary of the great republic. Col. Allan nowhere gives a detail or aggregate of his forces on this expedition; but it may be estimated at not over one hundred whites and perhaps fifty to a hundred Indian warriors, a force entirely insignificant for such a purpose, and although patriotism and bravery did all it could, the expedition proved like that under Col. Eddy, very disastrous and discouraging.

I append a description of the Cheputnecticook lakes and river, over and down which Col. Allan conducted the large party on the retreat from the St. John to the Scodic lakes and Machias. It is taken, with slight additions, from Gesner's *Topographical and Geological Survey of New Brunswick*, published at London in 1847. The compiler can testify to its correctness.

“The Cheputnecticook is a very boisterous river, and broken by numerous rapids and falls, from its mouth to the first lake, it is, following the stream, about seventy miles. The Cheputnecticook lakes are about forty-five miles in length, their breadth is very irregular, being not more than a quarter of a mile in some places and ten miles in others. They present a series of narrow straits and wide bays with deep inlets and creeks. The general course of the chain is about northwest, and on its northern side there are a great number of deep inlets all running in the direction of the main lake; these inlets, numerous islands and narrow passages, render the navigation of this beautiful inland basin very intricate. Notwithstanding the water is very deep and might be navigated with vessels of any burthen, vast white granite boulders rise above the surface and are also seen at various depths below its transparent waters. The shores are lined by these boulders, which at many places form natural wharves, with twenty and often forty feet of water near their perpendicular sides. The hills slope gradually down to the shores, where the blocks of white granite appear like solid masonry, and exhibit a degree of neatness seldom seen on the margin of lakes in the wilderness. The numerous islands are covered with cedar, spruce, hemlock and birch. The mountains and hills of the shore bear lofty groves of pine, hemlock and larch; elm, ash and cedar being the production on the lower grounds. Universal gloom and stillness reign over these lakes and the forests around them. From the highest of the hills no appearance of clearings or any sign of cultivation can be seen — not even the logging road can be traced far from the water, and the only indications of human industry are the naked poles of the lumberman's deserted camp and the ancient trails of the Indians.

Ornamented with islands and branched with placid bays, the Cheputnecticook is stretched out before the traveler,

who here views the country as it was before the foot of the European had pressed the soil, or the native occupant had been deprived of his wild inheritance. At present these waters are the summer resort of the wild fowl of various species; their shores are also frequented by droves of moose, carabou, deer, bears, wolves and other animals, and the water abounds with the finest speckled and salmon trout, perch and a species of salmon called by the Indians togue, which often weighs a dozen to twenty pounds.

From the head of the Grand Cheputnecticook lake there is a narrow passage about a mile in length communicating with North lake, into which a small stream enters from the northward called Monument brook; at its source is the monument fixed by the commissioners under the treaty of 1814 to settle the boundary, and thus far the line runs from near Eastport up the St. Croix, and its northern branch the Cheputnecticook <sup>river</sup> rises, and so through the lakes we have described to this point by water about one hundred and twenty-five miles. Between North lake and Eel river lake which empties into the St. John, is the Metagmouchcheah portage, about three miles long. This was a carrying place for the Indians long before the country was discovered by Europeans. Along this route they transported their canoes, their arms and provisions, either from the ancient French fort at the Gemsec (Jemseg) or from Quebec, to attack and destroy the frontier settlements in Maine and New Hampshire. Their ancient trails wind among the trees, and so long have they been traveled that the solid rocks have been furrowed by the moccasins of the native tribes."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The rocks here are a coarse granite, and more easily disintegrated and worn than the granite of Massachusetts. As before stated these furrows are two or three inches deep.

*Col. Allan's Private Journal.*

The following items are extracted from a private journal of Col. Allan's, and as they give some additional particulars previous to the expedition to the St. John, and throw some light on matters mentioned in the journal as well as in his dispatches, they are inserted here. "Feb. 15 [1777] wrote to Counsellor Powell respecting the Exchange of prisoners this matter must be settled upon, will write Gorham if a proper opportunity offers." Mr. Powell was the president of the council of Massachusetts, who were the acting power in the state, and were practically a board of war. "Gorham" was Col. Joseph Gorham, the commander of Fort Cumberland. He probably at that time held as prisoner Mrs. Allan and her children, and perhaps some who had been concerned in the attack on the fort under Col. Eddy. Capt. Joseph Gorham was a captain at the taking of the Acadians in 1755, where he commanded a company of rangers. He made an application to Col. afterwards Gen. Winslow to detach some Indians from two companies from Plymouth county to his command as they would be very useful to him in pursuing the Micmac Indians. He undoubtedly resided in Nova Scotia, and was an old neighbor of Allan's.

"It is agreed that Mr. Cross [of Newbury], be my principal agent to Communicate with and send letters to. Elijah Ayer of Haverhill to write to from time to time. Mr. Shaw of Boston is to manage any Matters there." "May 16th, 1777, [at Machias] received advices that the Ship Vulture of 14 guns, was at St. John lying before the old fort, that the armed sloop Gage had gone to Cumberland to bring Troops to enable the Garrison to pursue up the river. In consequence it was proper to pursue the following plan, it is important to secure the interest of Indians

I will grant commissions for this purpose one to Ambrose, and two other blank ones for such as the Indians may choose."

I send off Indians immediately through the woods, also Wm Maxwell to let the people [on St. John river] know of assistance going to them soon, for Capt West to raise 16 men & proceed with all dispatch to St John to annoy the enemy as much as possible till such time as reinforcements arrive from the westward, to write along shore to Shaw and others to raise men to pursue on to St John, for Mr. Smith [truckmaster], to sail as soon as may be in the maricheete for Camden with expresses for Gen Court, the Congress, Gen Ward, Benj Greenleaf, Doct Taylor, & Mr. Cross.

May 10, Received letters from the Committee from St John enclosing copy of Col. Gould [British] letter to the inhabitants, and their answer, also one from Mr Symonds, these came by two Indians in less than four days, dispatched them right back Francis Sawbier, Thomas Squatpan—drew two enlistment papers, one given to Capt West and one to Leut Scott, the *corps* to be called the Machias Volunteers, under the immediate command of Capt. West, agreed for Col. Foster to go & take command of the whole body, made out commissions, also drew instructions for the commander,—20th Jabez West captain, set off for St John engaged Peter Paul an Indian as courier but proposed that Capt Kellum should take the command—delivered Lieut Scott a commission as a Lieut, with sundry things. 22d Received a letter from Capt Stephens also word that one Webb was going to Penobscot to raise all the men he could get there.

"May 29 Capt How arrived from the river St John and brought account that the British Ship and Troops that were there are gone off taking with them Mr Perly. Upon receiving this intelligence & consulting with Mr How

a number of persons belonging to St John, Cumberland, and Mr Lyon, the committee for Machias met, when it was decided to proceed with the utmost dispatch with what men we could raise for St John. Accordingly I send orders to Capt West to collect and make return of his men with their ammunition, & be sure their guns are in order, what number of boats and how many men they will carry.

May 30th. Fixed off my people & wrote the Council by Capt How also a copy of my former ones by Mr. Avery agreed with Esquire Jones to take up Mr Avery and others" [in his vessel.]

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*Copy of Commission to Lieut. Delesdenier.*

"By Virtue of the authority given me by the Honorable Continental Congress as agent for the Eastern Indians I do hereby nominate and appoint Lewis Frederick Delesdenier to be my Secretary to aid and assist me in my agency, he exerting himself to promote the interests of the United States of America—for which service he is to receive pay equal to that of a first lieutenant in the Continental Army from the date hereof—Machias May 15 1777."

Oct. 29th. Appointed Lewis Frederic Delesdenier Lieut in a company of Indians Stationed at Machias, and commissioned him accordingly. For some account of Mr. Delesdenier, see *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. 4.

The following is extracted from Allan's private journal written after the fight at Machias. "Sept 1st 1777, In the morning came Ambrose and others to talk upon what is best in order to settle matters for the Winter which I named a few days ago. There appears a jealousy among

them, one village suspecting the other, all which I shall endeavor to subside.—

2<sup>d</sup> Went across to the Lake. It being late, could not enter upon that business.

3<sup>d</sup>. Ambrose and others preparing to move to another Lake, I told them to rest Contented a little longer till I heard from Boston which they consented to. Received a letter from Mr Curry, of Passamaquody, giving an account of an Indian belonging to Penobscot who had committed some great outrages by attempting to ravish some women and had stolen some things—

7th. It appears Col Eddy brought down some blank commissions which it seems was given out without consideration." [Eddy seems always acting against the judgment of Allan, and much embarrassing the general cause] Sent off some Indians on the road [i. e. the river and lakes] to Passamaquody.

"Sept. 8. Noel Jacharin and Pier Tomma set off. Some Indians from Penobscot, John Neptune, Joseph Marie, his son Nicholas do, Joseph Cook an Iroquois, Marie Madaline, Cook his wife, Pier her brother, Attan Mimcoot, Attan she came with." [It is a singular fact to find an Iroquois so far from home; he was probably a Mohawk. Very likely his wife was a Penobscot.] "Received intelligence of the conduct of some persons on eastern shore and offering Capt Wallace 800\$ paper money for 100\$ hard money."

Col. Allan seems to be singularly reticent in giving the number of his troops. The following names are found on the fly leaves of the journal.

Isaiah Budert  
James Crawford  
Samuel Creigh  
John Fulton

AUK PAQUE, *June 9th.*

June 21st  
Mr Garderner  
Mr Maxwell  
Mr Kellam



|                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>David Terrill</b>     | <b>Do Clark</b>       |
| <b>John Kellum</b>       | <b>Mr Star</b>        |
| <b>John McGowan</b>      | <b>Mr Sharp</b>       |
| <b>John Marsh</b>        | <b>Jona Eddy</b>      |
| <b>Christopher Paine</b> | <b>Wm Eddy</b>        |
| <b>Daniel Thornton</b>   | <b>Elijah Ayres</b>   |
| <b>Nicholas Thomas</b>   | <b>Daniel Earl</b>    |
| <b>John Sibley</b>       | <b>Charles Oulter</b> |

**The first column are no doubt soldiers, but the next I think are his old neighbors from Cumberland, N. S.**



## ALLAN'S JOURNAL.

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*From the Arrival of Mr. Allan at Machias, 11th May, 1777.*

MACHIAS May 29<sup>th</sup> 1777.....This day came Howes from St. Johns, who informed that Col. Gould and the Vulture were gone.<sup>1</sup> The people had all taken the oath of allegiance.

30<sup>th</sup>.....Sent off three boats at 12 o'clock; then followed one boat and three birch canoes, all arrived at Cross Island. Encamped. During our stay there came Mr. Coffin, who escaped from Halifax, imparted a good deal of intelligence, among other he informed that Dr. Clark, Faulkner, &c. had escaped from prison. At 10 o'clock had orders all hands to embark and proceed.

31<sup>st</sup>.....Went through Passamaquoddy; went ashore at Campobello, got a set of sails from Mr Bell, for which he has my receipt — went across, sent one boat to speak with a schooner coming in, which proved to be Holly, who informed that the other schooner that stood in before him was Lovet from St. John. The heavens all clear; brought Mr Wm How.

About 6 o'clock P. M. arrived where the Indians had met,<sup>2</sup> in this position two boats three birch canoes, one

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<sup>1</sup>The Vulture was one of the British ships sent round from Halifax after Col. Eddy's attack on the fort. Col. Gould commanded the British land forces, and Mr. Allan had no doubt been awaiting their departure to proceed on his enterprise.

<sup>2</sup>This was probably at Pleasant Point, the present residence of a part of the Passamaquoddy tribe.

boat bringing up the rear. First boat fired two guns, second boat three guns, third boat two guns, seven in all, to salute the Indian chiefs. Returned from the Shore a number of Guns by the Indians; Got a cannon ashore and fired at sunset.

Immediately after Capt. West, Mr. Alby, Lieut. Scott set off in three boats for Musquash cove, accompanied by Parson Noble and Dr Nevers.

PASSAMAQUODDY *June 1. 1777. Sunday.....*Set off from the Indians after a conference, attended by fifteen canoes, overtook the boats about half way over Mesh's Bay, sent them forward with a fair wind. All hands arrived at Musquash cove about 10 o'clock on sunday.

Mr. Preble<sup>1</sup> and two Indians set off to reconnoiter; an hour after Mr. Allan set off for the mouth of St. John river, accompanied by two boats and as many men as they could stow.

MUSQUASH COVE, *Monday June 2. A. M.....*Got the remaining boats in readiness to proceed when the tide served. About 11 o'clock Mr. Alby arrives express. No ships or Regulars at St John. Proceeded there; arrived at the old Fort about 8 o'clock P. M. Landed one cannon and discharged it twice—Signal for Mr Preble that the party was going over the fall—Immediately arrived at Woodman's Point landing every thing in a store—Rainy weather—David Farwell confined for breach of orders. Proceedings of the boat which came with Mr. Allen—

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<sup>1</sup>Lieut. John Preble, who was with Col. Allan in the expedition, was third son of the well known Brigadier General Preble, and a brother of Com. Edward Preble. He was born at York, Me., in 1740. He was married at Machias in 1768, and died at Portland, of consumption, in 1787. It will be seen he was chosen a lieutenant colonel, though he never seems to have acted in that capacity; he was for a while truckmaster to the Indians. At one time he commanded Fort Pownal

arrived at "Mechogonish"<sup>1</sup> at daylight — Mr. Preble acquainted that no Britains were up — immediately dispatched Capt. West and Lieut. Scott with twelve men, across, also an Indian with a birch canoe, who in a short time took Mess<sup>r</sup> White and Hazen<sup>2</sup> — proceeded from Mechogonish, and arrived at the Fort at 9 o'clock when Mess<sup>r</sup> Hazen and White were brought across, with whom I had considerable conversation.

*Tuesday June 3.....* Mr Allen with the Fly Boat and assistance, and five Birch canoes proceeded up the river St. Johns about 12 o'clock. Left Capt West, Lieut Scott, Mr. Albey with twelve men to guard the Falls, and annoy the enemy, should any come to repair the fort.<sup>3</sup> Came up

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<sup>1</sup> Manawagonis is a small bay seven miles west of St. John. Musquash harbor is southwest of the former place.

<sup>2</sup> At the period of Allan's expedition they were residing at the mouth of the St. John river, three men engaged in trading for furs with the Indians, and also with the white families then settled on the river; perhaps they had done something in loading mast ships, a business of some importance at that time. They were partners. Their names were Hazen, White, and Symonds, all natives of Haverhill. William Hazen was born there July 17, 1738; he was a brother of Gen. Moses Hazen of the revolutionary army; Mr. H. had with his family been living at St. John some years. A native of Massachusetts, his sympathies were with the friends of colonial rights; but in order to protect his family and property he was obliged to side with the British. Allan made him and White prisoners, but they escaped and reaching Halifax gave the information which brought a force that compelled Allan to retire up the river. Mr. Hazen continued to reside there, was a member of the council and left a large estate. His family have been prominent in that Province and continue so to the present time. Mr. Symonds was there as early as 1760, but the hostility of the Indians compelled him to leave; but in 1764 he returned with his partners. Like them he was loyal to the king. He accumulated a large estate. His son Charles has held several offices of honor in the province. Mr. White was the father of James White, Esq., for a long period high sheriff of the county of St. John. Capt. Peabody who came with these men in 1764, settled at Maugerville, and has a large number of descendants there.

<sup>3</sup> The fort was what was then and afterwards called Fort Frederic; it stood nearly opposite the falls on the present site of the town of Carlton.

with the gundalo with families from Chebeauge, who had been distressed by the man of war, and stripped of all they had.

Encamped on Long Island about nine miles from Peter Carr's.

*Wednesday, June 4.....*Arrived at said Carr's about 8 o'clock A. M., embarked sundries belonging to Mr. Preble — proceeded across the portage at Grimross — arrived at L. Mitchel's about 12 o'clock — made him prisoner.

Young Nevers and John Marsh joined us — proceeded up the river and encamped on an island over against Mr. Moor's — Landed the two cannon — fired one — Capt. Swanton came over to see Mr. Allan.

*Thursday June 5, 1777<sup>1</sup>.....*In the morning fired a gun — all hands embarked, went to breakfast near Mr. Readouts — Treated all Indians with chocolate, and had an elegant repast on the green — Proceeded a few miles further — landed the rest of the people who had had much fatigue — About 1 o'clock reembarked and proceeded for, and arrived at<sup>2</sup> Aukpaque at sunset, under the discharge of Indian musquetry — return the complement, land the two cannon, and discharged them — three wigwams were provided for men and stores —

*Friday June 6.....*At daybreak fired a cannon — The priest's house provided for Mr. Allan to live in during his stay — Removed all the baggage to said house and took our lodging there. At 10 o'clock hoisted the American Flag given to the Indians of St Johns by Mr. Colson — Discharged two cannon on the occasion. Mr. Preble with the two boats went down the river to bring his goods and some fresh provisions.

<sup>1</sup>N. B. Forgot at Woodman's 1 Bbl. of wht. biscuit, 1 do flour.

<sup>2</sup>For locality and description of this important point, see note to Col. Allan's letter dated June 17th.

Sent for a Frenchman who came from Quebec — brought an account of the arrival of Gen. Burgoyne in Canada, who stayed at Quebec two days, and proceeded on immediately with his Army, the number of which he could not ascertain, but that a report prevailed that there were 40,000 Americans at Ticonteroga, which occasioned much fear and timidity.

*Saturday June 7.....*About 11 o'clock Mr Allen was sent for to the chief Pier Toma's Wigwam where the whole Chief's young men were gathered together. Ambroise St. Aubin soon after rose and with a solemn gesture addressed the chief, giving an account of his embassy to Boston, his reception and now of his return. At the end of which he lays at the feet of Piere Toma a string of waumpum — after this he addresses himself to the petty chief and young men, recapitulating over what he before had said and in token of his continued friendship, he lays before them a string of waumpum — which they all answer in token of their mutual friendship; the whole concludes with one voice, that they would be all of a mind on what may be done, saying also, that they wanted Mr. Allan always to attend their meetings; they all then withdrew.

About 1 o'clock Mr. Allan was again sent for to <sup>1</sup> Ambroise St. Aubin's wigwam, where a seat was set between

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<sup>1</sup> He was the head chief of the Maracheetes or St. John tribe. They made a treaty with the government of Massachusetts in the council chamber at Watertown, July 13, 1776. The chiefs who signed were Ombri's Var, the same here called Ambrose St. Aubin, Newell Wallis, Francis, Mattahew Ontrance, Nicholas, John Battis, Charles Petere Andre, Joseph Denaquane, Sabbitis Netobcobroit. The Indians acknowledged the independence of the United States, then just promulgated, and agree to assist them and induce the other tribes to do so, and they agree to furnish men to go to Boston and join the army, and the three last signers agree to go there; the three first named were Maracheets and the rest Mic Macs.

the two chiefs. Capt. Nicholas at the desire of the rest of the chiefs and young men, rose and addressed Mr. Allan, welcoming him to the place, looking upon him as their countryman, who was obliged to flee on account of the cause between Britain and America, their esteem and friendship was now heightened by his appointment from the congress and agent, under the command of Gen. Washington, whose name they held sacred — that as such they now received their friend and brother Allan, and from his connections in this country they initiate him into the Marecheett Tribe, allowing him the same power and jurisdiction which the late Monsiur Bewheban had when an Agent from France, and in token of their sincerity, a string of <sup>1</sup> Wampum was laid at his feet in behalf of the chiefs. He then proceeded in behalf of the young men, who promised to be at Mr. Allan's call and submit to his authority, if not contrary to those rules agreed upon by the tribe, and in token of their sincerity, another string of wampum was presented, when all the chiefs saluted him.

Pier Tomms the chief then rose, when a respectable awe seemed to take place over the countenances of all present. He then harangues them all upon the connection between the states and the Marasheet tribe, repeating often the name of Geo. Washington.

He then delivered a string of wampum to the chief, and another to the young men, which was received, signifying the assent of what he was going to do in respect to Mr. Allan. The chief then takes the two strings of wampum from Mr. Allan, and in behalf of the whole addresses him,

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<sup>1</sup>This was the Indian currency at the early settlement of New England, both with and between the Indians and whites. It had a specific value as compared with silver, the true name was wampeage — from wamp, white and peage, a black shell. It was an important article in treaties down to the present century, and was preserved as the record of the treaty, the different shells being arranged so as to assist the memory.



that they now delivered it in token of that friendship subsisting between the states and this tribe, and that with joy and gladness they perceive the States had not forgot them, that Mr. Allan was welcome, whom they looked upon in the same light as Mr. Bewhebam, and that they wished satisfaction would be given on both sides, then returned to Mr. Allan the Wampum, saluting him at the same time.

Mr. Allan then asked the liberty to speak—they answered that they had sent for him to see their manner of proceeding, to welcome him, and admit him as one of the tribe, and if he had any thing to say, to call them to his own house, where they would have a conference.

Mr. Allan after returning them thanks for the friendship toward him, invited them to meet at his house on Monday at 10 o'clock forenoon. On Mr. Allan asking about a place to fix his camp, the chiefs answered that the house belonging to the Priest, which joins the Mass house, should be for his use on condition that no profanity should be committed, and as they confided that he (Mr. Allan) would not allow such measures, they insisted on his living there, which was accepted.

*AUKPAQUE June 8 1777.....*Early Sunday morning fired one gun, and hoisted the states Colours<sup>1</sup>—Spoke with a Frenchman that intends to set off to Canada in two days. G. Paul arrived from Passamaquody in the evening—Mr Preble arrived with the two boats, and sundry fresh provisions, one ox, five sheep, &c. Spoke with a French woman to wash and make clothes, &c.

*Monday June 9.....*Fired a gun and hoisted the colours. This day had a grand conference with the chief captain and young men. Mr Allen laid a string of wampum at

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<sup>1</sup> These must have been the same as Washington hoisted at Cambridge, Jan. 1st, 1776, viz: a British union, i. e., the crosses, and the thirteen stripes. But was not the cross soon omitted?

the feet of the chief in token of gratitude for their initiation into their Tribe, and promising to use his utmost influence to promote this interest with the States, and promising lasting friendship, thereby began his discourse as per notes taken at the time. Then followed the Entertainment.

The chiefs made a grand appearance, particularly Ambroise St. Aubin; who was dressed in a blue Persian silk coat, embroidered crimson, silk waistcoat four inches deep and scarlet knit breeches, also gold laced Hat with white cockade. N. Goudain, Blue silk trimmed with Vellum, and crimson breeches, Hat Gold laced<sup>1</sup>—The other chiefs were richly dressed in their manner; their blankets were curiously laced with these ribbons—All these dined in the inner room all the young men and other Indians dined in the outer room with me and L. Marsh, and so the day concluded with diversion and jolity. An Indian arrived from the falls and gave information that two of the inhabitants of Gagetown had departed for Cumberland.

AUKPAQU, *Tuesday June 10. 1777*..... This day the Squaw's feast, it being customary among these people after the men's feast, the next day the women must be entertained.

A very sumptuous dinner was provided for the ladies of the canton, and as they had the whole management, they invited all the principal chiefs and captain, together with Mr. Allan, and had the complaisance to wait dinner till 8 o'clock. As the chiefs delivered their answer to Mr Allan as per memorandum taken. After dinner was fired three guns loaded with balls to please them. Shortly after arrived Dr Nevers with his son and one Shummer from

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<sup>1</sup> The dresses of the chiefs were very rich, far beyond what could have been expected they possessed, but a fondness for rich dresses is a passion in savages, and they had means with their furs to procure almost anything they desired. The statement in the journal is undoubtedly very correct.

the Township's,<sup>1</sup> also some Indians from the upper parts of this river. The evening was concluded with festivity and dancing of the young men and women, elegantly dressed in their fashions, adorned with bracelets, breast-plates, and hair boxes of silver, curiously engraved with the figure of sundry animals, flowers, &c. Two guns were fired at the conclusion.

AUKPAQUE, *Wednesday June 11. 1777*..... Early this morning returned Mr Preble, accompanied by an express from Machias, brought by Serg<sup>t</sup>. Barker, and two men; they also brought with them Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Hazen and White, prisoners.

A ship belonging to the British King being arrived at the mouth of the river, received intelligence that Capt. West had detained, and sent to Machias a prize Schooner Capt. Valpe, also that he had detained a Sloop, Farnum of Liverpool. When the Ship arrived, she fitted out her Barge to retake her, and Mr. Bromfield of Newberry said he heard sundry swivels fired in consequence. This gentleman accompanied Mr. Hazen to his confinement. Dr Nevers, &c., returned down the river, as also Mr Noble who intended to go and join.

Capt West dispatched John Marsh and two Indians express to the mouth of the river. Two indians arrived from the upper part of the river.

AUKPAQUE *Thursday June 12. 1777*,..... This day dispatched two Indians up the river with a string of Wampum as a token for the Indians assembled.

Mr. Preble has just set off for the mouth of the river with Serg<sup>t</sup> Larker, to act in conjunction with Capt. West, sent my complements and desired they would come down.

Received information that Lewis Marque had propa-

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<sup>1</sup>There were some townships on the river settled mainly by emigrants from New England; they were all friendly to our cause.

gated false reports respecting the Indians taking up arms, which much dissatisfied them — I wrote him a copy and sent off Indians. This day agreed with the Indians about trade in Nicholas' wigwam.

*Friday June 13.....*Disposed of a quantity of the state goods among the Indians—This evening as Mr. Bromfield was walking on the back of the house he observed two people listening as he supposed, and on observing him, they walked directly away towards the bushes; he informed Mr. Allan of the same—Immediately the sentinels were doubled, and every one put himself in a posture of defence, by a survey of arms, clearing and loading Muskets. The Indians soon observed something was the matter, and directly mustered on being informed what it was, and were told that we should be on our guard, not knowing what might happen, as the British King's ship lay below. They sent out a scout of four men and ask me to fire two cannon as a signal for them, setting off about 10 o'clock P. M.

*Saturday June 14.....*This morning early by the Indian's desire fired two more cannon. Sent off two men Jeaquevin and Francis Xaviere Jr for Miramichee, giving them six days provisions each—Mr. Bromfield went down to Mr. Allertons, and sent a string of Wampum with Mr. Allan's complements.

*AUKPAQUE Sunday June 14.....*Sundry Frenchmen came to worship in the Indians' church; Mess<sup>rs</sup> Bromfield, Hazen and White attended also. Received two letters by John Marsh from Capt<sup>e</sup> West and Preble, by which received an account that Capt. West had boarded a sloop, which the ship had sent boats to rescue, and after some firing Capt. West made a regular retreat. The ship went off next day, and all things appeared clear. <sup>1</sup>Col.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Shaw, Jr., son of Francis Shaw, was born in Boston, July 23, 1743. He was probably one of the earliest settlers at Gouldsboro, Me.,

Shaw arrived at the mouth of the river, with reinforcement to our party.

*Monday 15th June.....*This day the gentlemen belonging to Cumberland had a conference together in Mr Nichol's Wigwam, respecting the sending back some of themselves to Cumberland to get intelligence of their families and agreed to send a birch canoe and three men, but Mr Allan moved that they might wait till Mr Shaw arrived to which they consented. The Indians built a large square wigwam for Mr Allan.

This evening arrived Mr Preble at 11 o'clock P. M.

*Tuesday June 17, Aukpaque.....*Mr Shaw just arrived — he fired one Musquet — We hoisted colors and fired one gun, then when Mr. Allan and Shaw met fired another cannon, they fired a few small arms from the boat. Sent John Marsh and Samuel Black, went up the river to bring down a negro, who could discover a quantity of English Goods that are hid, as Mr Allan was informed, and they brought him down two hours after. At sunset fired another gun, and struck the colours. Roll was called for the first time.

*Wednesday June 18.....*This day made a difference with the prisoners; ordered that they should mess by themselves for the future, not any of our people to join them. Wrote a copy of the letter to the inhabitants of St Johns to send to the westward, to be enclosed in the letter to the General Court N. B. took the deposition of Oliver Teba-

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where had been a French settlement previous to the conquest of Canada. He married Hannah Nickels, and died April 17, 1785. His eldest son, Robert Gould Shaw, was a distinguished and wealthy merchant of Boston, his brother, Maj. Samuel Shaw, served through the revolution as a captain of artillery, and was the first American consul to China; he was a man of much ability and a scholar; his life was written by Josiah Quincy. Robert G. Shaw left several sons, now residing in Boston, and his grandson, Col. Francis G. Shaw, fell at the head of the first Massachusetts colored regiment in an assault on Fort Wagner in Charleston harbor.

deac against Michael Marture for assault and Battery. <sup>1</sup>All our people of Cumberland concluded to disperse—Mr Allan told me he expected only myself and another to stay with him.

*Thursday June 19.....*Early in the morning Dr Nevers came from below—no news. About 12 o'clock Capt Kellum and Maxwell went down the river in the Assistance, took with them the Prisoners, Hazen, White and Mitchell, to put them under the care of Capt West. Mr. Maxwell has a warrant to command the couriers going to Cumberland, to say to John Fulton and John McGown. No letter to be conveyed for any person whatsoever.

After dinner the Fly Cutter went down also with Mr Preble on board accompanied by Messrs. Bromfield and How. Yesterday gave Francis Neptune a copy of the agreement of prices fixed on between Mr Allan and the Indians. He went to one named Jean Barnabe who treated Gen. W. and the Continental Congress with contempt, saying that the Americans were incapable to make their Independence, or words to that effect. Mr Martin came to see Mr Allan. After a long sickness died Portuis daughter. She was no sooner dead but they made the coffin, and buried her immediately. Mr. Shaw, Mr. Allen, and Dr. Nevers attend the funeral rite, tho' short, very solemn. The corps was carried to the chapel, the bell tolling all the time. After a short prayer they sung funeral Hymns, that done, some of the chiefs bore the coffin to the grave, then another prayer, then a funeral hymn; which concluded, the coffin was deposited in the grave and covered. The relatives and friends of her sex seemed to perform the last rite by taking a handful of earth and throwing it in

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<sup>1</sup> These are probably the persons named in the roll on p. 76. The principal force must have been now at the mouth of the river; there he sends the prisoners Hazen, White and Mitchell, who were New England men, but did not sympathize in our cause.

the grave. Immediately the wigwam is struck and removed into the thickest part of the village, that the parents may not feel so lonesome by remaining at the spot where they lost their dear child. I attended when she died and it was very affecting to see the parents embrace, and take their final leave of the expiring daughter.

From this day Mr. Allan intends to give a ration of provisions to a maim'd Indian lad, to continue as long as the states have possession of the river.

*Friday June 20 1777.....*Just arrived the two Indians that went to <sup>1</sup>Meramechee, and the two from Metawashcaugh. No news from Meramchee, but reports that the shops and stores are quite empty; no provisions except fish.

Two ships in the environs, and some talk that there are two or three hundred men in arms. Mr. Bourk returned to Cocagne the express in about 54 hours. In the evening fired two guns.

*Saturday 21.....*This morning at sunrise fired a wall piece, and two cannon, and hoisted colours. Mr. Allan dispatched sundry letters on to the General court by Dr. Nevens, one to the committee at Machias, acknowledging the receipt of those of the 7th inst. thanking them for their advice, and so far from taking umbrage at Col. Shaw's being equal in command, is well pleased that he is so, for he is willing to act in the most inferior office in the service of the United States. The multiplicity of business prevents his being particular, excuses for not writing before; after consultation thinks it better for Col. Shaw to return and leave the command with Capt Dyer; expects soon to go to Meramechee. P. S. a few words for <sup>2</sup>Deacon Libby; desires the committee to assist Mr Preble in his business

<sup>1</sup> Meramichl.

<sup>2</sup> Deacon Libby was a very active Whig at Machias.

posure. Peter Paul Lorette acted the last part, then the scene was closed, by every man moving off with his platter in his hand.

The above ceremony is a confirmation of the Treaty and agreement between them and Mr. Allan. Serg<sup>t</sup>. Foster in a boat just arrived from the mouth of the river for provisions, spoke with Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Shaw and Preble at Grim Ross — all well below.

*AUKPAQUE Tuesday June 24, 1777* ..... This day the Indians of Metawescaugh set off home, gave them copies of the agreement, respecting trade and commerce, also gave a copy of the same to Jean Baptis Neptune, Chief of Passamaquoddy. John Marsh went down to Mangerville for supplies. Mr. Allan sent a very particular letter to Mr. Redoupt, of commendation for his attachment to the cause, desiring him to procure something wanting, and sent off Foster in his boat. Gave Elijah Ayers, Jon<sup>s</sup>. & W<sup>m</sup>. Eddy a pass to go to Cumberland — they carried Letters for Dr. Clark, Carlton, Mr Lane, Mr Gardner, and Robert Sharp, by Mr. Allan's order, desired Elijah Ayers not to deliver some of said letters without consulting Mrs. Allan. Ayers promised to open all the letters before he delivered them, also Mr. Allan wrote the General Court.

*Wednesday June 25* ..... Mr Maxwell came up the river from the Falls with Fulton and McGown — bro<sup>d</sup> the news that unfortunately they let Lewis Mitchel escape from them, (which may be of the worst consequence) from below Caris: Received two letters from Col. Shaw, and from Ayer and West, respecting some difficulty among the people on account of their provisions being ahort; Mr Shaw recommending Lieu<sup>t</sup> Longfellow for Commissary, Dyer and West, also John Foster for do — Also received intelligence that Mr. J. Perley has arrived on the river — Mr Maxwell brought two Halifax Papers full of insipid



nonsense. A boat was ordered immediately to go down with Mr. Gardner, to bring Mr Perley up. Hall and Penis deserted, Tuesday June 17.

*Thursday June 26.....*In the afternoon John Marsh returned, as did the boat, bringing Mr Perley—they brought some refreshments, &c. Mr Perley informed that<sup>1</sup> Mr Franklin is appointed by government agent for the Indians with a salary of £300 per annum. The government said there were 10,000 men to reinforce Howe's Army. Mr Butler 25,000, and that the Adamant came in company with the Fleet, but Mr Phillips of Annapolis, N. S. a great Government man, observed to Mr Perley, that they could not reasonably expect to receive any reinforcement in Halifax — They will not permit the printer to print any London news, he is not permitted even to see any papers except those of New York, how then can they be informed of the truth? Receive intelligence that all the people of Cobéquid, N. S. were to remove about the Popish Priest [these were probably Acadians].

*Friday June 27, 1777.....*This day assembled the chief Captain and young men of the Merecheeste tribe, and informed them of all the intelligence brought by Mr Perley, and read them the letter sent by the secretary of the Province. All the above may be seen at large in the memorandum taken at the conference.

Sent two Indians in a canoe to convey Mr Perley home, just arrived from the mouth of the river, with whom came Lieut Longfellow as express; Mr Allan rec<sup>d</sup> sundry Letters, and information of the king's ship the Vulture of 84 Guns having arrived there. The letters were two from Mr Shaw, and two from Mr. Preble giving an account of a skirmish between the Britains and our party, the latter

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<sup>1</sup> Remained the British agent to the Indians for many years. Mr. Perley was a resident on the river and was a firm whig.

had the advantage and prevented the boats from landing, which were manned with 40 men. Supposed that the enemy lost and wounded 8 men. Mr Preble makes great complaint of ill usage from Mr Barker, Jr. had some difficulty with the boats crew which detained him two days, and that Hazen and Simmons jeered our officers, saying that they made breastworks of women and children. Mr Shaw had much difficulty with the party, provision being scarce. To some he promised billeting money, and gave security for their pay. All the furs put on board the Sch<sup>t</sup>. Plummer master, are brought back again. In the evening Mr. Allan convened the Indians, and imparted to them an account of the skirmish our people had with the Britons, related by Lieut. Longfellow as followeth.<sup>1</sup> On Monday 23d inst. about 12 o'clock arrived the ship and anchored within cannon shot of Simmons' where our party lay. They immediately hoisted out two boats which were full manned, each mounting a swivel. They rowed toward the shore. On perceiving some of our people holding up their heads from behind ambuscades, they instantly fired swivels and small arms. Our people returned their shot, and the skirmish lasted several minutes and prevented the boats from landing, but kept them at a distance, laying on their Oars till our people discharged about six rounds each; when a signal being made, the boats returned to the ship our men perceived with spy glasses that they helped many of their men up the ship's side. None of our people were hurt; one had the top of his cap shot off.

*June 23 Sat.....*This evening came Mr Preble from the mouth of the river, who reports that on Thursday a ship supposed to be the Milford Frigate, by description, and the Gage Sloop. The Vulture fired two guns as a signal,

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<sup>1</sup> For the British account of this skirmish see Campbell's letter further on.

on which the sloop went along side the Vulture, the fog coming on, could discover nothing more before Mr Preble came away, but in the morning heard several cannon; a small schooner coming after, overtook the canoe and informed that they heard 45 guns, besides a number of small arms.

*Sunday June 29.....*Had a conference last night and this morning with the Capt. and young men of this tribe. Piere Toma is determined for Halifax, but the rest are opposing him unanimously. In conference Mr Allan told them he did solely as an American, but of this community; they immediately agreed, and even determined to stick to their promise. About 12 o'clock set off for the mouth of the river, three birch canoes containing Mr Allan Dr Clark, self and 7 Indians, and a Whale boat with Capt. Star Houlton, Sharp, Maxwell and three hands. Stopped at Redout with whom Mr Allan had a long conversation.

A little before we saw Peter and Cain Casey, eleven days from Cumberland, the families all well. They had news at Peticoudiac, that it was reported at Halifax that Mr Allan had been wounded in a skirmish, and had gone back to Boston to get cured, and that ten whale boats were seen to go through Passamaquoddy, supposed bound to St. John, on which 800 men were ordered to strengthen fort Cumberland, and 200 to take post at the mouth of the river.

Stopped at Mr. Perley's, had much conversation with him as also at Capt Quantains, who had a severe reprimand for speaking against our proceedings on this river. Next stopped at Lieut Duets where we cooked supper, and were on all night.—About 11 o'clock in the Grand Reach brought too a wooden canoe,

*Mond June 30.* Plumer on board who left the mouth of the river yesterday at 10 o'clock. All our men in good spirits, no enemy landed as yet—another

boat in sight—she came ashore and proved an express. Mr Noble, John Steel & Son, bro<sup>r</sup>. in the same sundry letters, and intelligence from the westward & very agreeable—also received information that his majesty's ship *Ambuscade* came to the harbour yesterday; they came away last night about 10 o'clock. In the Grand Reach just arrived all the party that were stationed at the mouth of the river in five boats.

Last night Col. Shaw set off for Machias with two men. Early this morning our guard Stationed at the Reach, perceived a sloop among the Mehognish Islands, towed by boats,<sup>1</sup> then saw a Barge coming from the mouth of the river, and shortly after saw seven more lying upon their cars, about a mile distant. The guard dispatched information to the main body. Immediately some brave men, about 30, went to lay in ambush in the road that conducts to the Falls, and at the distance of Gun shot perceived the enemy coming and prepared to attack, when suddenly they found themselves surrounded by a flanking party on either side, their numbers being much superior they were obliged to fly with the loss of five men killed and taken.

There being but two days provisions, they retreated up the river, till they met the canoes that conveyed Mr. Allan down, we all retreated together, all night.

The enemy landed about 150 men in the eight barges.

MAGRIVILLE *July 1. Tuesday*.....Arrived at Manguerville, where we dined the boats rendezvous'd on Manger's Island where Mr. Allan went to give orders.

Forward provisions and other necessaries from the inhabitants, many of whom were very forward to supply us.

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<sup>1</sup> These ships with a force on board had come round from Halifax, in consequence of intelligence having been sent there by the loyalists from St. Johns; but if Allan had been reinforced he would no doubt have been able to have kept possession of the river.

In the evening proceeded to Redouts after stopping at sundry places. Just at dusk the Guard boat came up, bringing two of our five men that were missing; the one slightly wounded, gave information that the enemy had returned on board, after scalping the two men they had killed of ours and the other very badly wounded, who they very inhumanly, threatening to scalp him if he did not discover their companion's retreat. Our dead and wounded were taken care of by the inhabitants, who reported that the enemy had lost 10 or 12 men for a certainty.

*AUKPAQUE July 2. Wednesday.....* Arrived here about 11 o'clock, leaving a canoe with Marsh and two Indians to bring up intelligence. Marsh had orders to apprise the inhabitants that we expected the British up the river. The Fly cutter and Cumberland boat arrived soon after us. Mr Allan had a conference with the Indians<sup>1</sup> and related to them all the intelligence he received from the westward.

In the evening the chief came to Mr Allan and begged he would write a letter to the commander of the forces belonging to the British king at the mouth of the river, it being their desire in conjunction with deputies from Metawashcaugh and Meductec. John Marsh arrived without intelligence of the enemy. Maxwell went down with three men to bring up beef—Dr. Nevers set off for the townships<sup>2</sup> about 10 o'clock, Just fired two cannon sent a letter to Capt. Dyer by Dr. Nevers.

*Thursday July 3, 1777.....* This morning arrived Lieut Scott, who brought a letter from Capts Dyer and West, requesting permission to retreat to Passamaquoddy as many of the men were very uneasy, and unwilling to stay, if not permitted, determined to go without leave. This

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<sup>1</sup>" See memorandum taken at the time." This has not been preserved.

<sup>2</sup>These were Gagetown and Mangerville.

day arrived Dr. Nevers who had a narrow escape from the enemy (who were coming with all speed) to bring us intelligence.

Fired two guns and a small arm to bring down Ambrose. The Indians came to a consultation on the critical situation, and resolved to meet the Soldiers, that Mr Allan should stay along with the families, and return with them. Immediately they took down their bell, struck their camps and removed. On the men's going off two cannons were fired. The Cumberlanders being alone, came to a resolution to remove, to prevent being surprised. First all the effects worth removing, cannon, &c. were carried and concealed on an Island, then all hands crossed the river which busied us three hours, and took us till near midnight when all was over. Scott being very uneasy wanted to rejoin his party, determined Mr. Allan to go to where the Indian families were to procure a canoe to conduct him to Oramoucto River. After paddling all night, having missed the place, went 6 or 7 miles up the river (Oromucto), without finding said families, returned and arrived where they were about 9 o'clock much fatigued.

*Friday July 4.....*After dispatching Mr Scott with John Marsh, who were to go and pilot that party to Machias, we went to join our Cumberland people, and inform them of the news brought by a Frenchman that one George (so named) had informed that 200 Soldiers were to set off this morning in quest of Capt. Dyer's party, 100 to come in quest of Mr. Allan and his band.

All hands removed a little further up the river, to a French house, where we took some refreshment. Mr Allan, Mr Preble and Self, went again to the Indian families; sent our two canoes round the Island. On our arrival there John Marsh had just returned. Being informed by the Indians below that early in the morning 50 Soldiers were sent off to take us, and all the families, removed

further up by their husband's request. After sending intelligence to our people, we went up with the families, it being the Indian's desire that Mr. Allan should keep along with them. We came to the upper French<sup>1</sup> settlement late in the evening.

*Saturday July 5.....*This day several of the Indian canoes came up, as did Ambrose, informing that Piere Toma and 4 men went on board the British Vessels, after disputing very hard with the captains and young men, who were determined to go and attack the rear of the soldiers that went up Oramoucto, but Piere Toma relinquishing a certain resolution, and in this extremity complying with the desire of the other, the contest between them subsided. After they had embarked for the attack; this Mr Preble received from Nich<sup>o</sup>. Hawaries; also was told Mr Franklin was on the river, who at first wanted a conference with Mr Allan, but afterward observed he was so bad, he could not see him unless a prisoner.

*Sunday July 6.....*At the upper settlements. This morning sent off John Marsh and Piere Paul for Mr Preble's articles that were concealed down the river. About noon all the Indians came up except Piere Tomma, Piere Jo. Jeaquienne and Francis Blackducks, who went aboard the British vessels, and will stay until they hear the event of the <sup>o</sup>Oramoucto party. John Marsh and Piere Paul brought up the Furs and Mr Preble's things. Had a conference with the Indians in Magrole's barn,

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<sup>1</sup> These were Acadians who had escaped across the bay at the time of the removal of their friends by General Winslow in 1755; they were generally friendly to our cause. After the war was over the English drove them from their possessions at the point of the bayonet, and they retreated up the river far into the wilderness, and now form the Madawasca settlements, part of which are now within the limits of Maine.

<sup>2</sup> It is probable this party went up that river, and probably down the Magudavic, and so to Passamaquoddy and Machias.

where Mr. Allan made a very moving speech respecting his and his people's situation. Resolved to send two Indians to pilot them to Machias as soon as possible. The Indians were all unanimous in opposing the enemy, but implicitly followed Mr. Allan's advice with regard to keeping peace as long as possible. Went down about sunset to maes roll. Then Aukpaque Island to get some things we had hid there. On going round the Island found the Britons were at the chapel. On consulting Jo. Toma, concluded to go round the Island back again and endeavour to speak with our Cumberland people, but found the Britons had cut us off.

Still bent to give information to our people, landed near a French house where we came very near being taken about 2 o'clock in the morning. As soon as we found how narrowly we escaped, went on an Island and tarried but a short time, when I heard the cries of a man in much distress. They surprised our people, one of whom on trying to escape was stabbed with bayonets which caused the cries I had heard. Concealed ourselves on the Island — heard but few guns fired.

*Monday July 7.....*About 9 o'clock heard the enemy fix our boat they had taken, and row off. We went on the main, carried up our canoe, and set off up the river through the woods, concluding the enemy had secured the passes of the river, and had gone in pursuit of Mr Allan, who they were determined to take. Came out at the French house where we had left the Indian families and Mr Allan; found they had retreated 8 or 10 miles further up. We joined them in the evening, found most of the Cumberland people had escaped. <sup>1</sup>Piere Toma came back, informed that the enemy had but three of our people

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<sup>1</sup> He seems to have been a wary politician, playing with both sides, and always appears to have been a troublesome fellow.



prisoners, viz. Samuel Creight, John Fulton, and Ja<sup>s</sup>. Crawford, and two ran off in the woods, who came to us the day after.

Until Sunday night the Cumberlanders every night retired to the woods and placed sentries; but this night the French told them they did not think the enemy would come up there. Provisions being short, they separated and went to various houses, that they might not crowd together in one, which proved their great safety; for otherwise they must inevitably have been taken. The French did all they could to save our people, and for their recompence had their houses burnt and plundered, and some of themselves made prisoners by the enemy.

*BEACHY ISLAND, on the river St. Johns Tuesday July 8.....*  
Sent two Indians up to Meducteck to bring down the trunk of papers Mr Preble carried up there with him. Sent Isaiah Boudreau and two men to procure provisions from the French and in the afternoon went down with two canoes on the same errand, but found the inhabitants very adverse to supplying us through fear of suffering for it, as Mr. Franklin forbid it on the penalty of destroying them. Took one bushell of corn by force, and return to Beachy Island.

*Wednesday July 9.....*Rain all day — sent Capt Star, Mr Howe, Dr. Clark and others, ten in all, to take provisions where they could find 'em. In the evening the Indian families moved to Bear Island. Yesterday two Indians that had gone on board with Piere Toma returned bringing this intelligence, that the Enemy said Capt Dyer's party were like Devils, and believed half Indians. They went after them with five boats, that three had returned with some wounded men; that the enemy were determined to follow Mr Allan to the gates of hell to take him; They intended to follow him to Meductec. Piere Toma bro't a message from Franklin to Ambroise, desiring him to come

and see him, but he replied, that French officers and English officers also, always wrote when they wanted any thing of him, and verbally replied, he would not go to see him. Piere Toma was much dejected to see himself abandoned and deserted by all the Indians, and none would return with him on board, as he had promised, but his son with their families. In the evening we all removed to the main. Our people returned, brought a Cow and some Indian meal. Dr Clark had been at Aukpaque, in the chapel, brought away the English colours, which had been hoisted by Piere Toma for a conference.

*Thursday July 10.....*Our people, being determined to go to Machias, divided the provisions among them and prepare for the journey, and the same evening removed to the place of their departure. This day Piere Toma went down to Mr Franklin according to promise. Another canoe went down to the French Village for corn. Mr Allan (myself and Boudreau) which only are to stay with him, moved up to Bear Island. Three young men of Cumberland remained to go there for intelligence — David Terrell, John Mc Gown, and Jon<sup>s</sup>. Eddy.

*Friday July 11:.....*Ambrose, Son and Piere Benoit set out to Pilot our people to Machias, to the number of 21. I set off for Medocteck, where I arrived in the evening, after much fatigue in poling up the canoe, where I found Mr Preble, Dr. Nevers, Lieut. Longfellow and Scott, agreeing with Indians to convey them to Machias. The canoe that went down with Piere Toma, returned with their corn — heard the enemy had returned to Aukpaque.

*Saturday July 12. MEDUCTECK.....*Mr Allan arrived with Ambrose and rested here. Nothing material transacted.

N. B. There are many material matters past since last Sunday, omitted, for Mr Preble in the confusion, carried away the trunk of papers as aforementioned, and could not get them for some days, in which time many things are forgot.

*Sunday July 13.....*At a<sup>1</sup> stream of St. Johns river, removed across the carrying place from Meductick toward the head of Passamaquody river about five miles. It is incredible what difficulties the Indians undergo in this troublesome time, where so many families are obliged to fly with precipitation rather than become friends to the Tyrant of Britain, some backing their aged parents, others their maimed and decrepid brethren, the old women leading the young children, mothers carrying their infants, together with great loads of baggage. As to the canoes, the men make it a play to convey them across. Yesterday morning sent two Indians to the first French inhabitants for intelligence, and we wait their return before we move hence.

*Monday July 14.....*On the stream across Meductick<sup>2</sup> carrying place—The Indians that went down yesterday morning just returned without having any communication with the French inhabitants, for the enemy had footing there. This is the uppermost settlement on the river St John.

Mr. Preble, Dr. Nevers, Lieut<sup>r</sup>. Scott and Longfellow this instant set out for Machias. We proceeded up the stream four or five miles and stayed this night.

*Tuesday July 15.....*Proceeded further up the aforesaid stream, over difficult falls, till we arrived at the Pond and went across the same (called Metagmouchschesh<sup>3</sup>) and encamped at the entrance of the portage, where we overtook Mr. Preble and the others that had gone before. Here the Indian which came some days before, killed several Moose.

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<sup>1</sup>Eel river. He means the Passamaquoddy waters, or those running into the waters that flow into that bay, in contra-distinction to the St. John waters. See the account of this portage on page 80.

<sup>2</sup>Old Fort Meductic was probably a former trading post of the French.

<sup>3</sup>This name is not to be found on any of the maps. It is now restored.

Mr. Allan was very ill all last night and this day with the sick head ache, and disordered stomach, but was better this eve<sup>s</sup>.

*Wednesday July 16.....*Carried over Metagmoughachesh portage about four miles, and there encamp, the Indians being much fatigued in carrying canoes and baggage.

Mr. Preble, Dr Nevers, & Lieut. Scott and Longfellow proceeded for Machias, by whom sent orders to get the Indians' prize money (their share of the prize sloop taken at Cumberland) without delay.

*Thursday July 17.....*Went over a pond<sup>1</sup> and proceeded through a very narrow pass about two miles, then entered the large lake which gives rise to several rivers. On the S. W. Side of the same is a carrying place to go to Penobscot river. We went about 7 leagues mostly a south course till we entered the outlet into Scoodic river [or rather the lower lake], where we encamped about three days journey from Machias.

*Friday July 18.....*This day Mr. Allan prepared to send me off to Machias for supplies. Wrote a letter to Capt. Smith on various subjects to be kept secret. One to Capt. Wing to bring the Schooner to Scoodic<sup>2</sup> river, and one to the Committee of Safety at Machias. For the first time put on Indian dress, determined to wear it in Machias.

*Saturday July 19.....*Mr Delesdenier set off early this morning with two Indians in a birch canoe, Piere Joe & Francis Xavier for Machias, with express orders to dispatch the two Indians immediately back, and he to wait to get the Marechute ready to come into Scoodic river with provisions and refreshments. A number of Indians arrived about 4 o'clock P. M. Went off this morning into

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<sup>1</sup> Is now called North pond on the maps.

<sup>2</sup> St. Croix river.

the Lake to see if any canoes were coming. The Indians brought word that they heard firing at Meductic.

*Sunday July 20.....*Early this morning a large Moose<sup>1</sup> passed with great speed through our camp, the Indians and dogs in pursuit, but did not come up with him. Continued at the same encampment—nothing material happened.

*Monday July 21.....*Fine clear weather, with much wind from the S. W. Nicholas Nauhawua grandper & Mary Moody with their families set off for the other lake, in order for hunting. Provisions very scarce—Lewis killed a Moose this morning, which proved of much service. Sent off Ambroise, and all the other Indians after Birch Bark to make canoes. In the afternoon went to Horatio's Wigwam, a Penobscot Indian there, with whom had much conversation respecting the times. He appeared very judicious and intelligent, appeared fully acquainted with the dispute between America and Britain, held his land as an indubitable right from the Almighty & none had a right without his consent to take it.

*Tuesday July 22.....*Continued at same encampment—Ambroise returned in the morning with birch bark. About sundown Joseph Toma and other Indians arrived bringing intelligence of their seeing St. Nicholas, who informed him that the Indians were much at variance in Canada. Some are one way and some the other—that a string of wampum was sent to the Penobscot tribe from

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<sup>1</sup> It is a curious fact in natural history that at the period of the revolution there were no deer east of the Penobscot, nor till about the commencement of the present century. Col. Allan made a list of every kind of skins sold by the Indians, and the prices he would pay, but the deer skin does not appear in the list. It may be that the wolves had driven, and for a long time kept them away. Some years now they are plenty and then in a hard winter the wolves are numerous and the deer disappear for a year or two.

Canada, inviting them to come—that some had gone in canoes but had not returned, and it was supposed had joined the king's party and meant to detain as many as possible—that a large tribe of Indians above Montreal had divided, that the Catawas were with the party who sided with America, and advised the party to oppose the other, which they would assist as soon as they returned to their own country, and expel those adherents of Britain from the land: In the evening arrived Pierre Paul and some women in three canoes from Meductic—no news whatever concerning the war.

*Wednesday July 23.....*No provisions in the camp—about 10 o'clock we get off across the little portage, went down some falls, crossed a second portage and came into the great lake of Schoodic [More properly the Cheputneticook] have a fine wind to the westward. Canoes when about a third of the lake over, went ashore where we found old Pierre Joe, who had killed two moose and wounded a third, where the company then all propose to continue till next morning; had a great feast in the evening at Ambroise's Wigwam, the canoes being much loaded, the men were obliged to take some of these families, consequently I was obliged to intercede for Ridout & me to go together.

*Thursday July 24.....*Decamp at about 7 o'clock; a fine fresh breeze from the Northward, canoes all under sail, stood down the lake.<sup>1</sup> About one, arrived at where Nicholas Hawan and others were encamped, who had killed three Moose.

We stayed about two hours and all hands got off—Got out of the lake about six o'clock, and entered Schoodic river, a considerable current running—passed four falls, two of which very dangerous, and the last of the two, by

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<sup>1</sup> For description of these lakes and river, see page 83.

Burdall not stowing properly, we stove one end of the canoe, which occasioned a stop to repair it. About sun down arrived where we encamped for the night. Ralwate, the Penobscot Indian, came and had some discourse on matters, and wanted to bring the Penobscot tribe with the St. John's tribe, which I deferred till I heard from Machias.

*Friday July 25.....*Left our encampment early in the morning, passed four rapids, then came to a great fall where the women and children debarked and went across a small point of land. We then embarked—found a moose<sup>1</sup> killed and dressed, which was left by those who went first, for the use of the others. Proceeded and passed four or five very disagreeable rapids and falls, and through several very fine lakes, which have on their borders fine intervale land. About five o'clock met Mr. Delesdernier from Machias, from whom received several necessary articles with a satisfactory account of matters from the westward. Received several letters from my friends and others, which gave some inward satisfaction and amusement in this forlorn state—Having received some liquor I invited all the Indians to my Wigwam, where we spent two or three jovial hours, in taking a glass after our fatiguing jaunt, relating and communicating the news. I treated the Squaws with a glass of wine.

*Saturday July 26.....*Nothing material.

*Sunday 27.....*Schoodic River—Still remained in the same encampment—Rainy weather—Jo Quasine joined us—No news of Pierre Paul, who went astray in Schoo-

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<sup>1</sup> This is a common practice by hunters who have friends coming after them, and often leave some directions at a landing or portage cut in a picture on a tree, thus a representation of a canoe upset would caution them to look out for a dangerous rapid just ahead—a representation of a canoe with two Indians in it, with the sun over it, shows they had passed there at noon. A white man is represented as wearing a hat. Many of these ancient guide posts still remain in the forests of Maine.

dic lake — The Indians had a consultation and resolved to go with their families near Machias.

*Monday 28.....* All hands embarked, went down the river and up a branch which they call Pasmaghs, stemmed the stream up to the entrance of Passamaquoddy lake, where were the first squad — arrived about 5 o'clock. All the canoes arrived about sundown, twenty seven in number, and encamped on the easterly part of the Lake,<sup>1</sup> very pleasant and delightful to behold, the lake being pretty large, with some Islands, which renders the scene agreeable.

In conversation with Joseph Tomma, I found that the French Priests (advocates for Britain) had debared the Indian from marrying — would not authorise any father to perform the ceremony, nor yet do it themselves, also told them if they offered to do such an act, the person officiating would be prosecuted in Halifax by the government; such power and ascendancy have these miscreants over these poor people.

*Tuesday July 29.....* Passamaquoddy lake — In the morning very heavy rain, and continued squally all day.

Dispatched a letter to Col Lowther at Penobscot, also a string of wampum to the Indians there. Delivered to Cohoret in form, in presence of Ambrois and other Chiefs and Captains, with a speech, in which it was briefly set forth, the cause of the dispute and the invasion and en-

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<sup>1</sup> This is the lower Schoodic lake, now called by the Indians Gena-sor-gaw-gum. The writer can testify to the beauty of this lake; it is still surrounded by a forest. Some two hundred of the Passamaquoddy tribe make their residence here, among whom he has often encamped when on hunting and fishing excursions, and on Grand lake stream which connects it with the Witte-quer-caw-gum or Grand lake; the fishing is superior to any other locality he has ever visited. A fisherman can often land thirty to forty salmon trout in a few hours; they are very uniform in size, weighing about two pounds each. See Schoodic lakes on the map. It was among the Indians here that some of the documents in this volume were found.



croachment of the Britains upon the Territories of the Marasheet Tribe, which all should duly consider, desiring him to communicate as far as Canada our proceedings, and invite all to a conference.

*Wednesday July 30.....*The Penobscots set off early in the morning for Penobscot.<sup>1</sup>

About 5 o'clock sent off Mr. Delesdernier with two Indians in a birch canoe, for provisions for the Indians; Soon after all the canoes set off for our journey — came to the carrying place, which appears about two miles, there embarked having very little water, came to another carrying place about 1½ mile, very bad road, then embarked, went about three mile in a small stream, found the water so shoal, was forced to make a road to carry canoes and baggage; embarked again, came to another carrying place, which was about three miles, a miserable Road. Seven canoes and families, where we encamped about sundown.

*Thursday July 31.....*The rest of the Indians came across early this morning — During this part of the journey it appeared a doleful scene, with the aged, decrepid and infants, the heavy baggage, canoes, &c. made it very distressing — Set off down Machias river.

When in the great Lake, discovered a large moose which we fired at and wounded, but did not get him — A strong wind coming on, with rain put ashore and encamped for the night.

*Friday Aug<sup>t</sup> 1.....*Set off a little after sunrise — Fine day — passed many very disagreeable rapids — came into a fine lake,<sup>2</sup> went ashore and mended the canoes: Met Lewis Stone with some necessaries. We all moved down

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<sup>1</sup> Passing up through the Schoodic lakes to the Siciadobsis, a short portage leads to the head of canoe navigation on the Passadumkeag river, and so on to the Penobscot; it is the ancient trail and is still used.

<sup>2</sup> Now Crawford lake in the town of the same name.

the river and encamped about 20 miles from the settlement of Machias, where I distributed the provisions, which I received, among them.

*Saturday Aug. 2.....*Set off very early in the morning with all the canoes. Fixed on a place for a camp for the families. All the men with some of the women went on.

Came to the battery, where we were Saluted by the Maracheet & the Shore— took a little refreshment and moved on to the falls, where we were again saluted, dined altogether at Mr Mayhews, where every thing appeared agreeable.

*Sunday Aug. 3.....*Delivered the several families two days provisions, and about one o'clock they all set out for their encampment, but Ambroise and Nicholas Hawawesch, who dined with me at Mr Mayhew's, and in the afternoon went to meeting.

*Monday Aug. 4.....*A number of Canoes returned to trade during their stay; in the time of traffic behaved with sobriety.

*Tuesday Aug. 5.....*Fine day—Sundry more Indian canoes came up to trade and get provisions— assisted at the store as I did the day before— Indians Merry—

*Wednesday Aug. 6.....* This day Jean Baptist Neptune, and Noel Priest, arrived from Passamaquody, and sundry others, who reported that one of their canoes going on board a little sch laying in the harbour, they perceived a man-of-war barge coming to said schooner, and ceased paddling, not willing to trust themselves too nigh, when the Lieut. ordered his people to fire upon them from on the sch (of which he had taken possession) to bring them too, but the Indians not knowing their meaning, shoved off, upon which two more guns were fired upon them, which has much exasperated them, and are resolved to take vengeance of the affront, saying the Britton told them to use their arms to kill their food, and they would

do the same respecting them, but the Indians judiciously observed this — “Do the Torys intend making food of us and eat Indians”? Some of the Indians contradicted this. Mr Bent arrived from Horton N. S. this evening.

*Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 7* ..... Had a conference where the Marasheet Tribe lay'd down a knife as a declaration of their intention to take up arms. Receiving intelligence from Passamaquody that a sloop owned by John Avery (who was on board) was loading there, Capt Preble with ten Indians, and a party of volunteers set out to take her. The Indians were in high spirits, particularly Joe Toma, brother to Ambrose, conductor of the Indians on said expedition.

*MACHIAS, Friday Aug. 8, 1777*.....The Indians removed up Coupcheswick,<sup>1</sup> or Western river, to put their families in security, after providing themselves with provisions. Yesterday Col Shaw went from this to Gouldsbrough — This day several people arrived from the westward — nothing material. This evening had news of the arrival of the Penobscot Indians, at the encampment.

*Saturday Aug<sup>t</sup> 9*.....All day very busy at the store, and delivered provisions to the Indians for a week, Ambrose very much dissatisfied at some of the Indians conduct, as also with Col. Shaw, for tricking his son out of his gun, when they went up to see General Washington, and in lieu thereof gave him one good for nothing at all. Mr Allan promised it should be made up to him.

*Sunday Aug<sup>t</sup> 10 MACHIAS*.....This morning Capt. Preble returned from Passamaquody — mis'd of the sloop<sup>2</sup> they

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<sup>1</sup> Coupcheswick is undoubtedly the ancient name of the west Machias river; let the name be preserved.

<sup>2</sup>This sloop was no doubt loading lumber there; it would be interesting now to know in what port of that extensive bay, or river entering it, then

went after. Some of the Indians tarried to come along with others bringing their families along this way. They seem to be gathering from all quarters to join the main body. This evening N. Goudin came, and with him Johnot Dini, and J. B. Neptune. He imparted some news to Mr Allan of the St. Johns affairs.

*Monday Aug<sup>t</sup> 11* ..... Delivered sundry provisions to the Indians, which took up the best part of the day.

Received intelligence from Goyldsborough, that three ships, one brig and a schooner were seen off there, standing from the westward. Most persons conjecture it may be our fleet, but more probably the enemy; which put people to some consternation.

Capt. Smith caused some of the public stores to be secured up Middle river.

*Tuesday Aug<sup>t</sup> 12, 1777.* MAOHIAS..... This day the Penobscot Indians arrived. Entertained them at the house of Mr. Allan hired for the purpose. They seemed well satisfied at their reception, went out to lodge at the main camp.

*Wednesday Aug<sup>t</sup> 13*..... This day had a conference with the Penobscot deputies, together with chiefs of the Merichitte and Passamaquody tribes, where several strings of wampum were reciprocally interchanged, in token of lasting friendship between all parties — for particulars see <sup>1</sup> memorandum taken at the said meeting, which ended in a feast, at which were present Col. Eddy, Major Stillman, Capt. Smith and many other officers belonging to the army — In the midst of festal joy, received the unwelcome

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had saw mills; it is often mentioned that vessels came there for lumber, although no settlements of any note existed. There were some individuals engaged in fishing or trading in the bay. Possibly the saw mill was at Magadavic.

<sup>1</sup> The minute accounts of these treaties would now be very interesting, but they cannot be found.

news of the arrival of three Ships,<sup>1</sup> one brig and one Schooner. The British forces come to destroy this place. This evening the brig came up to the battery, who on her coming took Long's Sloop. She met with a good reception from the Batteries, where Capt. Smith of the Militia Maj'. Stillman of the Army, joined by Col. Foster from Eastern river, in all about Twenty eight men were posted —  
Next morning

*August 14<sup>th</sup>* ..... Being something foggy, the enemy landed at the Rim, which our people could not prevent, who abandoned the Battery, after securing the cannon. They had worked all night with indefatigable diligence to fix an anchor to the boom, which they effected, tho' it proved of little use. The enemy after landing took possession of the Battery & Burnt two houses and a barn adjacent. In the evening they made their hostile appearance, advancing to the falls, towed by a number of boats.

The sight was terrifying to behold! They arrived opposite White point about 7 o'clock, where immediately all their boats were manned and prepared for landing. The prize Sloop before mentioned they had made a strong baricado of, but to our great surprise, we observed four boats strung to the Sloop, and five to the Brig, and towing down again without firing a gun, and we supposed it to be only a feint, but since conjecture they saw too much opposition, for Capt. Smith and Col. Foster, with a strong party posted on White point to dispute their landing there, sundry parties posted at several advanced points and a battery at Libby's Hill, out of which we fired several cannon, to let them see we were prepared; also a strong

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<sup>1</sup> It seems almost providential that Col. Allan with his party should have arrived to take part in this action. Cola. Allan and Foster both sent particular accounts of it to the Massachusetts government which are published in this volume.

breast work at the Liberty Pole; Indians running over the hills, making hideous yells for the onset, for which they were eager. All this I mention undoubtedly intimidated them, and caused their returning down, which we perceived with joy.

Immediately Maj<sup>r</sup> Stillman, and a number of Volunteers set off to annoy the enemy and watch their motions, to the number of twenty five men, myself of the number. About 9 o'clock we came abreast of them at Libby's point half way between the falls and breast work where we began a very brisk fire upon them to their great surprise. The action continued till between 11 and 12 o'clock. They fired very smart from swivel and gun, loaded with lanagerage, and many small arms.

We had no shelter at all but scattering woods, yet providentially lost but one man killed dead.

The brig run aground and all hands called on board, we could annoy them no more, so we quit them and returned.

*Friday Aug<sup>t</sup> 15, 1777.....*Our people retook possession of the Battery and breastwork opposite, from which they must distress the enemy and cut off whole boat's crews to a very few, scarce any to return aboard here.

Capt. Farnsworth received a wound which fractured his skull a little. Here our people picked up a barge that had been taken by the enemy, belonging to parson Lyons, set adrift from the brig. A party went on the Balhead, and much annoyed the enemy's barges going to and from a ship that lay at Parker's Mills. Here some Indians behaved gallantly, exposing themselves openly to the enemy's shot without fear, and contrary to the custom of Indians, the whole squad was out this day on different parties. In the afternoon Capt. Smith caused a Gun, that the enemy had not found, to be placed on a Point, called Manchester's Point, below the River, which played imme-

diately on the brig's stern, which hulled her, and damaged the boats that lay alongside. Two thirds of the time of firing rain came on, and being flood tide, favoring the enemy's escape, the brig was warped out by the sloop, and they withdrew this evening.

*Saturday Aug<sup>t</sup> 16.....*This morning the enemy removed to Round Island — Militia coming in very fast, and the families returned to their houses with their effects. Having been obliged to move out on the first alarm — Served sundry Indians with provisions.

*Sunday Aug<sup>t</sup> 17.....*All is quiet, and peace seems to have regained her dominion on this late invaded land, and fear left every timorous soul, the soldiers rejoicing in their success, recounting the perils they had escaped, and how the fugitive enemy fled before them, the savages exulting in the share they had in this glorious repulse.

This day Mr Allan made presents to the Penobscot Indians, and after a friendly parley, wherein the pledges of union and love were renewed, they departed with satisfaction. The Indians from the Lake came to receive their rations — <sup>1</sup>Parson Noble preached a sermon on the late event.

*MACHIAS, Monday Aug 18.....*This day by a deserter that escaped from the ship Rainbow by swimming, received information that the enemy had lost a considerable number of their men in the late actions. The Rainbow had <sup>2</sup>40 killed and wounded of her quota, but could not learn

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<sup>1</sup> He was the minister of the place, was an ardent patriot, a man of great energy; he wrote a letter to General Washington, setting forth the great importance of the capture of Western Nova Scotia, including St. John river, and proposing to take any position in which he could be placed; it is probable he had resided there. General Washington was obliged to refuse the request for want of men.

<sup>2</sup> This is an error; the British account, which is probably nearly correct, can be found in this volume, which shows their loss in men was quite small; it is very common to overstate an enemy's loss.

the number of the whole by any means. The Indians all in good spirits, and little troublesome for liquor.

*Tuesday Augt. 19.....*In the morning received intelligence that the enemy had removed all off, but one ship that lay at Round Island still. It is generally thought the enemy has gone for a reinforcement; was told that the ship had removed to Cross Island. A party under Maj<sup>r</sup>. Stillman. Capt<sup>r</sup>. Reynolds and Dyer, joined by Capt. Preble with Indians, set off for Cross Island to endeavour to make some prisoners. Mr Allan had letters, informing that the enemy had been defeated at Ticonderogue.

*Wednesday Aug<sup>t</sup> 20. 1777.....*Served some Indians with provisions that had not received any on Saturday. About noon Maj<sup>r</sup>. Stillman returned with his party, having destroyed one boat's crew that came ashore to water. Took three prisoners which are here, secured. They might have taken more but for misunderstanding of the Indians, or orders being too long delayed. The boat's people got the alarm and fled to their boat, choosing to risk being all shot, than accept of quarter which was offered them, so terrified were they by the Indians — This ship is the Blond Lilly from the river St Lawrence.

The above Indians were presented with a blanket each for their service.

*MACHIAS Aug<sup>t</sup> 21. Thursday.....*Nothing material transpired — Capt Reynolds went to Mischechy reach with a party to apprehend some Jackaboth Steles lately come from Nova Scotia.

*Friday Aug<sup>t</sup> 22.....*This afternoon a prisoner taken in Manly was set at large from the ship 'Blonde with a letter directed to the commanding officer, complaining of cruelty<sup>d</sup> used by our people in firing upon innocent men, requesting

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<sup>1</sup>The British account before mentioned is very important in connection with this matter, as both of them were written at the time.



an exchange of prisoners, and expecting an answer in four hours, as he intended sailing soon. Capt. Reynolds returned the men he went in quest of. Last night had some papers containing some good intelligence. All day busy settle Truck house accounts for Mr Allan.

*Saturday Aug<sup>t</sup> 23.....* Busied forepart of the day in giving the Indians their allowance for a week. Mr Allan in the afternoon made a very pathetic discourse to Nicholas and Francois Jo<sup>e</sup>. Hawawesh touching their valour, meaning all the Indians concerned in defending their rights and privileges, representing with what Glory their names would be handed down to their posterity, who will with veneration, sacredly commemorate the anniversary of the gallant defence of their territories. Nicolas and Francis thanking him, said they had abandoned the fertile banks of the St Johns river for his sake, requesting the Americans would vigorously exert themselves to take possession of & fortify the river St. Johns, that they would assist in the expedition to gain and keep it, or lose their lives in the attempt. <sup>1</sup>They earnestly desired to repossess the once peaceful abodes, where they cultivated and raised luxuriant crops of Indian corn: the soil overpaying their industry; where their hunt was crowned with success in the spoil of the numerous herds of animals that swarm in their woods.

*Sunday Aug<sup>t</sup> 24.....* This morning our courier returned from Naraguagus; also arrived Maj<sup>r</sup>. Newel with orders from the General Court to disband all the Soldiers here and take back the provisions and arms brought down by Col<sup>o</sup>. Eddy, which threw all concerned into consternation. Nicholas and F. Joseph Hawawesh, came to learn the news. Mr Allan informed them the course, which is a secret to all others. General Washington had not been consulted

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<sup>1</sup> These Indians were aware of the great sacrifice they had made, and seemed to have great confidence in Colonel Allan, and could he have been reinforced they would have aided him to the utmost in their power.

till lately; found the force so insufficient, and preparations so slow, thought fit to have the scheme laid aside until further consideration.

The Indians were satisfied with what was told them, got a gallon of rum and departed.

Mr Allan engaged four Indian youths to tarry with him. This day Mr Preble and myself dined with a large company of young Indians mostly of the female sex. All gaily dressed, who in the afternoon waited on the Major, who arrived to-day, as they were desirous to see a Boston man lately from that town.

*Monday Aug<sup>t</sup> 25.....* This day the Officers and men<sup>1</sup> of Col. Eddy's Reg<sup>t</sup>. were dismissed.

The inhabitants had a general meeting, and resolved to pay and find all that are willing to stay and defend their place — many appeared disheartened.

*Tuesday Aug<sup>t</sup> 26.....* Rain this day — Had a Grand conference of the Indians present, in presence of<sup>2</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup>. Newell and other gentlemen. Had a dinner at Mr Mayhews, where above forty-five Indians were entertained by many gentlemen of Rank belonging mostly to the Army, all very sociable and friendly.

The Indians continue steadfast friends, made earnest entreaty's for a Priest to be sent to them as soon as may be. Yesterday the Continental schooner Mericheete fell down the river, preparing to sail for Boston.

*Wednesday Aug<sup>t</sup> 27.....* Busy writing letters to the General Court, the Mericheete went round to Chandlers River, to be ready to sail for Boston.

*Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 28.....* Had news that a ship lay at anchor between Libby's & Cross Islands. Capt. Reynolds came from Pasamaquody, bringing in Capt<sup>e</sup> Littlefield.

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<sup>1</sup> These, I think, were mostly from Cumberland.

<sup>2</sup> He was, no doubt, the gentleman from Boston.

*Friday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 29. MACHIAS.....*This day Col<sup>r</sup>. Eddy set off for the Westward, with many others belonging to Cumberland, with whom went Major Newell — They went in whale Boats — We heard several Barges from the Ship attempted to cut them off but were disappointed.

Many of the Militia came from Penobscot —

*Saturday Aug<sup>t</sup> 30.....*This day the Indians had their allowance — Several of the Militia from the Westward,<sup>1</sup> who brought News that there were three privateers in the Reach, by whom we received intelligence, that our Northern Army had gained an advantage over the enemy.

*Sunday Aug<sup>t</sup> 31.....*Attend meeting where Ambrose, and a number of Indians were present, who behaved with much decorum, the whole of the time — Nothing material transpired.

*Monday Sep<sup>r</sup> 1.....*This day very busy dispatching letters to the Westward, viz. to the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Court, Mess<sup>r</sup> Cross, Gen<sup>l</sup> Ward, Ben<sup>r</sup>. Greenleaf Esq. Nothing worth notice intervened —

*MACHIAS Sep<sup>r</sup> 2. Tuesday.....*This day finished the dispatches and sent off Capt Wing to join the Sch<sup>r</sup>. Mr Allan, Capt. Smith, Maj Stillman, and several more went to see the Indians at the lake<sup>2</sup> — In the evening returned.

*Wednesday Sep. 3.....*Very busy settling the book and accounts, which are thrown into confusion and neglect, owing chiefly to the multiplicity of affairs with the Indians and the several alarms, and sudden surprises in the course of the summer.

Ambrose & squad removed to the lakes —

*Thursday Sep. 4.....*This day we had intelligence that two ships, one Brig one Schooner and a Sloop stood from the westward and went to the eastward of this harbour. The ship that lay off here, weighed Anchor and went with them, we hope never to return. Sundry vessels that had

<sup>1</sup>Probably between Machias and Penobscot.

<sup>2</sup>Probably what is now called Gardner's lake, near Machias.

been taken and released, again got out of this harbour, this and last week.

*MACHIAS, Friday Sept. 5. 1777.....*Nothing circumstantial happened. Mr Allan went down to Buck's harbour with Maj<sup>r</sup>. Stillman, and returned in the evening.

*Saturday Sept. 6.....*The Indians came from the different encampments to receive their provision for the week as usual. A privateer commanded by Capt. Jerry O'Brien arrived here, brought some papers, none of very late date, also a letter giving information that a gentleman escaped from the enemy off Cape Sables, a few days ago, that a reinforcement of 400 men, under convoy of the Milford, were coming to join these under the Rainbow, commodore G. Collier, to make a second attempt on this place. How vain are our hopes! how changable are our fates, when we think ourselves most secure, we are most in danger. In the course of the week several men came to join the Militia of this place. Maj<sup>r</sup> Stillman has directed a floating bridge to be hung across the western river to facilitate the communication with the other rivers. Five Indians came in from Penobscot, informing that their brethren that went to Canada had returned, that the Gen. Guy Carleton, had requested the Indians to raise 8000 men to go with the Army to Ticonderoga, that he was preparing to go to England.

*Sunday Sept. 7.....*The inhabitants had a town meeting to consult for their safety, and preparation for the reception of the enemy. Then Parson Lyon preached a very encouraging sermon to American soldiers. A Sloop arrived from Nantucket with provisions.

*Monday Sept. 8. 1777.....*This day Nicholas Hawawesch and others came in to see Mr Allan. We gave them a dinner where the <sup>1</sup>Iroquois also was present. In the

<sup>1</sup>He was probably a Mohawk. Members of this tribe had been found among our Indians in all the wars. As that tribe were then acting with the

evening the Indians made merry — Capt Smith and the inhabitants at work making Batteries and intrenchments.

*Tuesday Sept. 9.....* Heard that Crabtree with his privateer was at Oandler's river, offering his service to the inhabitants of Machias, to assist them against the enemy in the now daily expected invasion — He had Several Cannon, some double fortified pounders, which would be very servicable in the batteries now erecting. Ambroise came and his squad to pay a visit — Mr Allan entertained them to the number of twenty two, at Mayhews'; all very agreeable.

Three Indians returned from Quoddy as did Lieut Scott and Mr How, who informed that the Enemy's ships stood straight over to Annapolis, since they were seen going past this harbour. Mr Allan went to the Rim to visit the works, found them well executed, particularly the Boom.

*Wednesday Sept. 10.....* Rainy and disagreeable weather — This day began to take orders, and copied the Orderly Book from Mr Eddy's going. The people from the westward, particularly Penobscot begin to be very uneasy, their fall business being so backward.

*Thursday Sept. 11.....* Last night by some men which came from Mount Desert to augment our force, had news from the westward of very great rejoicing for some signal victory obtained over the Army under General Burgoyne, or as some say the retaking of Ticonderoga — Had a general conference, where all things were mutual and satisfactory, also an entertainment for the chiefs and captains at Mr Mayhews' for the young men and squaws to the number of thirty at Capt West's, the evening spent in dancing.

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British, it may be, he had come from Canada to bring intelligence to them, and invite them there.

*Friday Sept. 12.....* Nothing of consequence—Militia employed making breastworks for defence—Heard news that the Enemy's Ship Milford was cast away on Cape Sables, and most people conclude that they will not come.

*Saturday Sept. 18, MACHIAS.....*Served the provisions to Indians as usual Capt Sullivan<sup>1</sup> came with some draughted Militia for service here. By Capt Farnsworth who came yesterday, received papers containing much good news.

*Sunday Sept. 14.....*This day Capt Jenkins came in bringing three prisoners, a midshipman and two tars, which had been put on board of him when taken by the Vulture some days since at Pasamaquody, but he rose and retook his vessel, by which we are informed that the Enemy are at St. John preparing for a second attack on this place, their force being 700, and we look for them every moment. In the evening the alarm was fired as a ship hove in sight supposed to be the Vulture after her prey.

Yesterday, and the day before, twentyfour men left us to return home, some with leave and some without leave. Col. Foster dispatched a courier to all the officers of his Regiment to send in their men as soon as possible. Mr. Allan sent word to the Indians. In the evening two Guns were fired for alarm.

*Monday Sept. 15.....*At 8 o'clock fired two cannon for alarm. The Indians came in to the number of thirty. Whitney came from Chandler's river, the Militia there would stop, we hearing the enemy intend landing a party there.

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<sup>1</sup> He was the brother of Gen. Sullivan and of Gov. Sullivan; resided at what was then New Bristol, now called Sullivan, and was sometime afterwards taken from his home at night by a party of the enemy, carried to New York and imprisoned in one of the terrible prisons there, and when exchanged was in so feeble a condition that he died on his way home.

Lieut. How came in with eight men. All the Militia were ordered to join Col. Foster at the Rim this morning.

*Tuesday Sept. 16.....*Our people opened a breastwork on Dublin side. Mr. Allan with three birch canoes went down to Round Island for discovery. Lieut<sup>r</sup> Buck and Goodwin came up from the Rim for a Cannon.

Fair wind for the Enemy, but very foggy. Busied in getting sundry Bbls. provisions down to Middle River to get concealed in the wood towards the Lake.

*Wednesday Sept. 17<sup>th</sup>.....*Reports that several cannon were heard off Mispeacky, supposed it to be the Enemy run past in the fog. Went down in the evening to see the works, which are excellent, considering the time, and situation of working, in short we have Breastworks and Redoubts sufficient for 600 men to make a tolerable defence in. A few cannon are much wanted to complete at the post.

*Thursday Sept. 18.....*This morning Capt Farnsworth came round from Chandler's River with a barrel of Liquor, which was much wanted for white men as well as Indians. The ship lays there still.

*Friday Sept. 19.....*This day Elijah Ayres and G. Rogers returned in ten days from Cumberland, and with them came Jn<sup>r</sup> Eddy and John McGown, who went from St Johns river last July, but David Farrel deceived them, and kept them seven weeks in the woods, not being able to get a canoe or craft to bring them off. Charles Oulton accepted of a pardon and went on to the boat, where he now remains. We are informed by the above that the enemy are making all the preparation possible to destroy this place.

All the men are coming from Fort Cumberland, where the inhabitants are obliged to keep garrison, 50 at a time, until the whole County has been in. They put them to the most servile and abject occupations, making them cleavers of wood, emptier<sup>s</sup> of dish water, &c. The three men that were taken at St. Jehns, Mcbriought is better of

his wound. John Fulton is prosecuted by Conger and Crawford will be.—A number of Militia have just come under Lieut. Nichols.

*Saturday Sept. 20.....* MACHIAS...Nothing material. Served provisions to the Indians as usual. Gave them a Barrel of Flour to divide among themselves.

*Sunday Sept. 21.....* Sent off Lieut Dodge with two Indians, Louis Roche and Etienne Demour to St. Johns to spy out what the Enemy are about there. It is apprehended they will wait until the Militia are tired out, and are returning to their places of abode, before they make their attempt. Some Militia arrived, supposed to complete 400 men in the place. Six families of Indians gone to Penobscot, Piere Joe, Grand Piere, J. B. Neptune, F. J. Joe Tomma, and E. Squatpan.

*Monday Sept. 22.....* Very foul and tempestuous weather during the Equinoxial Gale, Capt Crabtree is expected in with 60 men, the ships still lying below.

*MACHIAS Sept. 23, 1777, Tuesday.....* This day Capt. Reid, Lieut<sup>r</sup> Buck and Goodwin & Coburn returned with their parties to Penobscot. By the last Mr. Allan sent letters for the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court and Col. Buck, Serg<sup>t</sup> Milbery returned from pursuing deserters, brought one Peck with his father-in-law, who fired upon the party. Surely his punishment ought to be severe. All the Indians returned to their families except two.

*MACHIAS Wednesday Sept. 24, 1777.....* Letters were brought from Penobscot, sent by Col. Lowden for Webb. No news from the Westward. It is said Crabtree intends coming to little Kennebec,<sup>1</sup> whence his cannon may be hauled through, the distance being small, and a good road — Also Maj<sup>r</sup> Jourdan of the Militia arrived.

*Thursday Sept. 25.....* Dispatched Letters per Webb for

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<sup>1</sup> This was a harbor near Machias.



the Genl. Court, for Col. Lowder Penobscot, and one for Chandler's river for Pierce. Four Indians dined with Mr. Allan. One Indian family came in from Penobscot.<sup>1</sup> Another ship came in on which an alarm was fired from our Battery.

It is supposed one Harrie got aboard the ship. He deserted from the Continental service, came down here with the Penobscot Militia and attempted to desert once or twice before.

The villian is well acquainted with matters here, which he no doubt will inform the enemy of. Five men came in from Union river this evening.

*Friday Sept. 26, 1777.....*Received intelligence that the enemy at St. Johns had released several men belonging to Passamaquody which they had taken, by which we are informed that their intention is to attack this place immediately. They have built a Prow Galley for the purpose, carrying 18 Guns, and all close work. They have 18 Sail in all. Four or five Militia came in this morning.

Just arrived a young man from Canada who was taken prisoner at the Siege Dec. 1775, and was a prisoner till May 1777, when he make his escape. Came here by the river St. [Lawrence?]

An Indian from Canada and Jean Diri, alias Orgamat Washington from Metaweshcaugh<sup>2</sup> came with him. His story is very untelligible, produced some papers with the names of several friends of America in those parts, but to me it appears he is not on a good errand.

Friend Gardner, who came in from Passamaquody, where he saw Atwood, who had been confined on board the ship and released.

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<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been a continual intercourse between Col. Allan and the Penobscot tribe; the route was via the Schoodic lakes.

<sup>2</sup> Madawasca.

Gave advice that Mr. Franklin is commander—that his officers were very unwilling to come here, they begin to think the cause is not very good, no fortifications building there, and that Piere Paul Lorette offered to bring on Mr. Allan for ten dollars, but Mr. Franklin was afraid they would kill him.

The ships sailed from this in the evening.

*Saturday Sept. 27.....*Served provisions to the Indians as usual, nothing else material.

*Sunday Sept. 28.....*Rec<sup>d</sup> letters from *Messrs. Lorne* <sup>Messrs. Lorne</sup> and Crabtree, and Newspapers, also intelligence that a Regiment had marched from Boston 19 days ago, on their way for this place, with a Train of Artillery, all to embark at Casco. All this came by a privateer, commanded by Capt. Lawrence, also that Gen' Washington had defeated Gen' Howe at the head of Elk, and had killed and taken Ten thousand of them.

This evening Serg<sup>t</sup> Dodge returned from St Johns with the two Indians that went with him,—Particulars of his return, Mr. Allan has taken down. Holly brought his Schooner to the Falls, from Chandler's River, having corn for the committee and Indians.

*Monday Sept. 29, MACHIAS<sup>s</sup>.....*Crabtree came in with his privateer, and a gun was fired on the occasion. This privateer has 8 Four pounders and 80 men. Shortly after Capt Jerry Obrien came in from a cruise.

He took a rich prize off cape Negro, which had been taken coming from Ireland loaded with Pork, by some of our privateers, and was retaken by the Scarborough. She had 4 carriage Guns and two Cohorn, besides swivels—

She went to the Westward. The Mate of the Scarborough who was prize Master is on board O'Brien's

<sup>1</sup> They resided at Newbury.

<sup>2</sup> Machias seems to have been the home of several privateers.

privateer, also another little privateer came in with him. Gave the Indians permission to get rum of any body until twelve o'clock tomorrow (who came in hearing the gun fired).

*Tuesday Sept. 30.....*Col. Foster, Capt. Crabtree and other officers dined with Mr Allan — nothing else material.

*MACHIAS, Oct. 1. 1777. Wednesday.....*We heard that another privateer came in last night from Salem, confirming that the troops marched from Boston for this place. Capt O'Brien sailed for Boston, by whom Mr. Allan wrote to the General Court.

*The second and third of October, Thursday and Friday,* nothing transpired worthy of notice.

*Saturday Oct 4th.....*Sent Capt. Crabtree a letter of instruction to observe during his being stationed at the mouth of the harbour, as also, signals to be made in case of danger. Mr Allan gave him insurance for his Schooner. This day served provisions as usual.

*Sunday Oct 5. 1777.....*Had news that one Capt Combs had come from Halifax, who met the Roebuck going in there, also spoke with Capt. Stiles the Bermudian on his way from St. Johns' to the aforesaid port, who gave information that the expedition forming against Machias, at St. Johns, was broke up, and the British Troops returned to winter Quarters, that no News had been received from Gen' Howe for a month, and much trouble and fear among the Tories for his situation.

*Monday Oct 6.....*Mr Allan accompanied by Dr Rice went to the Indian's Village on Eastern, river Lake where we arrived about 4 o'clock P. M.

*Tuesday Oct 7.....*Early set off Ambrose & Son for St. Johns. Mr. Allan had a conference with all the remaining Indians, (several having gone off lately to different parts to hunt) the particulars of which may be seen per memorandum taken of the same. Return to Machias.

*Wednesday Oct 8.....*The Indians came in to settle their account with the Truck House. In the afternoon Mr. Preble arrived from Boston in the *Hannah & Molly*, Capt Bunker, bringing sundry letters and newspapers for Mr. Allan, likewise Capt Crabtree came in from a Cruise, having retaken Capt Long going from Passamaquody to Annapolis. Capt Long informs that Mr Franklin declared that any of the Cumberland people that had a mind to bring away their families, might do so unmolested.

*Thursday Oct 9.....*In the morning Mr Allan & Dr Rice with several other Gentlemen went to the Indian's camp to a feast. Mr. Allan carried a letter from the Council to the Indians. Capt. Gouch arrived from Boston with Stores, and two (Cannon) nine pounders.

In the evening Mr Allan returned from the Indian Camp. Received several letters from Gen<sup>l</sup> Ward, Mr. Greenleaf and others from Boston.

*Friday Oct 10.....*This morning Mr Allan examined Capt. Long and his man, as may be seen by the memorandum taken. Mr. Allan thought proper to confine them, as they were taken carrying intelligence by Express to the Enemy. They were sent aboard Crabtree for this night, until a guard should be established for the purpose. This evening the two nine pounders were landed from on board Gouchs Vessel, to the great joy of all present.

*MACHIAS, Saturday, October 11.....*Yesterday Mr. Allan took command of the Military, having received a Colonel's commission<sup>1</sup> for the purpose. This day he appointed Mr John McGown Commissary of the Ordinance Stores in this district. Gave the Indians full rations of provisions. Gave Capt. Crabtree a second order to keep the prisoners

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<sup>1</sup> Previous to this it is probable he had been acting mainly as superintendent of the Indians, although he was appointed a colonel by the Massachusetts government six months previous.

on board the Schooner. Received a return from Capt. Crabtree, about his deficiency of provisions, and gave him an order on the Commissary for the amount.

*Sunday October 12.....*Jean Baptist Leport, goes to St Johns, by whom Mr. Allan sent a string of Wampum, to be conveyed among the Mickmacks as soon as possible to desire them to choose Deputies, to be at the Congress at this place the latter end of this month, to consist of all the Indians that can be assembled. He is instructed to hire one or two Indians to go from St. Johns, desiring him to promise ample payment for the same. Gave Esq Curry & Company passes to Passamaquody. This night being short of men, Two Indians mounted guard, who are to receive pay from the first of October as Continental Soldiers, with their full rations of provisions.

*Monday October 13, 1777.....*This day a message was sent to the committee of all the principle officers in this district to consult where will be the most advantageous situation to erect a fortress for the defence of this river. Wrote to Lieut. Allan to continue five days longer absent if he has any prospect of enlisting men; enclosed him an extract from General Orders. Gave Capt. Crabtree a discharge, also an order for payment. Give him also orders to take John Long with him on a cruise as he sd Long desires it, and as there is no proper place to confine him here at present.

Sent Isaiah Boudreau, and Noel Wallace to Passamaquody after sundry papers, &c. to be delivered D. Long's Order on Mr. Bell also wrote Mr. Bell to deliver Noel Wallace the pawns he has, for which he shall be paid at any of the stores. Gave Boudreau a pass to G—— This day Mr. Allan agreed with Mr Longfellow for two Rooms at Pr week and Pr do for board.

*Tuesday Oct. 14, 1777 ... MACHIAS.....*This day eight Indians come to mount Guard; to day also we took an

inventory of Anderson's goods on hand, and turned them into the Truck House. Gave out several enlistment papers to the commanding officers to fill their companies with all speed, also beating order to John Foster to raise fourteen men for which he is to have an Ensign's commission — These men are to be in Capt. Dyer's company. Capt. Ephraim Chase to take command of the Schooner Hannah and Molly as pr agreement, and he sailed this night.

*Wednesday Oct. 15.....*This day sent off Expresses with letters to General Court, enclosed, and to be forwarded by Col. Buck<sup>1</sup> also a letter to Lieut Buck with beating orders and enlistment by Elijah Ayres. Also a boat to Naraguagus with Sundries for Col. Campbell the family under the care of Serg<sup>t</sup> Ray. This day entered a complaint against Stephen Jones for supplying Indians with liquor, contrary to all the injunctions put against this practice. Joseph Tomma brought him out in a very acute manner; Esquire Jones would not attend on the Summons and Col. Foster took the Indians' depositions, and swore them.

*Thursday Oct. 16.....*Gave Lieut<sup>t</sup> Allan and Ens<sup>e</sup> Stone recruiting orders as far as Frenchman's Bay, to return in ten days. Boudreau returned from Passamaquody, but brought none of the articles he went for, as Capt Crabtree's men plundered the house whilst he was on board.

Mr. Allan went down to the Rim to choose a spot for erecting the Fort and returned at 2 o'clock.

*Friday Oct. 17.....*Gave Lieut Longfellow recruiting orders — Put up sundry advertisements for three deserters of Capt Dyer's company. Last night J. Baptist Forele Jr stole a Moose Skin which he sold Jones for rum, and to

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Buck was an important man at Penobscot; his residence was at Bucksport.

day found the skin in Jones' yard spread to dry; a sentry was placed over it, and Esquire Jones sent for, when he owned the fact to Col. Allan.

*Saturday 18.....*One the 15th inst. in consequence of a consultation between the chief officers of the army, Militia, and the committee, for the erection of a fort at Andrews' Hill near the Rim, Col. Allan gave Maj<sup>r</sup> Stillman particular instructions for that purpose, he taking the command of that post. The Indians as usual received their rations; they are to have a consultation among themselves, on which they are to make return of the same.

*MACHIAS, Sunday, October 19. 1777.....*Nothing material. Very fine weather.

*Monday 20.....*The Court opened at 10 o'clock — previously to this <sup>1</sup> Esquire Jones was served with a Copy of the proceedings of the 15th inst. and another complaint was entered against him for buying a Moose skin Je Baptist stole. The summons was served by Mr Tupper, but Mr Jones absconded — Depositions taken and the Court adjourned till 4 o'clock. The Indians came to have a Conference, and ask Mr Allan's advice about their going a hunting; Mr Allan told them it was his earnest desire to see them contented, and was determined to advise them what he thought best for them and their families; as to all appearance the enemy would return; but tho<sup>a</sup> expected, they might or might not return; that he knew how impossible it was for them to remain inactive, and thought it would be best for them to go to some convenient, adjacent hunting ground; that he would always be ready to help them with anything in his power; that they will endeavour to be as near as possible; that he intended go out and see them when they were placed in winter quarters.

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<sup>1</sup>This charge against Mr., best known as Judge Jones, was afterwards entirely refuted, and his good and loyal character vouched for by the principal men of the town; it can be found in the *Archives of Massachusetts*.

The Court opened at 4 o'clock when judgment went against Jones, in action for breach of the Resolve of the General Court, when a Warrant was made out to apprehend him, and the Court closed. Jones had alledged some Complaints against the Indians, who came to Justify themselves, but he would not appear.

*Tuesday Oct 21.....*Capt Preble got instructions for a secret expedition, four Indians to go with him and Boudreau likewise. Very stormy weather, turn<sup>d</sup> to Snow eve<sup>s</sup>.

*Wednesday Oct. 22.,.....*This morning Capt. Preble set off for Passamaquody, according to his Instructions, &c.

Piere Tomma, Etienne Numcoot, Piere Huron, & Francis Blackducks, went with him.

*Thursday Oct. 23 1777.....*Ambroise returned from St. Johns, but did not bring what he went for, as some persons had found what they had hid, except the Beaver which St. Nicholas had secured. He reports that all the French thought well of Mr 'Allan, except Bernabie; that Mr Franklin told the Indians that he would secure Mr Allan's family; That Mr Allan had been a man of sense, but that he had lately lost his senses, as was the case with Ambroise.

Ambroise was told not to go among the inhabitants, for perhaps he might not return. Mitchel was at his dwelling.

Perly was appointed captain, as was Sd Barnabie among the French, that twenty Mickmacks had been at fort Cumberland. In the evening the Hannah brought up her second load of wood.

*Friday, Oct. 24.....*This morning a boat arrived from Cobequid Nova Scotia in 8 days; no material news, only that two thirds of the inhabitants of Cobequid had taken the Oath of supremacy. Col. Foster Came up and held his court to try Jones for his late offence; he was condemned to pay 40s for four breaches, and find security for his appearing at the Gen' Ses<sup>ions</sup> at Pownalborough, July next—Particulars may be seen by the proceedings of the Court.



*Saturday 25.....*The court opened — Jones appeared and appealed to Pownelborough Sessions — Gave bonds for Twenty pounds, Burnam and Miservey are his Suretys.

Delivered the Indians their rations as usual; they are determined to remain near Machias this winter. Capt Preble returned from Passamaquody, but through the means of one Brown, he missed the taking Heany the deserter. Ensign Stone returned, having enlisted but few men.

*Sunday Oct. 26.....*Rainy weather — Capt. Wallace came from Naraguagus, who informs that 'Col. Campbell wrote him that Ticonderogu was in our possession.

*MACHIAS, Monday, Oct. 27.....*Nothing material — James Crow, a prisoner brought up and lodged in the guard house, the charge alleged against him that he had communication with the enemy, and Countenanced deserters. Last night arrived Piere Jaque and Picre Nichola.— Two Indians from Penobscot.—

*Tuesday Oct. 28.....*Elijah Ayers and Capt. Kellum came from Penobscot; brought letters for Col. Allan, among others one from Gen' Ward enclosing the transactions of the General Court respecting the stopping the expedition to St Johns Aug<sup>d</sup> 8th. They report that the Scarborough Ship belonging to the British king lays at Cranberry Islands.

*Wednesday 29.....*A Regimental Court Martial was held for the trial of James Brown, for having communication with the Enemy, and countenancing deserters, and the trial of Richard Faucot for desertion, both found guilty.

*Thursday Oct' 30.....*Arrived from St. Johns, part of Capt. Lawrence's Crew, their Privateer having been driven ashore there, by the Loyal Nova Scotia. This day a number of recruits passed muster.

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Campbell was a man of influence, and lieutenant colonel of the Eastern Regiment; he resided at Township No. 4, now Harrington.

*Friday Oct. 31. 1777*.....All the troops were ordered to the Rhym, and the prisoners conveyed under guard; the whipping post erected a ring formed and the prisoners received their sentences, and expected to receive their deserts, when pardon was produced to the great joy of the criminals, and the universal satisfaction of the whole present, who behaved with a great deal of composure and decorum, far from what was expected. The articles of war were read to all the Soldiers and others present, as was the Several orders of the commanding officer issued from time to time, respecting the conduct of Officers and Soldiers under good discipline.

*Saturday Nov. 1. 1777*.....Wrote to Col. Buck and Col. Brewer, by Capt. Kellum respecting the men raising there. Also wrote Eben<sup>r</sup> Buck to recruit fifteen men for Capt. Dyer's company.

Delivered provisions to the Indians as usual. The Penobscot Deputies informed Col. Allan, that they shall stay four days longer.

*Sunday Nov 2*.....Nothing material.

*Monday Nov 3*.....Had a General Conference with the Indians as may be seen by the memorandum taken. Indians dine with the Colonel, the evening concludes with mirth.

MACHIAS, *Tuesday Nov 4*.....The Hannah & Molly came up from Buck Harbour with a load of hay for Smith. Heard that Capt. Lawrence, whose privateer was drove ashore at St. Johns, went by the mouth of this harbour on his way to the westward.

*Wednesday Nov 5*.....Nothing material.

*Thursday Nov 6*.....Wrote the Penobscot Tribe of Indians. A fishing boat arrived from Grand Menan — No news.

*Friday, Nov 7. 1777*.....This day was held a court Martial for the Trial of Joshua Brown, for stealing powder out

of the Magazine, and for absenting himself from his company without leave, and for the trial of Nehemiah Small for outstaying the time limited by his furlough, eight days, and was punished by setting a half hour on the wooden Horse.—Also dismissed the Penobscot Indians with a letter for the Tribe, and a string of Wampum. They took their leaves after receiving presents.

*Saturday Nov<sup>r</sup> 8.....*In the morning Mr Deleedernier and others set off for <sup>1</sup>C——d— In the afternoon Mr Beel arrived from Mispeskey reach, who brought News of Howe's being in Philadelphia, and that Gen' Burgoyne's whole Army had surrendered themselves to Gen' Gates. Fired five cannon. In the evening received several newspapers and a letter from Boston. Heard that Capt. Wing in the Merisheete was at the Narrows in Mount Desert, and expect him every hour. Joshua Brown was punished at the Rhym.

Served the Indians with provisions as usual.

*Sunday Nov<sup>r</sup> 9.....*In the morning Capt. Knight came to the falls and informs that Gen' Washington has had another engagement with Howe on a plain near Philadelphia, wherein the enemy were defeated with the loss of 4000 left dead on the field of Battle. Several cartels had sailed from Boston for Halifax.

*Monday Nov<sup>r</sup> 10. 1777.....*In the morning Col. Allan and Mr Lyon went down to the Rhym, where all the men attended at prayers. At 12 o'clock fired two cannon at the Rhym, and eleven at the falls, after which fired three volleys by all the soldiers at the Rhym. The officers of the Army and Melitia to the number of fifteen, dined with Col. Allan at Capt. Longfellows'; also all the chiefs and captains of the Merisheete Tribe of Indians were present; Capt Ludwig arrived with his company of twenty four

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Cobequid, N. S.

officers and soldiers. In the evening the Indians danced according to their usual manner on such occasions. They seemed discontented, and said Col. Allan did not take so much notice of them as he used to.

*Tuesday Nov 11. 1777.....*The Indians seem very sorry for their conduct yesterday, and said they were in liquor, and did not know what they said. The articles of war, and a resolve of the General Court was read to Capt. Ludwig's Company, who have orders to be ready to go to the Rhym tomorrow, the two Hessian Prisoners who came with Capt. Ludwig enlisted.

*Wednesday Nov 12. 1777.....*In the morning Capt. Ludwig's men were supplied with what arms and other things they were in want of, and then set off for the Rhym.

Sent a complaint to Col. Foster to grant a Warrant to search for tin kettles and other articles belonging to the State, also gave Lieut. Alby orders to regulate the messes at the Rhym. Capt Chase in the Hannah & Molly arrived in the evening with a load of wood.

*Thursday Nov 13.....*Col. Allan went down to the Rhym—The Schooner Polly unloaded and sailed down the river. Capt. Wing arrived at Buck's Harbour, with whom came Mr Sullivan and Dr. Nevers' son.

*Friday Nov 14.....*Early in the morning Capt Wing arrived in sight, sent down a boat to help him up, and they warped up to the wharf. In the evening Capt. Dyer arrived from Naraguagus, and informs that Capt. Gouch had just arrived there from Boston, and brought news that there had been a general engagement between Gen<sup>l</sup>. Washington and Howe, in which 8,000 of the Enemy were killed, and all the rest surrendered prisoners of War, that there was great rejoicing in Boston on account of the same— Good weather.—

*Saturday Nov 15. 1777.....*Began to unload the Mersheets. Served the Indians with some Fish in lieu of half

their allowance of Beef.— Good weather. In the evening Capt. Sullivan came to see Col. Allan, who said last fall that Col. Jones of Frenchman's Bay, before he went to New York, was obliged to borrow money to bear his expences about the country, and that he had not been in any way to make any, and since he came back has paid near two thousand pounds which he owed, and which Capt Sullivan imagines was counterfeit. A small Privateer came into the mouth of the river, also another vessel with about thirty Soldiers on board, in which vessel, Col. Lowder, and Capt Gillman came, and brought several Letters and Newspapers for Col. Allan.

*Sunday Nov 16* .....Capt. Lemmons and his company came up to the falls and drewed provisions. Lieut Longfellow entered a complaint against Lt. Alby in consequence ordered a Court of enquiry to set tomorrow morning to enquire into the Same.

At sunset the Indians that went with Mr. Delesderniere, with some from St. Johns arrived here, by whom Col. Allan received a letter from Mr Delesdernier, who says he hears by way of the Micmacks, that Mrs Allan is in the Fort at Cumberland, and that the Loyal Nova Scotia was at St. Johns. Gave orders for Capt Lemmons' Company to be in readiness to go to the Rhyrn tomorrow morning. Good weather.

*Monday, Nov 17, 1777*.....Gave Capt. Lemmons order not to go to the Rhyrn till further orders. At 9 o'clock the Court of enquiry sat to enquire into the dispute between Lieut Longfellow and Alby. They, by the desire of the Court, made the matter up between themselves. Capt. Crabtree came up to the falls and brought up a trunk he took at St. Johns; with several Pawna,<sup>1</sup> belong-

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<sup>1</sup>These were probably some medals or ornaments which the Indians often pawa for rum or necessaries.

ing to the Indians, and sundries belonging to the British Truck House on that river. Good weather.

*Thursday Nov 18, 1777*.....Several men arrived belonging to Capt. Lemmons' and Ludwig's<sup>1</sup> Companies, also Lieut. Coburn arrived and brought a letter for Col. Nevers. Capt. Crabtree came up to the falls, brought up Dennen, Mader and Long. Dennen was put in the Guard House. Had a conference with the Penobscot Indians, Col. Lowder being present. Good weather.

*Wednesday Nov 19, 1777*.....Gave Capt. Crabtree instructions to go to Musquash Cove and Signal. Wrote to Capt. Carr to wait for Capt. Lowder. Capt. Wing came up the river. Serg<sup>t</sup> Breed and nine men arrived; brought a letter from Col. Campbell — Good weather.

*Thursday Nov 20, 1777*.....Wrote to the General Court by Col. Lowder, also wrote Col. Nevers not to raise any more men, and to disband what had not marched. A number of Officers dined with Col. Allan. Paid Carr eighteen dollars for waiting two days for Col. Lowder. Mr. Delesdernier returned, bringing word that Pierre Tomma and a number of Indians are coming. Good weather.

*Friday Nov 21, 1777*.....Stormy weather. The Hannah and Molly returned up to the falls with a load of Hay. Gave Capt. Wing orders to put the Mericheete in readiness to proceed up Cumberland Bay.

*Saturday Nov 22*..... Capt Wing informed that the Meresheete was not fit to go to sea, therefore gave him orders to lay her up and strip her. Gave Capt Chase orders to put the Hannah and Molly in readiness to proceed up the Bay, changing her name to that of the Merisheete.<sup>2</sup> A number of men of the troops volunteered to go

<sup>1</sup> He was probably from Waldoborough.

<sup>2</sup> This changing of name was probably so as to use the commission that belonged to the other vessel. The name was first given to please the Indians of that tribe, although their name is now written Malacite, but occasionally Malasheet.

in her. Read the articles of war to the troops at the Falls; served the Indians with provisions as usual — thick dirty weather.

*Sunday Nov 23.....* Wrote instructions for Capt. Crabtree and Capt. Chase; wrote Col. Gorham and Rob' Scott; sent a number of Newspapers for Cumberland; gave orders for all the troops that are inhabitants of Machias to be disbanded.

*Monday Nov. 24, 1777.....* The Maresheete sat off on her cruise. Mr Delesdernier went in her; appointed Mr. Ray mate of her; several Indians came in to settle their accounts. A number of Indians arrived from St John.

Capt Knight from Chandler's river brings word that one Ingersol has arrived from Nova Scotia, informing that they heard there, that Howe had taken possession of Philadelphia, defeated Gen' Washington; driven his army back of the Green Mountains, and they were rejoicing all over the province on account of it. A number of men of Dyer's and Wing's Comp' were discharged.

*Tuesday Nov 25, 1777.....* The Privateer Congress Capt. Martin arrived from Passamaquody with a quantity of salt belonging to Capt. Long. Gave orders for some of Capt. Lemont's company to go to the Rhym. Held a conference with Piere Tomma and the rest of the Indians that came from St. Johns. Mr. Ingersol came from Chandlers river who says he left Cumberland about three weeks ago, that Col Gorham had gone to Halifax to be tried, that Maj' Souter commanded at the Fort, that the families were used very well and Mrs. Allan was not in the Fort; that several parties had been sent out to endeavor to catch How and Rodgers, that it was reported Col. Allan had been in Cumberland and that Maj' Ball had been killed by a sentry at Halifax.

Wrote Mr Delesdernier by the Congress.

*Wednesday Nov. 26, 1777.....*Held a Conference with Piere Tomma and other Indians. A boat came up from the Mericheete. Gave Lieut. Alby an order to search for tin kettles for the troops. The Commissioned officers and non-commissioned, mounted guard at the Falls.

*Thursday Nov. 27, 1777.....*The Congress, Capt Martin sailed on a cruise. A committee was chosen and sent to examine into the accounts of the Meresheete lately commanded by Joshua Wing.

*Friday Nov. 28, 1777.....*The committee that sat on Capt Wing's accounts brought in their report. Mr Douglas refused to mount Guard.

*Saturday Nov. 29,.....*Capt Crosby with a party of men arrived from Penobscot, who inform that the enemy have taken two of our coasting vessels near Mount Desert. Served the Indians with provisions as usual. Capt Smith went down the river in the Maresheete lately commanded by Capt. Wing after a load of Hay.

*Sunday Nov. 30.....*The rev<sup>d</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> Lyon preached at the falls. Nothing material transacted.

*Monday Dec 1, 1777.....*Capt. Holley sailed for Boston. Capt<sup>s</sup> Savage and Wallace, and Mr Hall arrived from Passamaquody. Gave Capt. Wallace a Certificate that he landed his Cargo at that place. Capt. Savage and Mr Hall came from Cobequid. They inform that Burgoyne's disaster had not reached Nova Scotia when they left there. Mr Hall was taken and confined in the guard house for deserting from St. John last summer. They inform, they saw a Brig and sloop going into St. John, that Bell from 'Quody had been to Halifax, and was returning in the Gage Sloop; that Crabtree and Chase were at 'Quody yesterday, that they saw them under sail for St. John's river to see what vessels were there. Gave Holley a permit to pass the Fort.

*Tuesday Dec 2.....*Capt Savage went down the river on



his way to Boston. Wrote the General Court, to go by Gouch. A court Marshall was held to try Hall for desertion, but adjourned till tomorrow, not having time to complete the business.

*Wednesday Dec. 8.....* Wrote the General Court, sent them the state of the troops. Wrote Gen' Heath — Wrote Messrs. Cross enclosing Jones' trial. Wrote Fran' Shaw of Boston enclosing the boy's Indenture. The court Martial sat, and brought in that Hall should pay for the Arms, &c. taken by him and Lines, and ask pardon at the head of the troops, which he accordingly did, and was dismissed. Gave Capt. Perkins a certificate that he had been to 'Quody. Gave them a pass to Go by the Fort down the river. Gave orders for Capt Crosby to put his Company in readiness to go to the Rhym tomorrow morning to relieve Dyer's and West's — Col Campbell arrived from Naraguagus in the evening. Dan' Austin a deserter from West's Company, came in and was confined.

Rich' Richardson was confined for abusing and wounding a man of the same Company. Ordered him to be sent up under a strong guard, with his hands tied.

*Thursday Dec' 4, 1777.....* Col' Nevers and Shaw arrived. Wrote Mces<sup>m</sup> Cross to send some Articles by Gouch.

A Court Martial sat for the trial of Richardson and Austin who brought in Austin to receive thirty lashes and Richardson ten. Richardson received his punishment before the Troops drawn up under arms, Austin to receive his at another time. Capt Smith with the Meriaheste came up with a load of hay.

Gave Hall a discharge from the service for enlisting in the expedition last spring. Were informed that a Brig was in at the mouth of the river from Holland, that she had been near Cape Ann, and was Chased off by a British Ship, and came in here for a pilot.

Sent Capt Dyer down with a party to see what vessel she is.

Gave orders for a court of enquiry to set tomorrow to enquire into the St. John's expedition. Capt Crosby's company went to the Rhym. Gave Col. Shaw orders to take Michael Andrew the Hessian prisoner and send him to Boston.

*Friday Dec 5.....*Capt. Wing left for Boston. The Court of inquiry sat and adjourned till tomorrow. Gave orders to the officers of Capt West and Dyer's companies to see that their men settle the account of arms, Clothing, &c. they had received.

*Saturday Dec 6.....*At 9 o'clock Daniel Austin the prisoner was brought out of the Guard House to receive his punishment. All the troops were draw up under arms, the sentence of the Court Martial being read, and every-thing prepared to punish him, when the commanding officer was pleased to pardon him. Gave orders for Capt Dyer and West's Companies to be disbanded immediately, which was accordingly done, and for Capt. Crosby's company to come up to the Falls; Capt Ludwig to command at the Rhym.

Paid their bounties to several men that were discharged.

Only two families of Indians came for provisions. Sent Capt Tibbets down the river to see what vessel was there, but who returned without any satisfactory account.

*Sunday Dec 7, 1777.....*Capt. Dyer returned up the river, and brings an account that the Brig has come up as far as Birch Point. She is from Amsterdam, loaded with Cordage and Linens; that she had got within 20 leagues of Cape Ann, when she was chased by one of the Enemy's vessels, and put in here for a Pilot. They say the Dutch seem very friendly to the Americans; that Long had been aboard and offered to pilot them to the Westward; that the Captain promised to come up to see the commanding officer. Capt. Crosby's company came up from the Rhym. The Merisheets went down the river; appointed Mr. Young

to act as Orderly Serg<sup>t</sup> at the Falls. The Whaleboat in which Capt. Dyer went aboard the Brig was lost.

*Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 8, 1777.....*Ambrose, and a number of other Indians came in and had a conference respecting the choosing their captains, but by Col. Allan's desire it was put off till Christmas.

Samuel Reynolds of the Artillery was confined on suspicion of deserting from the Continental army, one of the same name being advertised in the *Boston Gazette* in June last. Wrote Capt. Wing respecting O'Brien's wages. Served the Indians with their provisions, the weather being so cold on Saturday prevented their coming in.

The court of enquiry into the expedition to St. Johns, sat according to adjournment. Gave Capt. Dyer orders not to pay off the men in his company who went in the Expedition, till the matters are enquired into.

*Tuesday Decem<sup>r</sup> 9.....*The court of enquiry sat again; regulated the different companies and rank of the officers.

Lieut. Scott informed that the store at the Rhyin had been broke open, and sundry articles stolen. Ordered him to offer Twenty dollars reward for discovery of the person who did it.

Several Indians came in. Capt. Smith gave Stephen Young a pass to go to Passamaquody. Capt. Gouch and the Brig from Amsterdam sailed for Boston.

*Wednesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 10.....*A Whale Boat arrived from Cumberland with How and Rogers. Farrell & two deserters, with four men from Capt Chase, who bring an account that Dawson in the Hope Brig is laying at St. Johns. Crabtree has returned home; Chase intends to proceed up the Bay; the Cartel is lying at Windsor, the Mate taken out and confined; a small vessel was sent up to Cumberland for the families, to bring them to Windsor, after which they are sent to Halifax before they go to Boston, and that Gorham had been acquitted.

Received a letter from Capt. Chase. Wrote Mr. Curry; Gave Ensign Smith orders to carry the Indians to Grand Menan, and then to Passamaquody for Potatoes. Dismissed Reynolds, as it is the opinion of the Officers he is not the person advertised. The Court of Enquiry again Sat. Capt Chase arrived in the evening having concluded not to proceed up the Bay.

*Thursday Dec<sup>r</sup> 11.....* Settled with Mr. Steel. Capt. Chase came up to the falls with all the men belonging to the troops. Gave him orders to bring the vessel up to the Falls. Gave the Indians provisions for their voyage to Grand Menan.

*Friday Dec<sup>r</sup> 12.....* The Hannah & Molly, Capt Chase Came up the River, discharged all the men on board, gave orders for the guard to be called in from Birch Point, for Dyer and West to discharge the remainder of their companies, and for the Captain and the rest of the officers to make a return of their proceedings during the cruise up the Bay: Also orders were Issued for Capt. Chase and all his officers to bring in a copy of their Journal upon oath.

*Saturday Decem<sup>r</sup> 13. 1777.....* The Merisheete lately commanded by Capt. Wing, came up to the Falls with a load of Wood. Served the Indians with provisions as usual. The Court of Enquiry again Sat. A number of officers and other Gentlemen dined with Mr Allan.

Serg<sup>t</sup> Cook to be allowed pay for acting Serg<sup>t</sup> Major.

*Sunday Dec<sup>r</sup> 14.....* Brought up the stores out of the Hannah & Molly. Gave orders for Capt. Lemont's Company to stay at the Rhym, all the rest to come up to the Falls.

*Monday Dec<sup>r</sup> 15.....* Nothing material—Settling accounts.

*Tuesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 16.....* Capt. Haynes arrived from Newbury, no material news. Received a letter from Mess<sup>rs</sup> Cross, and one from Anderson respecting the goods, and one from Ja<sup>s</sup> Boyd. Read the articles to the troops, exercised the field piece and fired 21 rounds.—Settling.

*Wednesday Dec* 17.....Troops at work on the Fort at the Falls. Col. Shaw set off for Goldsboro'. Settling accounts. The Merisheete came up with a load of Wood.

*Thursday Dec* 18.....Ensign Smith in the Schooner returned from Passamaquody, and brings an account that Capt. Littlefield in a sloop from the West Indies is in there with a very valuable cargo. Capt Haynes in the sloop came up to the Falls.

*Friday Dec* 19.....Wrote Webb to come up and do the work for the Indians. Steele refuses to do any more work for the Indians. Settling accounts.

*Saturday Dec* 20.....Gave orders for Ensign Smith to go to Grand Menan, to bring away the Indians.

Served the Indians with provisions as usual. The Fort at the Falls was finished this day, Fired three Cannon and named it the Nonesuch.— Settling Accounts.

*Sunday Dec.* 21.....Gave orders for Capt. Ludwig to disband his men tomorrow morning.— Settling accounts.

*MACHIAS, Dec* 22. 1777. *Monday*.....Received a letter from Sam<sup>l</sup> Wallace, Buck's Harbour, informing that Long had forged a note, for which he received 2½ Bbls of Oil from Clark & Foss. Said Wallace suspects it is really a forgery of Long's. Ensign Smith returned, not being able from bad weather, to proceed to Grand Menan. Capt Ludwig disbanded his Company.— Settling accounts.

*Tuesday Dec* 23.....Capt. Ludwig made up his Pay Roll, preparing to set off; his men went down to the Rhym to go in a Shallop to Gouldsboro'. Settling accounts—

Wrote Lieut. Scott to send in all the accounts of the work done on the Fort at the Rhym.

*Wednesday Dec* 24.....Gave orders for Capt Lemont's men to come from the Rhym; wrote to Lieut. Scott the second time to send in all the account of work done at the Fort there, or it will not be allowed. Wrote Mr Andrews to take charge of the hulls at the Rhym for one ration,

gave him an order to draw one weeks rations. Gave orders for all the men (the Artillery and Indians excepted) to be discharged by the 27<sup>th</sup> inst.

W<sup>m</sup> Young late from Canada deserted. Gave orders for Serg<sup>t</sup> and one man to go after him. Wrote to the committee of Safety respecting him. Wrote to Capt Ludwig and Maj<sup>r</sup> Shaw.

Wrote several advertisements respecting him offering a reward of twenty dollars for his apprehension. Asked all the officers at Machias to dine with Mr Allan. Capt. Dyer arrived.

*Thursday Dec<sup>r</sup> 25. 1777.....*Two men set off after Young, with the letters and advertisements. Capt. Lemont's men came from the Rhym. All the officers at Machias dined with Col. Allan. After dinner fired thirteen rounds from the field piece. All the Indians appeared clean and neatly dressed, and behaved in good order.

*Friday Dec<sup>r</sup> 26.....*Gave orders for the men not to be discharged till further orders, as a vessel cannot be procured to transport them home, by reason of the severity of the season. A number of the Indians came in from Miskecky.

*Saturday Dec<sup>r</sup> 27.....*A court of enquiry was call<sup>d</sup> to day at 12 o'clock and examined Kelley a deserter from Capt West's Company. Served the Indians with provisions as usual.

*Sunday Dec<sup>r</sup> 28.....*Nothing material transacted.

*Monday Dec<sup>r</sup> 29.....*Gave orders to carry some of the Soldiers to Gouldsboro' in the Hannah & Molly, gave Capt Dyer his instructions how to proceed to the westward. Capt Dyer and Ensign Butler examined the shallop and reported her entirely unfit for sea. Haynes, in Jones' sloop went down the river. The Court of enquiry on Kelley again sat, and reported he went away designedly. The Court that sat upon the expedition to St. John, brought in their report.

*Tuesday Dec 30*.....Gave orders for Capt<sup>r</sup> Crosby and Lemont to disband their Companies to morrow — Settled with Chase and discharged him.

*Wednesday Dec 21*.....Capt<sup>r</sup> Lemont & Crosby discharged their companies. The two men sent after Young the deserter, returned with him. He was immediately put under close confinement. They bring word that a prize ship was in Gouldsboro' loaded with liquors, tea and cordage; she is of 400 tons, has 16 Carriage guns and 40 men; was taken by the Frigate from Casco bay, who had gone in search of another ship that sailed from England at the same time the prize did. Paid the men the reward for apprehending Young.

*Thursday January 1. 1778*.....A number of Indians came in from Passamaquody and inform that fifty men are stationed at St. Johns. Took the Merisheets' commission from Chase, and gave it to Capt. Dyer. The Merisheet sailed for Newbury with the troops. Wrote Mess<sup>rs</sup> Cross and Col. Shaw.

The Hannah & Molly sailed for Gouldsboro', with Capt. Crosby and Company on board...

*Friday Jany. 2. 1778*.....Strict orders given out to the Artillery, and a patrol to go the rounds for the future.

The Indians that came yesterday also informed that Esquire Curvy took his passage with Littlefield for this place ten days since, and we are sensible of their destination. This morning Capt<sup>r</sup> Lemont & Crosby set off for Gouldsboro' by land on their way home.

*MACHIAS Jan. 8. 1778. Saturday*.....All the Indians attended to receive their rations. Had a short conference to fix on a time for the Great and General meeting. Col. Allan informed them of his intention of giving them a commission to maintain a Post at Passamaquody, to secure if possible all vessels belonging to the adherents of the British king, also those having papers from both sides.

*Sunday Jan. 4. 1777.....*A number of Indians arrived from Passamaquody and Mispeckey for the General meeting.

*Monday Jan. 5. 1778.....*Had a General conference with the Chiefs, Sachems, and Young men of the Merescheet, Passamaquody and Penobscot, and some of the Mickmack Indians, were among other matters transacted, a Post was fixed at Passamaquody, with instructions to detain all vessels refusing to trade for paper currency, three captains chose and commissioned, with the pay of Lieutenants, and authority to maintain that Post. After the conference there was an entertainment, and an Indian dance.

During the time of Conference, they behaved with the greatest decorum and unanimity, and all concluded to their great satisfaction, leaving the choice of their Head men with one voice to Col. Allan. There never was a matter of this kind carried on with so much solemnity before.

*Tuesday Jan. 6. 177.....*The Indians provided with necessaries, took their leaves and departed to their respective villages well contented.

*Wednesday Jan. 7.....*Last night died J. Baptist Neptune, Chief of the Passamaquody Tribe, aged 60 of a bilious Chollic.

*MACHIAS Jan. 8. 1778. Thursday.....*Busy making up accounts and pay Rolls. Overhauled Truck House account with the Major. Ambrose came up with his son to settle with Mr Allan.

*Friday Jan. 9.....*Col. Allan went with Piere Tomma to the eastern river. Had intelligence of a vessel coming from Nova Scotia into Chandler's river.

*Saturday Jan. 10.....*Col. Allan returned from the Indian Camps. The Indians attended for their rations as usual; several received provisions that had not been entered before.

*Sunday Jan. 11.....*Had intelligence from Chandler's



river that a Shallop from Nova Scotia put in there bound to the westward, on board of which was Capt. Burk and several others, making their escape from Halifax where they were confined, having been taken.

*MACHIAS, Monday Jan. 12. 1778.....*This morning the Indians attended to the interment of the Corpse of J. B. Neptune chief of Passamaquody.

By Mr Sibly we are informed that Capt Gouch has come into Gouldsboro' from Boston, and will be in here very soon, by whom we expect some intelligence from the Westward.

*Tuesday Jan. 18. 1778.....*Sent letters to Passamaquody by Lieut Noel Priest, and Piere Tomma.

Had a Court Martial on Benj<sup>r</sup> Foster for neglect of duty.

*Wednesday Jan. 14.....*Received sundry letters from Boston for Col. Allan, and likewise sundry papers with important intelligence, particularly mentioning something of a French War. These were forwarded from Gouldsboro' by Col. Francis Shaw.

*Thursday Jan. 15.....*Mr Shannon, who has been with us some days, has completed the accounts.

*MACHIAS, Jan. 28. Wednesday.....*From the 15th Instant to this day very busy in preparing the papers to send Westward with Lieut. Avery. Yesterday Major Stillman, accompanied by Capt. Smith went to Gouldsboro' to embark for Boston, when Lieut. Avery joins him at Shaws.

This day the Surgeon and Quartermaster, with Lieut. Avery, set off for Gouldsboro', where I accompanied them.

Just before we set off, heard that the Congress Privateer had taken Capt. Littlefield coming from Nova Scotia.

The Indians, Capt. Noel Wallace, and Piere Tomma Chiefs being on board.



## THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY, 1777-82.

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### *Allan's First Report to the Massachusetts Council.*

This long and elaborate document deserves a careful perusal, as it gives a full and succinct account of the situation and feeling of the Micmac tribe of Indians at the commencement of the war, and while they do not show any united or general sympathy for our cause, their admiration for Gen. Washington's character was almost universal. A few of them had with some of the St. John Indians visited the Massachusetts government and made a treaty by which they had agreed to join them and furnish warriors to take the field against the British; but when they returned home the wiser ones saw that this would eventuate in the destruction of the tribe, for as soon as their men had left to join our army, the government of Nova Scotia would invade their towns and chastise or destroy their people so they would be placed in a very unpleasant situation. As Mr. Allan had in view an expedition from the States, his policy was to keep them in sympathy with our cause and adverse to the British, so that when we invaded that province we could rely on their aid. But they seem to have been shrewd diplomats, and while they were friendly to him and nominally to us, they did not mean to incur the hostility of the British who were near them, and upon whom they were dependent for many necessary articles. The result was that they were mainly neutral through the

whole contest; a small part of them were sometimes with the Marisheets, and they seem to have feared to join either party. This tribe is a distinct race from any other east of the Hudson river. They cannot be classed with the Algonquin tribes, which included all the Indians from the St. John to the Upper Mississippi, except the Iroquois, and as this confederation had centuries before often sent out war parties against the Indians of New England, and sometimes they visited the Penobscots and even the Passamaquodias. It is supposed that they had an affinity with the Micmacs who may have been originally a colony of theirs, who, passing down the St. Lawrence, where some of the Iroquois were found by Champlain, they finally reached Nova Scotia. Their language is so radically distinct from their neighbors on the St. John that there is not a single word common to them both, which shows conclusively a distinct origin.

*Mr. Allan's Report.*

To the Hon'ble Council Board for the Massachusetts State — America.

May it please your Honors —

The Micmac Indians having impowered me to represent to your Honours their Situation, their reasons for not complying with the treaty Entered into by some of their Young Men — And your honours desiring it might be done in writing, I shall endeavor from the different minutes I have taken to state the different movements which I presume may be further satisfactory, their reasons for not assenting to the said Treaty, & their Present Situation as accurately & intelligible as my time & hurry of mind will permit.

After Hostilities were commenced between America & Britain they appeared very sullen in their form & behaviour; This created much anxiety in the mind of the People of

Nova Scotia; both sides seemed jealous of their Intentions. Even the Acadians their most intimate Friends were strangers to their designs. They did not as usual frequent the different Towns, but kept close to their respective Villages, only now & then particular ones found the several tribes meeting to Consult.

In the summer 1775 Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly of Nova Scotia passed an Act to prevent Powder going Coastways without a special Licence from Government; this restriction occasioned Ammunition to be very scarce in the different settlements; It affected none more than the Indians whose subsistence depended on this Commodity. The Indians were greatly enrag'd at the proceeding & all the art & Insinuations of our Politicians could not for some time satisfy them.

Several Persons belonging to Government observing how highly the Indians resented the matter & no doubt dreading the Consequence of affronting them, made it known to Gov<sup>r</sup> Legge, who immediately (with advice of Council) Issued out in a private manner a kind of Citation desiring all the Chiefs to attend near Halifax In order for a conference; promising at the same time to furnish them with sufficient Ammunition for the winter; most of them attended at one time, & the rest soon after on hearing of the treatment of the first set. M<sup>r</sup> Legge at the conference endeavour'd to stigmatize the Americans as much as possible, calling them by the most scurrilous names, stated the matter as much as he could in favour of Britain, requested them to take up Arms & oppose the Rebels & harrass their back settlements, mentioning those particularly adjacent to Nova Scotia; what the result of this conference was I never could particularly learn. The Indians have since said they utterly refused, notwithstanding it was very certain they rec'd Ammunition Provisions & Clothing, & it was obvious to ev'ry Person who saw

them after, was well satisfy'd with the Business they had transacted—This conference occasioned great alarms thro' the Country, that is those who were well wishers to America; Reports were daily propagated to amuse the Inhabitants that the Indians were to be Embodied in the Spring, distributed thro' the Province to keep in awe the disaffected.

The Inhabitants in general being well affected to the cause of America occasioned the powers of Government to exert their authority in curbing (as they said) the progress of Rebellion passed several severe acts against American principles, the house of Assembly being so modelled they could get no redress or help by them.—The County of Cumberland & the settlement at Cobequid perceiving the Intention of Government & being for some time considering how to proceed in joining with the continent, began to consult for immediate safety.

Cumberland in particular seemed most assiduous, determined if there were any way practicable to throw off the Grievous Yoke of Britain, which had so gauled them since their first settlement, & form under the banner of America.

These proceedings procured them the most Inveterate Enemies. Messengers were dispatched Incog. among the Indians to urge them to come & destroy us, and indeed to our Grief some of them seemed very well pleased with the scheme.

During this the hurry of Business was such, & my Indisposition, being lately recovered from the Small Pox, I could not myself get among the Indians. I sent some French to hear what they intended doing—I had the happiness of receiving such satisfactory answers that I had no reason to expect any difficulty would happen from them at present, Intending early in the Spring to pay them a visit— But in the month of March we were again alarmed,

that there had been a general meeting of all the Tribes from Bay of Chaleur to Cape Sable, for what end we could not learn — soon after I heard that some were coming to Cumberland authorized by the whole in order to do something, this prevented my intended Journey.—Soon after the arrival of the British Troops at Fort Cumberland advice came to me that a number of Indians had been at the Garrison had a conference with Col<sup>o</sup> Gorham & were returned loaded with Provisions, Clothing & Ammunition. I immediately proceeded with all Expedition to Bay Verte where I only found one of the chiefs just setting off—I had a great deal of conversation with him, But could not understand what his Business was with Gorham; He was very precise in his behaviour sometimes, & cross, which did not a little surprise me from the Intimacy which had always subsisted between us.—These movements occasioned great fear among the country people so much that Despondency seemed to take place with some.

In June three chiefs came to my House one morning, who acquainted me they had come to converse on the state of affairs & consult what method was best to take, presenting me at the same time a Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington — They further said that Gorham had invited them to come & see him which they intended doing, asking my advice how they should behave when at the Garrison & finding by their conversation their well wishes to America & their determination to go in, I advised them to go at once, so that I might have an opp<sup>t</sup> to know at their return what had passed — I took from them Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington's Letter to keep till they came back, they also delivered me a Letter from one Carte at Merimiche to Col<sup>o</sup> Gorham which I opened & mentioning to them of M<sup>r</sup> Washington's Letter & something of their situation they snatched it out

of my hands & burnt it.— They refused drinking anything till their return from the Garrison.

In the Evening they returned very sober, told me that Gorham had asked them several Questions about the state of Canada — If they did not think the rebels of America were bad men, whether they would not take up arms to oppose them, he told them they should have every thing they wanted, such as good Clothing, Provisions, Money & Ammunition & desired them to consider of the affair among themselves.— But if they would not take up arms in favor of the King he expected they would not take up arms against him — Gorham dismissed them after giving Ammunition & Provisions.

Next morning we conversed pretty largely on matters, they said that Gen' Washington's letter had given universal satisfaction, they adored him as a Saint for the reason that though he was harrassed with war himself still he tells us (says they) "to be at peace & if we want help he will grant it and defend us, that for this their incessant prayers were for his success."— They further told me they had turned out one of their chiefs because they had spoken disrespectfully of Gen' Washington they expected a truck house would soon be erected on their shore — and that they had sent John Babtist & Matua to answer the Letter & tell their good wishes towards their Brothers the Boston Men. But (say they) "we do not comprehend what all this Quareling is about, How comes it that Old England & new should Quarrel, & come to blows? the Father & Son to fight is terrible — Old France & Canada did not do so, we cannot think of fighting ourselves till we know who is right & who is wrong."

In answer I told them that I intended to have gone among them to have a conference respecting these matters but on hearing of their coming I postponed it. , And that I was now ready to instruct them in anything I knew & in



a brief manner acquainted them with the nature of the dispute, which apparently gave them much satisfaction they said it was very well but that I must go & explain to the whole, who would assemble for that purpose any where I pleased to meet them.—I told them I had wrote to New England the state of the Province, had particularly mentioned their situation, & that when an answer came I should attend at Coquen, Twenty five leagues from Bay Verte, but would be glad they would send word when ready themselves. Intending at that time to persuade them to a Treaty take up the fresh Commissions & procure them others from the States.

Soon after the courier which I sent to Machias returned; instead of receiving any satisfactory answer as I was in daily expectation of, they told that the Man who had been intrusted with the packet to the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court of the Massachusetts State was landed from a Man of War at St Johns that the packet was thrown overboard; by which I was not only frustrated in my plan for reducing the province, but at a loss what to say to the Indians & perform my promise to them.—We were also during this period attacked on every side by various false reports, to excite the Inhabitants to keep peaceable or fright them to compliances with the mandates of Government. Indians who appeared in the settlements gave great attention, & it appeared obvious that their minds were too fluctuating to put any real dependence on their fidelity.

I found my situation too precarious to continue in the country & rather detrimental to the Peace of the community as several express orders had come to apprehend me, & by the advice of my friends determined to take shelter in these new States.

I was very anxious to have a conference with the Indians before I left the country, but found it very difficult as the different roads & avenues were guarded to the place I

promised to meet the Indians, nor was I certain of meet'g them & how they stood affected at the time—I waited some time longer, when two Indians arrived for me, I immediately took some Frenchmen who were Pilots through the woods & set off the next day for Coquen<sup>1</sup> distance by land about 20 Leagues—I was somewhat detained in my Journey by a tree falling in the night when one of my Frenchmen rec'd such a wound that I imagine he is since dead, it took 4 days to get him to Inhabitants.

Before my arrival at Coquen I met some young Indians who were coming to meet me—They informed that John Baptist & Matua were returned & had a great Packet with them, but that it much displeased the chiefs & asked me if I was not come to request them to take up the hatchet, I answered No—which seem'd to please them much—this somewhat surprised me, I waved saying any thing more to them.

On my arrival I was rec'd very kindly by the diff<sup>r</sup> Indians but perceived gloomy Countenances, after telling them some News which they seemed anxious to know, I desired to meet next day at ten O'clock—The frenchmen where I lodg'd understood the Language well; & acquainted me that John Babtist & Matua had been to New England & had entered into a treaty—that it very much displeased the Chiefs, even so much that Baptist & Matua from fear (as he supposed) told them that they were impos'd on & had signed things that were not read to them; & that he understood from their different Conversations they were determined not to agree to the Treaty.

They all assembled the Day after 21 in number I asked them If there were any more of the chiefs expected, they answered that they appeared there in behalf of the whole Micmac tribe, at the desire & by the authority of the

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<sup>1</sup> Cocagne? River north of Shediac.

absent chiefs, as well as in behalf of their own particular tribes.

I then addressed them, that agreeable to promise made Joseph Sapscrewit I had come to have a conference, not with any authority from the United States But as a member of the same Community with themselves, to determine upon something for our safety and welfare, & that I expected soon to be on the Continent where I intended making Known their Situation.

They were very glad (they answered) that I appeared as one of themselves & would be glad to know of things but that they were very angry & uneasy about some proceedings of John Baptist & Matua: I told them we would not enter upon that till we had discussed some other affairs about the dispute between America & Britain — they desired me to proceed — I accordingly gave a short Historical Account of matters from the beginning of the settlement of America, the reasons of the first Emigrants leaving Europe; the different Charters of the Colonies the unjust demand of Britain & breach of Faith — the usurp'd authority claimed by Britain, the different steps taken by the Americans for redress, and finally the design of Establishing Civil & religious Liberty, their Power & strength,—they Listened with the greatest attention & at the end of every sentence gave their Assent.

As I presume it may appear more intelligible to your Honours, I shall write it down, as the Conversation happen'd, by way of dialogue —

A<sup>s</sup>. You have now heard the nature & rise of the dispute, Do you think great Brittain has a right to treat Americans in such a manner?

IN. If it is as you set forth — No.

A<sup>s</sup>. Do you justify the Americans in their opposition —

IN. Yes.

A<sup>s</sup>. Then what objections have you against the treaty

signed by some of your own tribe, why would you not join with them in defence of that Liberty wherein you are concerned yourself?

IN. Because we never authorised those Persons to do such a thing, some of it we cannot perform, Our situation is such that it must be of fatal Consequences to our Families should it (even if we was willing) be known — & these Men say they were impos'd on & we are determined to return it.

A<sup>s</sup>. I cannot allow that your Men were imposed on, for I know the Gentlemen who made the treaty were different kind of Persons — I desire that John Baptist & Matua may be examined before me.

J<sup>s</sup> Bap<sup>t</sup>. I dont believe they intended to impose on us but as I was the only Interpreter I believe we did not understand one another.

A<sup>s</sup>. You hear this & expect that reports of being imposed on be not propagated.

What do you intend to do with the treaty?

IN. We Intend to Carry it to Fort Cumberland or Halifax; & Shew it & let them know we intend to send it back — for fear they will send their big Vessels in our Rivers & prevent us from fowling & Fishing.

A<sup>s</sup>. This will be very wrong, you may affront a Power that is far superior; the New England Men; if you are determined to send it back I will take it & deliver it to the Governors of the Massachusetts.

IN. This we would be very glad of.

A<sup>s</sup>. Since this is your determination concerning the treaty, I would ask some Questions.

IN. Very well.

A<sup>s</sup>. Would you be willing if in your pow'r without distressing your familys to help your Brothers, the new England Men?

IN. We are afraid to tell you what we would do in that

Case, we receive our present support from Old England, we want not to molest any but be in Friendship with all.

A<sup>a</sup>. Wou'd you screen any person who should flee for safety among you who might be drove from their dwellings by the Britons;

IN. We would not hurt them.

A<sup>a</sup>. Do you incline to help Britain against your Countrymen the Americans

IN. No.

A<sup>a</sup>. Would you rather traffick with the United States than with Britain?

IN. Yes, very much, but we have been greatly impos'd on by the Traders & Fishermen from New England.

A<sup>a</sup>. Would you incline to assist the other Inhabitants if they join with the United States?

IN. When we see a sufficient Power in this Country we will tell you what we will do. We no nothing certain about things, we know we must submit to the strongest Power.—they then presented Gen' Washingtons Letter saying "there is what we will stand to, George Washington wrote that we might continue in peace if we pleased; for which he must be a good Man, we will pray for him & if our Messengers had acted as they ought & what we had instructed them with, we should now be happy & not have given any suspicion to our Brethren in New England."

A<sup>a</sup>. Wou'd you have all these matters made known to the Governor of the Massachusetts State?

IN. Yes Certainly.

Matua — I think there should be a Copy of this conference, that we might show it to the Englishmen, that they may be convinced we dont want to Quarrell.

IN. Very Good.

A<sup>a</sup>. I think Matua has a great deal of Impudence to make such a proposal after putting us into such Confusion, I cannot be of your Opinion, nor think it Expedient such

a thing should be done—I told you before that I came not with authority from the States, but only as one of yourselves & that what we talked upon there should be kept secret—and I promise you that I will communicate sufficient to prevent any hurt coming on you by the Englishmen for anything done here—and I expect from you, that you will not give them any Encouragement by having a correspondence with them, but keep them at a distance.

IN. We understand all this & think it very good, we will take your advice & trust you will do what you can to help us — & not have us destroy'd by the Old Englishmen, nor be thought Enemies by the New England Men.

A<sup>n</sup>. I think you do right to be at peace in your situation, & am sure your Brothers the New England Men want you should. Their Young Men acted foolishly but forgive them — Be quiet & Easy you will by & by see what great things God will do for you & us; Have you anything more to say?

IN. Yes we would be glad you would write a Letter to the Governor of New England which we will Sign.

A<sup>n</sup>. Please to choose some Person among you to Dictate.

Joseph Sapecrucit was chosen—he dictated what I wrote in the Letter as exact as the stile of their Language would any way admit.

A<sup>n</sup>. Have you anything more to mention?

They recapitulated over the Contents of the Letter again with this addition—You may tell them that we will send two chiefs in the spring—Are obliged to our Brothers for their good offers particularly the truck House at Machias, but tell them it is no service to us, Even should we have things for nothing the distance .is so great— We give our love to all our Brothers in New England, & particular to our good Friend & Brother Geo.

Washington, we wish you a good Voyage, & that God will take care of you & bring you back safe.

I distributed among them about 20 W<sup>o</sup> of Tobacco being all I could bring. After smoking a Pipe together they very affectionately took leave of me & departed for their different Settlements the same evening.

From this conversation your honors might reasonably suppose the Indians were very sincere; but from their different manœvers & behaviour, which I have seen by many I have the greatest reason to suspect their fidelity. They think among themselves it is a great Qualification to use deception in these affairs, & are led there by to practice dissimulation & use every Art to gain their Ends. Where they perceive an opportunity to get something, they will exert every faculty to obtain it. Altho' they are endued with some good Properties & capable of Improvement, the French & English & I am sorry to say the latter in particular, have greatly inculcated (within my remembrance) evry Vice & Immorality & impaired any virtue they were possessed of.

The great respect shown them from time to time by different sides Emulates a Spirit of Ambition. They think that they are of so much Importance that many Events depends upon them. I doubt not but your honors are well acquainted with the nature of Indians in general, but the Micmacs of Nova Scotia are somewhat different from most others.

Their living altogether on the Sea Coast, & that being of considerable extent mostly settled by English the Indians, are generally actuated according to the Importance of the Person or influence any one has who lives among them. The greatest number of these Persons are zealous govern<sup>t</sup> Men, so called in that Province, & indeed I know not one in trade, but the French when settled at Coquen, but what are Enemies to America. Some of the Merchants are Men

of great property, & supported also in these times by Government, who are using every means to gain them over.

I have rec'd repeated intelligences of their persuading Indians to take up Arms; propagating every kind of news in favour of Britain & detrimental to America. The Indians who are credulous to a degree will listen to every report & generally believe it & think every thing true that is told them.

I would take the Liberty to acquaint your Honors that a plan has been form'd (tho not made publick) to raise a body of light troops, from Newfoundland Cape Breton & Nova Scotia; who with the Indians they expect to raise in Chaleur Bay & Confines of Canada, to penetrate in conjunction with others from Canada by the river St Johns into the Easterly parts of this state to prevent & Stop the Lumber trade.

The personal knowledge I have of their ways (tho' acknowledged by them as a friend) I think them to be a most dangerous set of neighbors & liable to do great damage, if there is not some step taken with them. They are pernicious either as Friends or Foes in these times. Tho' not brave, are capable to take advantages & commit the greatest Cruelties. There is some few who Merit esteem, as honest upright Men, but there being no Government among them, they are only as Cyphers in point of Authority. But notwithstanding all their bad Qualities there is a method to win them. Any one acquainted with their disposition & having Fortitude & Perseverance to put up with their Foibles, & use such arguments necessary as they perceive their minds are proper to receive it, showing a good Example, any thing in Reason may be done with them. These circumstances (should it not be expedient to reduce that Province at present), I would recommend to your Honors as my humble Opinion that some Persons acquainted with them as before mentioned,



should be Employ'd as a Super Intendent or some other dignified Office, & to keep as constant as possible among them; acquainting them from time to time with the different News, & how things passes — by this their different movements may be known; to have a Truck House erected in the most suitable place that he thinks for the benefit of the States, & agreeable to the Indians; this would be the means of keeping them quiet or from assisting Great Britain. I would observe to your Honours that something of Trade with the Micmacs would turn to a considerable account, there being great quantities of Furs collected there; more particular as the staple commodities might be procured in Nova Scotia, which consequently wou'd not be so expensive as transporting every thing from the Continent.

I would beg Liberty further to observe to your Honors, that a Plan might be very easily laid to procure from Nova Scotia great quantities of Goods, which at this time might be beneficial to the Clothing the Army &c.

Your Honors may by this time think me lengthy & find fault at my troubling you at this busy time with such a detail of things & the many repetitions used; But presume it might appear more clear in forming a Judgment of the Indians instability.

Should it be approv'd of or any part of it satisfactory, it would be esteemed a Pleasure; if otherwise, your Honors will please indulge me so far as to attribute it to a Heart warmly attached to the Liberties of America, & ever ambitious when thought to be performing the least atom which might have a tendency of promoting its Happiness & Prosperity.

I am with the most Profound Duty & Respect

Your Honors most Ob<sup>d</sup>  
and Devoted Hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

J. ALLAN.

Boston, November 21<sup>o</sup>, 1776.

*Allan's Letter to the Massachusetts Council.*

May it please your Honors

The necessity of my speedy departure occasions my addressing your Honors at this time. You may think me Impertinent and Litigious in Troubling you so often when you are so Invironed in business; but my anxiety to know what is to be expected, as my business with the Indians is partly concerned in the Intentions towards that country, and whether the unfortunate Inhabitants can have any help or relief in some way or other.

When I left Baltimore I was in full Expectations that there would not be the Least difficulty, but that there woud be a sufficient force sent to support the people and Enable them to get out of the difficulty they were Involved in from the operations of M<sup>r</sup> Eddy.

I have no other thought but that your Honors Intends Acting towards these people with humanity consistent with the utility of your Constituents.

No doubt for proper reasons and motives you may relinquish any design you might have had of reducing that Province, or Enabling the Inhabitants to set up the standard of the United States. If this be the case I must pray that your Honors would be pleased to take under your wise Consideration, and Grant them some assistance to remove their Families. I am more pressing with your Honors in this, that as the Spring is advancing space, when it is Evidont a more deplorable Scene must take place if nothing is done, and if any thing whatever is to be Expected it is absolutely necessary there should be some preparations immediately.

Several of the miserable Inhabitants are at St Johns. Many of them are come up here by M<sup>r</sup> Eddys still Encouraging that they could Get something done, some of

which have had their all destroy'd, others who had not in their power to see their Family's before their departure to Get anything to Support them, and others who were so kindly dealt with as to Get something to help them along, is now by the Exorbitant charges reduced to the same fasting as the others, your Honors may Easily Conceive their Situation; for they are at present obliged to run in debt to support themselves, which is accumulating every day.

Should they be obliged to return they dare not be seen nor can they any way Enjoy their families without taking such Oaths & giving such Obligations as the Britains chuse to Impose on them. If they stay this way, their familys must be miserable, and to remove they cannot without assistance, for of their property which was Left is mostly taken by the Torys. I trust and rely that your Honors will Consider the Situation of these people as soon as possible.

I woud also at this time acquaint your Honors that I intend making some part of the river St Johns my place of Residence. On my arrival there I shall send some person into Canada, & Shall Endeavor to keep up a constant Communication for Intelligence, which I shall advice your Honors of from time to time.

Having particular Instructions from the Congress respecting Trade with the Indians, at the Conference which I expect to have with the whole, Micmacka, St Johns & Passamaquoddys jointly, I shall settle with them some Regulations, for the Conducting it more easily & satisfactory.

Should it be agreeable to your Honors, I would be glad to be Informed of what has been done therein, & what footing M<sup>r</sup> Preble is upon, that I may be able to Conduct myself accordingly; also would be Desirous to know any orders or other business which your Honors have there with the Indians.

The present scarcity of things, and the high prices makes it very difficult to procure some necessaries I am in want of for the Indians, particularly ammunition. I must request of your Honors to furnish me from the publick Stores sundries as Pr Mem<sup>e</sup> for which I will be accountable and Settle in July when I Expect to be here.

I must also beg leave at this time to acquaint your Honours that the Inhabitants of the County of Sunbury in Nova Scotia had authorised me to appear in their behalf, & agreeable to Instructions, would make known their warm & zealous attachment for the United States, Esteeming themselves the subjects of the States and are Determined to defend the cause of America to their utmost. Their Situations must be somewhat precarious should nothing be done at Cumberland.<sup>1</sup> I trust your Honors will order river St Johns to be fortified to prevent the Britains from annoying the Eastern Settlements & opening a communication into Canada, as I have before mentioned in another writing. It may be very Easily secured & Defended, if done before the British troops could Get there.

I am &c

J. ALLAN.

Boston, February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1777.

Silver medals — Powder — Ball — Flint — Tobacco — Axes. Some other small articles of Little value.

Should any of the above Articles be in store I should be glad to get some.

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<sup>1</sup> Eddy had reported that a second expedition there would be successful.

*Complaint of the St. John's Tribe, etc.*

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Council Board.

May it please your Honors

I have to acquaint your Honors that Ambroise, Second chief of the St Johns Tribe has arrived, who complains that the Treaty Entered into with that tribe is not punctually fulfilled on the side of the States, that Goods are charged very high & but Low Prices allowed for their furs.

Ambroise & number of others have been with Captain Eddy at Fort Cumberland, where they behaved to the approbation of the Inhabitants. His knowledge of matters that way, his Influence over the other Indians requires that some particular notice should be taken of him. I laid before your Honors some time ago a request for some Supplies which Could not be Easily procured, otherwise I must again Solicit your Honor's Indulgence to allow them, for which I will be accountable & Settle for them in July. I must pray that your Honors would allow me to Get some Clothing for Ambroise immediately.

I troubled your Honors some time ago with a petition respecting a Commission as a Privateer for a Small Schooner which is for the Continental Service. I would request to know if it will be allowed.

It being also somewhat difficult to Get Guns. There is a number of small ones & Swivils not now in use, & which the Board of war would spare if an order from your Honors, must further pray that an order may be Given for Four Guns, two Pounders, & Eight swivils with some other Arms &c if to spare.

Ambroise acquaints me of his suspicion concerning the Mickmacks, which makes me more anxious having some appearance of Strength, which might be the means of

Detering them from having any correspondence with the Enemy, should they be so Inclined.

I am with profound Duty & Respect &c

J. ALLAN.

Boston, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1777.

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*Answer of the Massachusetts Council.*

The Committee appointed by both Houses to consider the Petition of John Allan relative to the Memorial from the Counties of Cumber'and & Sunbury in the Government of Nova Scotia, beg leave to report as their opinion, that the situation of that Country is of great importance to these United States, & the Miseries of the unhappy People of that Government require relief as soon as may be; and as matters of importance may be laid before the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Court by said Allan in an explicit & fuller manner than can be expected from a Committee who have not been conversant with the matter before, would humbly propose that said Allan be admitted before both Houses, that the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Court may have opportunity of being more particularly informed what is best to be done.

JOHN TAYLOR p<sup>r</sup> order.

Read and Concurred.

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*Report on the Memorial of J. Allan, Esq.*

March 25, 1777.—“ A Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts reported on the Memorial of John Allan Esqr that there be two fortresses erected on the river St Johns in Nova Scotia one at or near where Fort Frede-

rick formerly stood, the other against the falls on the west side of the river; that a sufficient force be sent into Nova Scotia to secure the inhabitants in the possession of their estates & to act as occasion may require, & two Battalions be raised in this State & one in the province of Nova Scotia, on the Continental establishment for the term of one year &c."

From the above we can infer that it was intended to send about six hundred men to be joined by half as many there for the expedition; but it is doubtful if a hundred were sent from the states. It must have been a great disappointment to Col Allan, but he does not seem to have written a word complainingly.

Extracts from a MS Journal<sup>1</sup> kept by Brig Gen Preble, a Member of the Council, then the Supreme power in Massachusetts, under date of June 7, 1777. It says "yesterday the house chose Field officers for the St Johns Expedition viz Col Little, Brigadier Gen; Col Allan, 1st Col; John Preble Lient Col." Col Little was of Newbury, he did not accept on account of being in poor health and therefore Col Allan was the commander.

"It was ordered that the board of war agree with two armed Vessels to go on the expedition & s<sup>d</sup> board are to furnish all the apparatus of war & provision for the same—

*June 18.* Voted a bounty of 6*£* to all officers and soldiers who shall engage in the expedition to St Johns river."

"Chose Col Wait, Muster Master for the County of Cumberland N S.

*June 26.* A letter was sent to New Hampshire desiring them to give liberty to their men to enlist in the service of this State on the Expedition to the St Johns river."

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<sup>1</sup> It is very singular that but slight reference to this expedition can be found in the records of the council of Massachusetts. Was it not a secret one and managed by a committee appointed for that purpose? We should infer this from Preble's journal.

"July 18. Ordered that the board of war deliver Doct<sup>r</sup> Abel Marah and Charles Phelps, 800 arms for the use of Daniel Clap, appointed commissary for the St Johns expedition; also 150 lbs of Powder, 800 lb lead & 400 flints."

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*Official Report from Aukpake.*

AUKPAQUE,<sup>1</sup> RIVER ST JOHNS, June 18, 1777.

May it please your Honors

I wrote you on the 18<sup>th</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> & 30<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup>, giving your honors an account of the Various movements of the Enemy at St Johns & their Leaving it. According to what I mentioned in my last the same day (30<sup>th</sup>) I proceeded with 4 Whale Boats & 4 Birch Canoes, having Cap<sup>n</sup> West & Twenty men under his command, which with the Indians & my own men amounted to forty three. I arrived at Passamaquody By 6 o'clock next morning, & that Evening reached the Chief of Passamaquody's Wigwam, where I found three Birch Canoes for St Johns who had come thro the Lakes for me. On my Landing I was Saluted By all the Indians, who ranged themselves in a Single file

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<sup>1</sup> This place, once so important as a military point and probably for centuries a place of residence for the Indians, has now become almost unknown and difficult to locate, as it is not named upon modern maps. It is about seven miles above Fredericton. On Jeffrey's map it is spelled Ock pack; on the manuscript maps in the land office at Fredericton it is spelled in various ways.

The word describes a beautiful expanding of the river occasioned by numerous islands on the largest of which (Sandous) the fortifications and buildings were. The word, probably formerly Auke-nepe-Auke — seemed to embrace the river and the islands. The stream which enters the St. John here is quite small.



(about thirty) and fired several Rounds in their fashion, I had a Conference the same Evening with much Satisfaction. After Refreshing the men, I dispatched Cap<sup>t</sup> West with his Boats for St Johns to prevent Intelligence of our movements. The next morning (Sunday) I set off with Thirteen Canoes, overtook Cap<sup>t</sup> West same Evening arrived at Musquash Cove, about 9 miles from St Johns there I formed our position to go on. After getting Some Refreshment I sent off about 10 o'clock at night, Cap<sup>t</sup> John Preble with Two Indians in a Birch Canoe to the Harbour for discovery. In about an hour after, I set off with Two Boats & 6 Birch Canoes, Leaving the other Two Boats provisions &c with other Canoes which had families, to come next day; but notwithstanding our dispatch it was clear daylight before we arrived. Finding the coast clear, & being determined to Seize Hazen & White who were the promoters of bringing the Man of War there, I immediately sent off Cap<sup>t</sup> West with 16 men to cross above the falls, distant three miles, & an Indian with a Birch Canoe; all which was Executed so well, that about 6 o'clock both these Gentlemen were Secured. About 9 o'clock I arrived at the old Fort (Frederick) when Cap<sup>t</sup> West came across with his prisoners; on conferring with them, they utterly denied having anything to do in the matter, but said it was a Premeditated design of the Government since Eddy's affair; that Col<sup>l</sup> Gould told them it was determined to erect a fort at the mouth of the River & one about 40 miles up; that Gould returned with the utmost dispatch with a draft of matters in order to Return with all Expedition. After Conversing sometime with These men, I thought it expedient from my own Situation & circumstances of things on the River, which by this time I became more acquainted with, to Leave these Gentlemen on their Parole, with their Families till the determination of the court was known, or more Strength; I accordingly Sent them Home,

and that afternoon Passed the Falls with all the Boats & Canoes. The whole having arrived by 4 o'clock P. M., I Encamped about one mile above the Falls, where I received a more certain account of the different movements, and I am sorry to say that the people has not acted with that Spirit as becomes the Subjects of Liberty. Much Division has been among them, those who were Spirited in the cause followed too much the method of the Continent by letting the disaffected go about & Insinuate Different Tales, & having no encouragement of succor from the Westward and being Surprised so Suddenly, the whole gave up & are now become the Subjects of Britain. The greatest Part is I believe as Zealous as ever, & it is their Earnest request that a Sufficient Force may be sent from the continent; are also consious of what will be the consequence Should the Britains Get a Hold here, as it will command the Eastern Country and open a communication into Canada. All that I can say for the Inhabitants is this, that they might have very Easily defended the mouth of the River by Securing the Falls against 1000 men, but they neglected this from Various obstructions in their Consultations; they admitted The Britains about 100 men to Surprise them Suddenly, and Passively Submitted & took the oath of allegiance. Many of them were Rob'd of their all, many were those who had taken the oath; they appeared by what I can learn dejected & forlorn & Sorry for what is done, but how to manage the affair they appear at a Loss, stupid & fluctuating. From this your Honors may form a Judgment of the Situation of this River. Thus Some that are great Zealots for Britains, among them is one Lewis Mitchell, who is well acquainted with the different Parts of the Country and often goes to Halifax, is of an Insinuating Turn, Particularly among the French and Indians; he was one of the two who went last March to git Troops, I was determined to Secure him if possible.

On the 8d Instant, I gave Capt<sup>e</sup> West his Instructions which was to Range the Woods from Hazens across the River above the falls Round to the Old Fort, to keep himself Secret, not to be any where but in the Woods & Endeavor to annoy & disturb the Enemy in their Lodgement (should they come) till further orders. I proceeded myself with Two Boats & 6 Birch Cannoes up the River on the 4<sup>th</sup> about 10 o'clock M<sup>r</sup> Preble and me with three Indians went to Mitchel's house & took him. He's now a Prisoner with me. In the afternoon I got up to Mangeville<sup>1</sup> & went ashore opposite the Town & wrote a letter to the inhabitants (a copy of which is here for your Honors Perusal) I would observe to your Honors that upon hearing of the Inhabitants Submitting to Brittan I was determined not to go in to any of the Houses, nor go to any Settlement, nor have any Connection or Intercourse with them, otherwise than procuring Some Refreshments, & every night I Encamp in the Woods, distant from any House. On the 5<sup>th</sup> at day light Proceeded on, when within one mile of the Indian Settlement,<sup>2</sup> a centery Hailed & desired us to stop till he acquainted the Rest of our coming. After a Signal was given we Proceeded, When in Sight the Indians formed in a Single Line between Forty or fifty in their Shirts Painted, fired a *feu de joy* which we answered, upon my going ashore Pierre Toma, Ambroise & the other chiefs receiv<sup>d</sup> me in form. I walk'd towards the Wigwams, when passing the Line of Indians before mentioned, they began a firing & continued some minutes. After them, all the Squaws ranged along, curtsying as I passed, went to Ambroise's Wigwam where all the captains attended, & the young men came in one by one & Saluted me & then went of. We passed the Evening in tell-

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<sup>1</sup> Mangerville.

<sup>2</sup> Aukpeck.

ing news, I Lodg'd in the wigwam. I am Rather more Particular in mentioning these Trifling matters. It is only to give your Honors an Idea of Their ways & the Friendship which some of them Retains for America, who were the occasion of this method of complimenting.

I shall very Likely be very Particular in communicating our Different proceedings & conferences, till your Honors desire me to Desist from Troubling you. The next day I conversed with several Indians privately & found that I had a very hard task to go through with, Little hopes of success. I found that several were Vastly fond of Col' Gould and Seemed Undetermined what to do. When some of the chiefs were on Board, the Bible was presented for them to swear Allegiance which they comply'd with. Piere Toma in Particular appeared enraged at his Treatment when in Boston, said he was not Treated as he ought to be & what was promised him, therefore he was determined to go to Halifax. I used every argument I was master of to Dissuade him from his Design & to convince him of the good Disposition & Intention of the States towards the Tribes & that I had come to do them Justice, with the Same authority as Monsieur Beanebeau are in the French time. This pleased them much, & upon the whole I gained such an assendency over the other Indians that they Interposed, for the Present appeared somewhat Satisfied till another conference among themselves. On the 7th about 11 o'clock I was sent for to Piere Toma's Wigwam where I found all the chiefs & Young men. After I was Seated, Ambroise rose, and in a Solomn Attitude addressed the chiefs giving an account of his Embassy and del' him a string of Wampum, Then addressed the young men in the same manner delivering them another String of Wampum. They all answered him, agreeing with what he had done & that they were Still united in friendship one with another, they then dispersed. About an hour after, I was again

sent for to Ambroises Wigwams, where I found the whole Present, one of the Chiefs then Rose & addressed me in the same manner as Monsieur Beauvéau was in the French time, as their country man, in behalf of the congress & Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington. After talking much upon matters concerning themselves & welcoming me, I was present<sup>d</sup> with a String of Wampum from the Chief, then another String was Given from the chiefs & Young men. Pierre Tomma then Rose & taking the two Strings from me, addressing me in behalf of the whole jointly, & then Returned them to me. We then Parted, after I had Invited them to my House on Monday to give them an answer, on which day they all attended when I delivered them three Strings of Wampum. After Introducing the conversation, I Stated to them as clearly as Possible the nature of the dispute & what occasioned the war between America & Britain, all which apparently gave much satisfaction, we parted great friends. I have ever since attended the Visiting the different Wigwams & conversing privately with them, Giving them a minute Detail of matters, which they gave great attention to. On the 8<sup>th</sup>, I Rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter from Capt<sup>o</sup> West, giving me an account of his taking a Schooner from Halifax with Sundrys on board, among which was some English goods which I should have been Extremely glad of had they Been sent up here; but for fear of Being Blocked up, he sent them to Machias, 2 days after Col<sup>o</sup> Shaw arrived at the mouth of the River with 45 men. On the 9<sup>th</sup> I received Inteligence in 9 days from Quebeck, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoyne arrived there about the 16<sup>th</sup> of May, with about three Hundred [so written] men. He stay'd there but Eight & forty hours & Sett off for the Lakes, the Canadians were very much distressed that every 6<sup>th</sup> man was Drafted & were daily deserting, that they were very much discouraged and appeared certain that they could not Penetrate far as they heard of the Great Strength of Ticonde-

roga; that those that were advocates for America suffered much. Gov<sup>r</sup> Carlton is to continue at Quebec. On the 11<sup>th</sup> Mess<sup>r</sup> Hazen & White arived having been made Prisoners. On Seeing the British Ship coming into the River, which prov'd to be the Vulture<sup>1</sup> Sloop of War, with her came a Sloop with Supplies, Capt<sup>a</sup> West Boarded the Sloop, but such numbers coming from the Ship, & no Prospect of Success, he thought best to Quit her, the Britains, being somewhat Intimidated, Thought Proper to Set sail the next day; but I fear their Return with superior Force.

I have sent a canoe for other Indians on the Head of the River Whom I expect this week. I have sent another to Meramichee<sup>2</sup> with a String of Wampum, to Let them know of my Business and Intention of Being among them, which I Intend doing when I can get the St Johns Indians a little more Secure & Settled. A number of them I expect will go with me. I have also sent off after an English officer who is among them up the River who calls himself a deserter, but I presume is a spy.

Since my arrival I have Employ<sup>d</sup> Several of the Indians in Sending them about with Express to the other Tribes, By which I keep up their Spirits. I am compell'd at Present to Stay here, for I Fear on my Leaving this place the Indians woud be Immediately down the River. The Impression Col<sup>o</sup> Gould has made on their minds Seems to occasion an unsteady conduct, so much (that notwithstanding) their Fair Speeches & friendly behaviour at Times I after all think they will leave us. I can hardly write any

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<sup>1</sup> The Vulture is the very ship to which Arnold escaped at the time of his treason, and St. John was for many years his residence, his house was standing a few years since, and his pew in the Episcopal church is still pointed out to strangers.

<sup>2</sup> Miramichi.

thing certain about them and I doubt not my own Letters contradict one another; for their Behaviour is so Changeable, and when any thing is on the Carpet on Either Side they appear so assiduous & Sanguine that I am often Led to suppose they are come to final Determination, which brings on an unsteadyness in my own conduct with them, & my Letters often dictated as the Situation of my mind is after a conference. But upon the whole I must say there is none acted more virtuous, Even Those that are more Refined. They are naked & in great want of Provision, notwithstanding they Persevere, and only in distress will Purchase from the adherants of Great Britain. Many of them Since the Treaty & Promise made them have quited Hunting. Their familys I find in Great Distress, with many Complaints. On the arrival of Col<sup>o</sup> Shaw I called a meeting of Chiefs Sachems & Young Men to Lay in their Complaints and upon the whole, was told that they had not the Treatment they Expected. This Expectation was founded on the French Custom which was when they went to war their familys were Supplyd, and whatever was Lost in war or drunkenness was made up to them; for they say the Evil which arises to them is in Consequence of their being in the Service. There is no convincing them to the contrary, they say they were also Promised hard money & many other things. Their councils have often met since my arrival here, and have always been called to consult their maner & behaviour is both Solemn & Orderly. I have Somewhat Elated their spirits & ambition By convincing them of their Consequence. Among other matters agreed upon was the Prices of Furrs are placed high, But this I presume a Piece of Policy from this Reason that it was no Likelyhood any American wou'd purchase furrs with hard money, that Furrs sent to the Continent bears a great advance Equivalent to the goods purchased, that this method would naturally occasion a jealousy & dispute between the Indians and

the Adherents of Britain; as the Latter would Refuse to pay the Price & very Likely Supplys might not arrive time enough from the Continent, all which I thought wou'd Tend to the Service of the States, This arrangement is to the 1<sup>st</sup> of January. I have only to add in Respect to the Indians, that there must be timely Supplys. It will now take 15 or 20 Pieces of Strouds<sup>1</sup> for this Tribe, besides other matters in proportion & a considerable Quantity of Corn & other Provisions. It cannot be Supposed that these Persons will Keep always so quiet without assisting them (I mean for their furs in payment); if they are Forced to Deal with the Brittain's the consequence is obvious & sure, & it must soon take place if not speedily prevented. I would Try at Maremechee for some, but money is wanting. M<sup>r</sup> John Preble has been very assiduous and active. He was forced to flee & secure his effects in the woods, Quantitys of which are found & embezzled by Tories and Soldiers. Some things has been got. I have ordered them to be removed from Maugerville to this Place, the Indians have taken most of them. I have sent Mr. Preble to Machias for what Things I bought & to Procure what Else he can, Before the Brittain's Get to the River. But after all this Preparation if a Force Does not come, it will be Impossible to Keep their Interests. I am at Present at every Great Expense, having been forced to be very Lavish & Likely to be far more than I Expected. I must therefore Earnestly request your Honours to give me Speedy Information what is your Intention that I may order things accordingly. I have Received no Particular news from Cumberland nor do we Know any thing of the State of the Family's Since Decem<sup>r</sup>, Any more than In General, the Property of persons absconding & those who Refuse the oath is mostly seized & sold, Several Family's turned out of their houses.

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<sup>1</sup> Strouds a kind of coarse cloth much worn by the Indians.



I am rather afraid to send to Know, for fear of Exasperating & to hear of more cruelty. I Little Expect to see my family this year if ever. The River is now Quiet 60 men at the mouth of the River & my Keeping the Indians at Home & now & then Raising a small Alarm, to put the Indians in a little motion, Staggers the whole Inhabitants & Keeps any Inclination from attempts at any thing. Many have been Here making the greatest profession of Friendship. I desire them to Keep away. I was determined to have no connection whatever with any others but the Inds. & declined any of their Company this way, as I should not trouble any of their homes, and as yet I have not been in any House since I am on the River. The bearer Doc Nevers, who is a Person who has Suffered the greatest hardships, the most part of his Interest carried off by Mr. Gould & himself Lyable every day to be made a Prisoner, his Character in Private Life as well as his zeal for his Country Being a Great Instrument in Keeping the Indians Quiet in Furnishing them with Provisions &c., merits the friendship of every person concerned, Must therefore recommend him to your Honors favours. The Schooner which West took & sent to Machias belongs to the States, Except so much as the States pleases to allow to the Captors. Your Honours will please to Authorize Capt<sup>l</sup> Smith or Some other Trusty Person to secure the Property. June 20<sup>th</sup> This afternoon 8 Birch Canoes arrived from the head of the River, with seven very respectable men (Chiefs), they sent for me & presented me with a string of wampum, Declaring the utmost friendship, signifying their acknowledgement & obligations in sending to them in such a friendly manner. I expect a Conference to morrow. About an hour after the Canoe returned from Maremishe, one came from the micmacs, sending me a long string of wampum Declaring their most fervent Zeal for America, with their good wishes & Love toward me, that an Express was immedi-

stely sent off to Collect the whole Chiefs, At Maremishe where I shall meet them. By this Last canoe I heard of a Boat from Cumberland with 16 unhappy persons being Down the River on their way to this. I also mention that paper money will not pass at present. Let me beseech your Honours to consider this Distressed country.

AUXE PAQUE June 24<sup>th</sup> 1777.

May it please your Honors

I have just heard of an oportunity down the River; have only time to acquaint your Honors that a Number of the unhappy people of Cumberland arrived here, being forced from there by the Severe & Rigid mandates of the British Tyrant, whose subjects are persecuting the unhappy sufferers with unrelenting malice and fury. The common appellation is to Women Damn'd Rebel Bitches & whores, Excuse the rough Expression, & often kicked when met in the street. My unhappy Wife has been often accosted in this manner. No man whatever called an American is permitted to appear in Court even those who have taken the Oath. Majistrates sends warrants by any person; peoples Effects are taken and immediately put up for sale. However they are much Intimidated and from their Cruel Behavior, Consciencious Guilt flies in their face, dread & fear is about them.

Nova Scotia is at present very weak. Easy would it be to overset the whole British power.

Col Gorham has acted the Humane part. The Yorkshire men from England Lately are the most Villianous set of miscreants, it is them who occation this horrid Scene. Gorham acts Counter to them. There is Great Dissentions among the Officers in the Garrison, several duels fought this winter, many Tryals for meeting. Gorham it appears does not keep Company with but 2 or 3 of his own officers. Two of the officers about three weeks ago,

(one of which was a French officer, who Deserted from the Line at Cambridge named Buordyne) fought a duel, when the Frenchman was shot dead upon the spot.

I must pray your Honors to hasten your Determination about this country. There is a Considerable Expense at present, which I wou'd Chuse to drop if nothing further is to be done — but I must Earnestly request three or four Hundred men for this River & to Remove Familiys &c from Cumberland. God only knows what will become of these unhappy people if your Honors do not assist them.

I am with the Greatest Esteem & Respect

Your Honors &c

J. ALLAN.

P. S. Docts Clark & some others who were Prisoners in Halifax have arrived here.

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*Letter substituted in Place of Col. Allan's.*

[The letter of Col. Allan, giving the account of the skirmish at the mouth of the St. John river not being extant, this is substituted in its place, to which is annexed the British report. See Allan's brief account in the journal.]

NUMBER FOUR<sup>1</sup> July 18, 1777.

Yesterday I Received Letters from the Committee & Major George Stillman of Machias, wherein I have the following acc<sup>t</sup> viz<sup>t</sup> that the Captains Dyer<sup>2</sup> & West, had made an Honorable Retreat from St. Johns they Com-

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<sup>1</sup> Now the town of Harrington.

<sup>2</sup> A Captain Dyer who commanded the privateer Marabout was captured by the enemy and died while a prisoner.

\*manding a reconitering party to watch the Enemys motions. There was at that time in St John three men of war, two Tenders and a sloop belonging to the British King. The number of men on board these vessels is uncertain, but we are certain they landed 120 men, at one Peabodys, at Mahogany Bay so called they march<sup>d</sup> through the wood, two miles & a half. Our Troops having timely notice, thought best to call in their guards and secure a Retreat, they accordingly detach their main Body, to a place called great Bay above the Falls to secure their Boats, Leaving Cap<sup>t</sup> Dyer with twelve men to observe the enemys motion. Captain Dyer let the main Body come within good musket shot, then fired and retreated. On his Retreat fell in with the Enemys flank guard who fired on them at ten or twelve yards distance, killed three, and two slightly wounded, who got off with Captain Dyer. Our Party immediately retreated up River, at one o'clock was seen 25 miles up. Next day the Enemy followed up river. This intelligence comes straight from St Johns by one M<sup>r</sup> Bromfield, a gentleman of undoubted credit and veracity, who supposes our troops entirely safe, as the enemy proceeded only 20 or 30 miles up river. He was also Eye witness to the skirmish. By the same authority we find the enemy well informed of the Eastern campaign. Two ships from New York was dispatch immediately who was into St Johns, the mermaid of 86 guns, the Ambuscade of 82, do. with another ship with orders to cruise between Machias Harbor and Mount Desert to intercept our fleets on their way eastward. This came from Machias at the same time desiring me to communicate the same westward; and as it is become the duty and interest of every well affected Person to exert and stretch every nerve in opposition to ministerial tyranny and oppression, precaution and prevention being the best of action, I would earnestly recommend it to all officers of the Continental

or State troops commanding of forts or militia of privateers' committees & others who may have it in their power that they use every means that the commanders of Troops or ships engaged on the present Expedition eastward may have timely notice of this matter so as to govern themselves accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

ALEX<sup>r</sup> CAMPBELL  
 LT COL EASTERN REG  
 County of Lincoln.

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*Report from St. Johns River.*

150 miles up St JOHN'S RIVER July 10<sup>th</sup> 1777.

May it please your Honors

I wrote you a few Lines in a hurry the other day, & indeed must now plead the same appology, as I am obliged to go from place to place as the Enemy advances & moves.

Various have things been since the arrival of the British Troops. Capt Dyers party who was stationed at the mouth of the River, after their being drove up the River, I sent them into a small river which leads to Passamaquody, in Order to Retreat, after I could have procured them provi-

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<sup>1</sup> The British account of this affair is copied from a Journal kept on board the ship Rainbow commanded by Sir George Collier, printed at New York, 1835.

"Advice arriving about this time that the rebels from Machias had embarked in several small vessels with a view of making a descent in Nova Scotia near the river St. Johns. Sir George Collier immediately ordered Capt. Hawker in his majesty's ship, the Mermaid, to proceed to St. John's, together with the Vulture and Hope, sloops, assisted by the garrison of Fort Cumberland which was to join them afterwards. The Vulture arriving first found the town in possession of the rebels who fired at his

sions, but the next day two Hundred of the Enemy Came up the river and after securing the Different persons Interested in the cause of America, proceeded on in Quest of Capt Dyer. I Endeavored to send Intelligence, but the Diff' avenues being stoped was prevented, since which I have heard of their return but cannot Learn with certainty what has been done. If Dyer has eluded them he must have suffered much for want of provisions if he pursued the journey.

M<sup>r</sup> Frankline the British Superintendant to the Indians, being possessed of power, force, money & necessarys, to Engage the Indians, and is using Every means to win them. Herein your Honors may conceive of the Critical Situation this way. Pier Tomma the chief with some others have been on board & had a Conference. They are offered 400 dollars for me dead or alive, notwithstanding all this, I have made out to Keep the whole Tribe but these few together, & have retreated twenty miles from their Town with the whole family, promising assistance soon. Ambroise & his connections deserves the greatest applause. He is convinced of the nature of the dispute & I assuredly believe is as Genuine a friend as any in America. He has been unwearied in the business & Determined to maintain the River if properly supported. The Indian

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boats in landing, killed and wounded six of her men; but upon the Mermald's anchoring, the rebels quitted the town, taking post round it in the woods. Capt Hawker, however, thinking he had force sufficient to dislodge them, made disposition for that purpose which was hardly completed before a detachment from Fort Cumberland arrived, who, immediately landing and joining the seamen, they drove the rebels before them with considerable loss, but they knowing the country better than the king's people retreated up the river till they got above the falls, and then, though dispersed, made their escape across by means of whale boats; but their expedition turned out so bad and they were so harrassed, and almost starved for want of provisions in their flight that it threw a damp on their schemes of invading Nova Scotia.

family suffers much, their whole time is devoted to the Service of the States. If nothing is Done, they must Inevitably quit & join the others; and have now to demand in their behalf if any thing is intended to be done from the Continent or not, that they may act accordingly. There was a Conference yesterday concerning the message from Frankline. I was present & had liberty to speak. The result was that no one should go on Board, Except Pier Tomma who had promised to return, & that they should continue that way till they heard from New England. I am at present Destitute of every thing, what I had purchased on the river is all lost; some Houses Burnt, because the people have furnished me with some things. I am forced to put up with the fare the Indians can provide. I have Dismissed every English person but one which I have with me, & shall continue as long as there is a possibility of doing good. All these difficultys will be a sufficient recompense if I can gain the End.

As to the numbers of the Enemy & Strength, I am uncertain, but cannot think there is more than 800. I fear they have several vessells & strong at the mouth of the river, if they fortify it will be difficult to take it. It will require much prudence conduct & Vigilence.

I am in a hurry but must again Implore some help for the Indians. I am still suspicious if I leave them they will Turn; hope your Honours will duly Consider the matter & send relief—or if nothing is thought proper or Expedient to be done on this river, that proper supplies & assistance may be sent to Machias; shall Endeavor to win them that way & Keep their Interests, for I must assure your Honours my task is hard, having such an antagonist as Frankline to deal with, who has such assistance, I am Confident that had I the tenth part of the advantage Franklin has that nothing whatever should turn them, that is in the power of Britain; for Even the Little supplies I brought from Newbury has

never come from Machias. So that your Honours may easily conceive the Critical Situation I am in at this juncture. I expect to retreat 40 leagues further up the without aid comes.

The Indians here have for some days past been much against my going to Meramiche, as there has been some promises made to the Indians to sieze me. I shall detain them that time. I must again plead that your Honour will think of my situation & that of the Indians. I am with due respect &c.

Excuse this odd writing, for I am not in a proper situation to write well.

This goes thro' the woods by a Number of the unhappy Sufferers of Cumberland; most of them arrived a few days ago, what they will do I know not; their Situation is Dismal, Them which came from Boston with me were seized by the Britains two days ago, one of which was struck with a Bayonet & it is supposed is dead.

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*The Battle at Machias.*

Col. Allan gives a minute account of the action at Machias. It was not till recently that any reliable history of it was known, and as it was his duty to communicate it to the government, his must be deemed the official report. It is also considered best to give the other letters concerning it, although it may be that they, to some extent, repeat the same facts. The British account will be read with much interest. All of these were written by persons who were in the engagement.



MACHIAS August 17<sup>th</sup> 1777

Sir.

I wrote you some days ago, Informing the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of my Arrival at this place with a number of Indians, Intending immediately after to have given their Honours a detail of the St Johns Expedition. But a matter somewhat more Interesting turning up, will prevent it for the present, shall therefore refer the particulars of that Expedition to another opportunity. I have therefore now to Acquaint the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that on Wednesday the 18<sup>th</sup> Instant, about 8 o'clock P. M., Intelligence was received at the falls of the arrival of three large Ships, one Brig, and one small Schooner, at the mouth of the Harbour. Various were the Conjectures who it could be, as it appeared they came from the Westward. Major Stillman and Capt Smith, with a few men, set off immediately in Boats to make Discovery, and to take such steps as were necessary, if found to be the Enemy.

About 5 o'clock, the Brig appeared near the Battery formed on a point of land called the Rim (opposite which was a Boom), having 8 Boats in Tow full of Soldiers, with a great number on board. Messrs Stillman & Smith joined Col<sup>l</sup> Foster, having in the whole only Thirty five men. The Brig soon Came to where the Boats made towards the shore, with the appearance of a Determination to Land. Our men immediately forming in a posture for opposing, and by their vigilance & activity keeping a constant & sure fire, prevented the Enemys Landing, who in much confusion retreated to the Brig. In the night, Captain Smith Came up, & immediately returned with one of the Cannon and a Swivel belonging to the Marisheets, with a cable and anchor to Secure the boom, all which by his Indefatigable pains, he Effected by day light; when our people Began to fire with the cannon, and hulled the Brig

several times. I Embod'd the Indians between Forty & Fifty. After I had spoke to them upon the matter they very cheerfully went on Service down the River.

About day light on the 14th, The Enemy received a reinforcement. The murky night was extremely foggy, and it being Easy for them to Land at Several places, our People being so few, not able to Guard the Several posts to prevent their landing, it was thought most prudent for them to retreat and gets altogether at the falls so make as Vigerous Defence as possible. Accordingly a small redoubt was raised, near where it was supposed the Enemy would land, in which was placed Twenty men, under the Command of Major Stillman, with two small Guns from the Marisheet. A Breastwork was also raised on a Rising Ground near the mills, on which was fixed the Swivels of the Schooner and one of the Guns, having a number of men under the command of Lieut Col<sup>e</sup> Nevers, which was Intended for the Last Retreat. In the afternoon people seemed to gets together, after securing their Families & property, and made every preparation possible, what time circumstances would admit. The Enemy Burned several Buildings about the river & one mill down the River.

About 5 o'clock P. M. The Brig appeared in sight, beating up, with a number of Boats ahead Towing; also a sloop which the Enemy took in the River, having strongly fortified her against small arms. There being but a light Breeze & Tide of flood, they came up pretty fast and between six and seven, came to an anchor near the Buildings, appeared in a most formidable & warlike position.

In this time our men took their different stations. Capt Smith, with a body having a number of Indians with him, lay upon an Extreme point near the Brig. About 80 Indians, within a few Rods of him, on a hill in order to support the former. The next Major Stillman his battery; Col<sup>e</sup> Nevers in the Breastwork & a small Scouting party

on the west side of the River; the whole amounting to about 180 men.

In this position we Continued about half an hour, Expecting every minute to receive her Broadides. The Enemy Appeared in great Commotion, Rowing & Driving about the Brig, and as we thought fixing a Spring on their Cables.

Our Determination was not to begin the fire in the present Situation, any further than firing some shot to see what Effect it would have on the Brig, which appeared to answer our most sanguine Expectations.

The Indians in this time appeared very Eager for fighting; Set up the Indian Yell which was follow'd by many at the different places, which no Doubt occasioned the Enemy to suppose there were some Hundreds. It appeared almost impossible to prevent some of the Indians from firing; one of them it was Generally supposed Killed a man in a Boat at a great distance, who we Imagined was going to Burn some Houses on the Opposite Shore.

But notwithstanding all this parade of the Invaders, the Haughty & warlike position, to the Great astonishment and surprise of every one, in Less than half an Hour after Coming to an anchor, the Brig & Sloop both got under way without firing a gun towards the Houses, & with the greatest precipitation possible, having Eleven Boats Towing, made down the River against the Tide of flood, giving Three Cheers as they went off. However it was thought this was only a finesse of theirs and it was strongly recommended to keep to the post, only a scouting party to watch their motions till we knew their real design. After this, Major Stillman was Detached with about thirty men proceeding along the river side by land and about Ten o'clock came up with them. Here the party Displayed the Soldier. Being on a plain spot of Ground, exposed to the whole fire of the Enemy, & not more than 100 yards from

their cannon. But with undaunted Courage Vigorously attacked the Enemy who evidently proved to be Effectual & in Consternation, for many in the boats called out they were not able to get on Board (when ordered) by reason that some crews were all killed or wounded. Several officers were named which suffered, one Lieut Gordon, in particular.

The Brig kept up, all this time, a constant & heavy Fire of Langrage & Grape Shot; But notwithstanding our people were so Exposed, By the Interposition of Divine providence, only one man was killed. She soon got aground, But our people being much fatigued & ammunitions spent they returned back, and at Day light of the 15<sup>th</sup>, Col<sup>o</sup> Foster with a Body of men went down, and about seven o'clock attacked them. The Boats Employed in Getting out the anchors & making preparations to get her of, were forced to take Shelter behind the Brig, and only one Boat which was Barricaded could give her any assistance.

At 10 o'clock Captain Smith, with a number of white men and all the Indians, set off in order to attack them on the other side of the River, By which movement the Boats were forced to quit towing her. She throwing them Got off. So Difficult was their Situation that the Boats Crews Declared they could not Row. In answer the officers swore they would Blow the first man's Brains out who dared to come on Board. The Brig then Struck Ground again, But our people keeping up such an instant fire, they could not take the necessary precautions to Get her off, By which she continued during the Tide. In this action, Captain Tamworth rec'd a wound in the head, but is in a fair way of recovery.

By this time, the militia were coming in very fast, so as to enable us to Distribute farther down the River to prevent assistance from the Ships below. A small canoe was taken down, & fixed opposite the stem of the Brig, and the Greatest part of the day a pretty constant fire was kept up on Both sides. Several Balls went into the stem of

the Brig, which with her firing from the Quarter deck while aground must have wrecked her very much.

Several Boats attempted to Get up the River, which were always drove Back with a very considerable Loss on their side. On the Tide of flood the Sloop stood up the River, (as was supposed) to succor the Brig & Get her off. A party of our men suddenly attacked them; many of the enemy were seen to fall, with the greatest difficulty they got her clear. But a heavy rain coming on, prevented our people from pursuing their Design, in Stopping the Brig from getting down the River. She soon floated, & with the assistance of the sloop & a small Breeze of wind, She made the best of her way down; and on the morning of the 16<sup>th</sup> Came to, altogether at Round Island. The past night they were seen getting Ballast on Board in the Greatest haste, and this morning on the Tide of Ebb all but one Ship set Sail & Departed the Harbour.

I must observe to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that this Expedition of the Enemy, and our situation at the time, might occasion some reflection. It appears this matter was a plan of Dawson of the Brig Hope, that he had received Intelligence from time to time of the situation of this place, and that the General Court would not allow anything for its Defence till the Expedition now forming was granted, which it appears by certain Information, that he has rec<sup>d</sup> Intelligence of the Backwardness of it, he has been seen coming backwards & forwards for this some time past. He'd no doubt supposed from this that there was some property Deposited here, & not Strength to defend it, and his coming up in such a daring manner would so intimidate the inhabitants that they would immediately give up.

As to the Situation of the place, it cut a gloomy aspect the morning the Brig came up; matters appeared Desperate on our side, & a faint hope of saving the place from

**Destruction.** The Enemy seemed Encouraged by our men Leaving the Battery below, which indeed was done from necessity; But all this turned out to our Great advantage, for on the Brigs coming up & Seeing such fortifications, which were never known of before, and our men posted in such a manner, might very reasonably conjecture that our retreating, was to bring them in that Difficult situation & Destroy them, & supposing we had some hundreds, By their returning in such an unprecedented manner, had we but two six pounders the Brig must have struck; which I think should have been sent when the stores came down, for things of this nature is always the means of an Enemy making desperate attempts. Upon the whole we may be very thankful to Kind Providence that the place is so far preserved.

I cannot but highly applaud the Bravery of the whole militia, & the few Troops Inlisted; have not heard the Least complaint of any Backwardness after matters came to a crisis.

And I have the pleasure to Inform the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that none Deserve Greater Applause than our Indian Friends. For the Diff<sup>r</sup> Officers at the Several attacks assure me, that no person Behaved more gallantly, Exposing themselves openly to the fire of the cannon & small arms, very Diff<sup>r</sup> than what has been generally Practiced by Indians. The same morning the Enemy arrived, I had a conference with six Deputies from Penobscot. We Exchanged pledges of friendship, Received the greatest satisfaction, and agreed with them to be at Penobscot in Six weeks, where I am to meet the St Francis Indians & others from Canada.

I Deliv<sup>d</sup> these, six Guns, who immediately joined the others, & continued till the departure of the Ships when I dismissed them with some presents.

My coming to Machias was a matter more of necessity

than inclination; as I was confident it would create a greater Expense, and the Indians Continually Drunk & Quareling. But they being Destitute of every thing, I was afraid to yield to the entreates of them, & indeed it has proved of Great advantage. I am obliged to supply & find them very Largely, with Provisions & other things, and Employing them in Going with Express &c, otherwise they would certainly go off, & afraid to Let them out of my hands for the present, for fear of giving or having some correspondence with the Enemy. Still the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board may fully rely & depend I shall use every economy possible; indeed things are so Dear & Exorbitant, & the Indians Demands & necessities so large, that I am often at a stand what to Do.

The Great Consumption of Provisions during this Siege, obliges me to Press upon the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board to Consider the Situation of this Country in General, as people have been so harrassed, being forced from their harvest; particularly I must press assistance to the Truck house, which I beg may be furnished with a quantity more of Corn, & other provisions, also small wines, Cyder, also Some more Blankets, Strouds, some pieces of fine Cloths, wampum, &c Quantity of Ammunition & Some Good guns.

The Indians have Left some fine corn fields on St Johns, which it is Probable is Destroyed; if so, the Indians will resent it Greatly if not a certain supply Laid in for them. I have empowered Mess<sup>rs</sup> Cross's of Newbury to procure these articles, to whom I send a Schooner & Expect her back with all Expedition; those that came with me bro<sup>d</sup> considerable furs &c., which I presume Capt Smith will Send as soon as possible.

I find our Nova Scotia Expedition goes on very slowly; from the appearance of things I shall not press that matter at present, but there is the Greatest necessity of a speedy reinforcement if it is Intended to keep these parts. There is

every reason to suppose that the Enemy is Bent upon the Destruction of this place, and that they are now gone for a reinforcement, which if the case I am very sure they must carry the point. I hardly know what apology to make to the Indians if the Troops do not soon arrive; for, by the Diff' news told them, they are Sanguine that St Johns will be secured by the States.

Brigadier Warner not arriving has given me much trouble. I intended before now, let the consequences turned out as it would, to Endeavour to have been among the Micmacs, who I find the British Government is Tampering with, with all their might; and it is not Impossible but they may be Seduced, for every Shop in Halifax is open for them, to Demand what they please. With pains & Difficulty did I gain these of St Johns & others with nothing, th<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Frankline the British Superintendent had every advantage of Power, force, money &c—and indeed he may Gain the others when no Body to oppose him.

My reasons of detaining is for fear of my Thwarting the Intentions of Government, and also to be ready to give my feeble advice in the Expedition. I perceive it is daily Growing more precarious in Carrying on these things, and must be managed with much Delicacy and prudence.

It gives me much pain to hear of the Trouble the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board has had with the affairs of Nova Scotia, occasioned by the fluctuating minds of people—much party spirit seems to Reign. I have Endeavored all along to act upon that rule which I conscientiously thought would Tend to the Interest and Honour of the United States, The Happiness, Welfare & Establishing Freedom in that Community whereof I was a member. But by Common fame it appears I am classed as one of the parties, which I have been an utter stranger to hitherto. My Intentions being to pursue Every measure to defeat the diabolical plans of Britain, and to Endeavor with my weak ability to aid in



Defending & supporting the Independence of America; and, as I would not have it suspected of doing the Least action that might be thought to hurt any Intention of Government, I have come to a Determination not to Act in any matter whatever as an Inhabitant of Nova Scotia, but shall Lay aside every Dispute & Animosity which has been occasioned by any mal proceedings in that province, and shall wholly devote my time & Talents to the service of the states, and shall use every method & use every means to execute such orders & intentions of the States consistent with such office as I may hold.

The Small Vessel which I have with me cannot Get out, but hope the Ship below will soon retire, when I will hurry her away with all Expedition. This schooner, w<sup>h</sup> another one I have, I should be glad may be Employed in the Service if thought necessary, as they are well calculated for such business, and are now Lying on great Expense.

I have apply<sup>d</sup> to Col<sup>e</sup> Eddy to Call a Court Martial to Inquire into the Conduct of officers and others in the Expedition to St Johns, but think he cannot Legally Do it. It is absolutely necessary such things should be, to keep matters in Order and to give Satisfaction, particularly when there is suspicion of misconduct. There has been some affidavit taken Concerning Major Shaw, which I presume will be laid before the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board; but as these steps seems not to be thought a proper channel, I cannot give any judgment on the matter. I must therefore request of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board to order a Court of Inquiry to Examine into that Expedition; these things being done at once will be a Check to Designing & Dangerous men, and of publick utility in Gen<sup>l</sup>, which I have often Experienced when with the Army.

The Truck House at St Johns has been done with for some time. The funds and what was left on hand I have

received & hid them on the river St Johns, Consequently Mr John Preble is not of any service in that Department. Mr Preble often Turns out as a volunteer and seems of an Enterprising Turn in military affairs, is very forward upon every occasion, and from the knowledge I have of his hardships during the summer, I must pray the Liberty to recommend him to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board for some military Employment if consistent with the public service.

I must pray that Intelligence respecting my Proceedings may be conveyed to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Congress.

I have the Honor to be with the most profound Respect,  
Your most Obt

& Devoted hbl Servt

J. ALLAN.

P. S. I have taken the Liberty to draw an order in favour of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Stephen & Ralph Cross of Newbury Port, on the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the President of the Council of this State, for such monies as is Granted for the use of the Indians in the Eastern Department. I am at a loss to do it in such a manner as may appear legal; my necessity I trust will apologise for any Defect in the order.

August 19th some deserters Coming in which belonged to the Hancock, brought intelligence that the fleet &c was composed of the Rainbow, Mermaid, Vulture & Hope, which with the marines belonging to them was all. This was them which was at St Johns, only that the Emigrants & fencibles were sent back. The Enemy Lost in the attack with Major Stillman 80 men killed. Their whole Loss amounts, which is spoken of among themselves publicly, 100 killed & wounded. I suppose not an action during the war, Except Bunker Hill, there was such a slaughter.

This goes by Col<sup>l</sup> Campbell, a Gentleman who has Exerted himself in Collecting the militia.

To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Jeremiah Powell.

*Letter from Allan to the Honorable Board, &c.*MACHIAS Aug<sup>t</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Sir.

My last to you was of the 17th Inst By Col<sup>r</sup> Campbell, acquainting The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of the attempt made by the Enemy on this Place with the manner of their Retreat.

Since which we have been very quiet in Respect of any molestation from them, but our fears are Great when we think it too probable there will be a second assault, more so when its so hard & Troublesome to keep People together, in a regular form, & even at the best very few appears.

On learning that one Ship Continued below, Major Stillman on the 20th Inst, with Ten English and Ten Indians, was sent down to make Discovery & Endeavor to Seize some Prisoners for Intelligence. The next day he Returned, having during his absence come Suddenly upon a Boat with Eight men who were Getting water. The anxiety & Heat of the Indians prevented their Seizing them all with the Boat, they Sprung out Suddenly & Secured two or Three giving at the same time a Loud yell. This so Intimidated the others, that they Rather chuse to take the chance of being fired at in the Boat & Get to their Ship, then fall into the hands of the Indians. These Prisoners were brought up, one killed & 4 In the Boat wounded one of which mortaly.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> Inst, a Boy Lately belonging to the Hancock was sent on shore, with a letter for Exchange of Prisoners, Col<sup>r</sup> Eddy (no doubt for wise Reasons) thought best not to answer it. The Ship continued till two days ago, when She Stood out Cruising backward & forwards off the mouth of the Harbour.

The 24<sup>th</sup> Major Newell arrived, with orders from Brigadier Warner to disband the Troops intended for the Nova

Scotia Expedition, this Sudden Turn occasioned a variety of Evils. I waited upon Col<sup>e</sup> Eddy & prayed him not to be so Sudden in Discharging the men, as our Present Situation occasioned peoples minds to be agitated By the Enemys having been here & Expecting them again, and that the Indians, who when they prepared for war wou'd be wholly discouraged & Immediately might Seek for Safety By making Peace with the Enemy, as it might appear they were forsaken Immediately after they had taken up arms & assisted in Defending this Place; all which matters (as there is a number of Disaffected on this coast) would soon be communicated to the Enemy.

I took upon me to Endeavor to convince him that the General court would not have Discharged the men had they apprehended the Place was in such a situation, and that necessity obliged us to Exert ourselves in keeping all the men for Immediate defence, let orders be what they would, as it was not to be doubted but that the General Court would think about securing this Place when it was known of its Situation; for it must be an amazing Expense to the States to pay bounties a Second time, particularly when there has been the monstrous Sums already Expended for nothing; but he appeared Inflexible & was resolved to follow the orders & constructions of the Brigadier, & accordingly the next day Discharged his men. Major Stillman not receiving orders from his commanding officer to discharge his, keeps them Still in the Service, which are the only men now on Duty here.

Some Evil minded persons Immediately propagated among the Indians that they were now Forsaken & that now they were brought into Trouble they might Git out of it as they could. I saw a Gloom on many of their countenances & Talking a little, they appeared more affected as Friends than Enemies.

I Proposed to them to have a Public Conference & Dinner while Major Howel was here, which we had yesterday, where all the Principle Captains & young men attended. I endeavored to convince them of the Utility of Laying aside the Expedition, that it was from Policy & that Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington had too Friendly a Heart towards them to Expose them to the Horrors of War, without having matters better prepared to be more sure of Success. Major Newell (to whom I am much obliged for the manner in wh<sup>h</sup> he addressed them) Gave them much Satisfaction in telling them of the welfare of their Friends, & Some Reason for Laying aside the Expedition. They answered every thing to our Satisfaction, & addressed the Major as comming Immediately from General Washington; after which we dine<sup>d</sup>, & it appeared to all present their Determination was to fall or Rise with the Americans. I had to forge a letter as coming from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board Saluting them, which Rais'd their ambition; it is always the case and they hold Such a Thing Sacred.

The Laying aside the Expedition to Nova Scotia at this Junction, I can no ways I think be Impolitic, Particularly when I consider the Plan by which it was to be executed, that is in raising Forces it was very Foreign from what ever I proposed, & what I am assured would have been of bad consequence had it been pursued, I think it a mercy to the country it is Stop'd, & trust that Providence Intends a better way; which I shall Leave to its wise & just Disposal.

But I must Pray Permission to be heard about this Place. Let me assure the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that the Enemy intend pursuing their measures (which I already Troubled them Several times with), that the British intend to penetrate & Destroy the Eastern Ports. I cannot but acknowledge that they are more aggravated & intent upon it now, by reason of the movetments with Nova Scotia. It may

be Remembered that I often pressed to have these Frontiers Secured, for I was convinced, by the Little Knowledge I had of the Enemy in that Province, that they would vent their Vengeance this way, in Revenge for the Last falls Expedition to Cumberland.

At the Present time, Should the Enemy attempt anything this way, they must Inevitably Carry Their point, without an Extraordinary Miricle of Providence. People are withdrawing & going away; Distress & horror appear in most countenances; we have too much Reason to Suppose that there is Emessaries of the Enemy among us, using every means to propagate false reports to Discourage people. An Illicit Trade appears to be carried on openly with Nova Scotia, By which constant Intelligence is given which I have certain Information of, all which In due time I shall lay before the Hon<sup>ble</sup> congress & Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board. Vessels Tolerrated to pass & Repass & Persons on Board them Treating the Officers of Government with Contempt, & Dispise whatever they Threaten or attempt to do for the Good of the States. The Indigency of the place is such that nothing can be done with Such persons for people are afraid, and being so far from the Metropolis (which is always the case in new Settlements) that a true state of matters is Seldom known to Govern<sup>r</sup> by which many things may be commanded and ordered, which would not have been the case if a Genuine representation had been made. The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board will Please to pardon the Freedom I take in writing in this matter; it is not meant to insult or offend but occasioned By an anxious mind for the Safety of this Country, I am very well convinced that these States have Sustained much Damage in Regard to communicating the dif<sup>r</sup> proceedings of the States to the Enemy, By persons being toleratted to go Into Nova Scotia to settle Private Business, & Vessels toleratted to Trade backwards & forwards. This I wou<sup>d</sup> beg the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board

to observe is not Chymical or uncertain, for I have Relations & Friends in Nova Scotia who is actually concerned in it, of which I have Reserved Impartial & true acc<sup>ts</sup>.

The body of the Indians continue at present here; some have gone a Hunting. Should a Stroke be Struck by the Enemy & Succeed, the case will be desperate. The Indians at Present appear of much Service, & people here urge every method to be used to Detain them; they seem hearty in the cause, but we must not depend upon them, to maintain this Place; a Regular Body of Men should come here & remain.

From necessity, the Inhabitants here have obligated Themselves to pay such men of the Late Battalions, which are willing to Stay to defend the Place, as also Encouraged any of the Militia who will come in on the Same Footing. Very few of the Former will consent, as they have Liberty to go, having their Bounty &c. How it will be with the Latter, I cannot Say, there is but a Small Party remaining; So few that they can be of Little other Service than to give Intelligence of the aproach of the Enemy by keeping a few centrya.

This is the Situation of this Place, the frontiere of the State, the Last Retreat whereby we can have any command over the Eastern Indians, & the Key of the Eastern Country. Besides the Value of the Place itself, it contains a considerable amount of Private Property, as well as a Great amount belonging to the States.

Should the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board think it Expedient to Secure this Post, to Defend these Parts against the Enemy, I will once more take the Liberty in Troubling their honors with my Sentiments. That 400 men be Immediately Raised, with whom Incorporate the Indians which may Inlist, to be Stationed on the River; That Birch canoes be furnish<sup>d</sup> for their Transportation up & down the River, which may be easily taken from this to Penobscot & the

Principle rivers 80 miles Back; the communication is very Easy which I have now had a opportunity of knowing. Indians have come here in three days with canoes. That there be a quantity of Provisions &c Disposed at Penobscot, but this post to be chief Place of Randervous for the army. I think it wou'd be easy to Set up a Truck House in Some of these Places, tho' attended with some Expense.

I trust the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board will not be offended, when I Recommend, Should any men be sent here, to be very Particular in the choice of officers; much Disturbance has arisen here among the men, which I chiefly perceive is occasioned by officers, upon Examining into accounts of St Johns & other Public matters, which has come within the Circle of my Inspection. I have Perceived that most Dishonorable Transactions, Unbecoming the most Profligate men, much more those bearing a Commission. Self seems predominant, & every Advantage is taken, every one tries how farr he can Exceed the other in Charging. It is to Ocular Demonstration (to me) that the unsuccessful attempt made, the Mutinying & Complaints of the Soldiers, and the heavy Charges is owing to Indolent, Designing, Avaricious men Employ'd as officers.

If any thing Should be done, permit me to Recommend Major Stillman as an Active Deserving Officer. He appears well acquainted with the Army regulations, follows Such Rules as are always necessary, as also has the Love of the Soldiers, also Permit me further to Recommend M<sup>r</sup> John Preble. The Great Expense, which now arises & is daly Encreasing, with the Indians, gives me cenceable Trouble. When we were at the worst in the River St Johns, & were forced to Leave the River By the Advancement of the Britains, I made them then fully Sencible of the Greatness of our Cause, the equal of which could not be in this world, they Seem'd to give up the Point themselves, & Confide altogether in what I ordered.



The first Step I then took was to gete them into the Lakes, on the Head of Passamaquody about 160 miles from the Sea, where there was Plenty of moose to be got, for our Subsistence, & Birch Bark for canoes, which they were ill provided with, occasioned by these Troubles; there was much difficulty In Performing This, Great Familya, many Aged Persons who were obliged to be carried, with considerable other Luggage.

I then wrote to Mochias Desiring, my Little Schooner to be Sent Round to Passamaquody with Supplya, which when done & the Indians settled at a Distance from the English, which would cause Less Expense, I intended to Proceed up the Bay of Funday to the Micmacka. But hearing of the Enemya being at Passamaquody, I Received a Letter from your Hono<sup>rs</sup> with the Resolves of Court, add to this the Indians who wanted your necessaries, I came here, the Expedition being laid aside. The Indians have caused a great Expense. I must Earnestly Request the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Boards judgement & opinion how I may Provide with them.

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*Letter from Benjamin Foster to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council, &c.*

MACHIAS 27 Aug. 1777.

May it please your Honors.

In compliance with my duty, permit me to inform your Honors that on this 18<sup>th</sup> Instant came into this Harbour Three British ships & one Brigantine of Forty, thirty two, twenty eight, & fourteen guns. The Brig, with one flat bottom arm'd & the ships boats, made all dispatch up the river till they came within reach of a Breastwork we had thrown up, when a firing began on our part from the

breastwork & on the enemies from the Brig & Boats. One of the Frigates followed so far up the river till she grounded; the day following they landed under cover of their Cannon favor'd by a very thick fog, from the best account, about three hundred men, paraded themselves, set fire to three dwelling houses & two Barns, & re-entered their vessels; same day they attempted to carry the principal part of the settlement, but met with so spirited an opposition that the Brig with the Boats assistance made the best of their way down river again, and on the third day, after a smart firing on them by the Inhabitants, Indians & people, occasionally with us, they left the river had we been present of but six Cannon, of 12 or even 9 pounders, the Brig & ship would never have got out of the Harbour. Our loss was one man killed & Capt Farnsworth slightly wounded, but from the best intelligence we are able to get of prisoners & deserters their loss is very great, at present they have left the Harbour but how soon they will return with a superior strength we are unable to determine, our accounts are that the ships are return'd to Nova Scotia for more men, and we are in full expectation of a speedy visit from them again, the expedition forming against Nova Scotia we are fully persuaded has drawn the enemy on us. The order your Honors have sent for Disbanding the Regiments & transporting the military stores & provisions from this place back have thrown us into the utmost consternation, we are exposed both to the insult of our adversaries and apparent want, the Indians among us appear dejected & apprehend they shall be obliged to join the enemy for support, & unless your Honors will immediately relieve us with men, Provisions & Cannon we must fall a Sacrifice. The Committee with desire of the Inhabitants have agreed to detain what supplies are already in the place, till they can hear from your Honors, and take into pay one hundred of the Militia west of us belonging to this Regiment for one

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month, as this was the place of rendezvous the Enemy has its destruction much at heart, & in case they carry their point upwards of one hundred families will be destroyed, captivated or must flee into the heart of the state for protection & relief, & an extent of more than one hundred mile seacoast will become an easy prey.

If we are worth preserving may I beseech your Honors in behalf of the inhabitants to afford us that immediate assistance of men & supplies, your Honors shall judge effectual for our preservation.

I have the pleasure to inform your Honors that the Indians soldiers & Inhabitants exerted themselves to their utmost, notwithstanding the superior numbers & strength of the Enemy forced them to retreat with great loss, besides the foregoing damage done they consumed our gristmill & plundered some Houses.

I am with profound respect

your Honors

most obedient humble servant

BENJ<sup>A</sup> FOSTER.

*Letter from George Stillman.*

MACHIAS Aug 27, 1777.

May it please your Honors

Agreeable to my appointment as Major of a Regiment to be Raised for an expedition to St Johns, I Repaired, by your directions, with the dispatches &c. to this Place, and with the consent & advice of Lieut Coll<sup>r</sup> Minott, I appointed the officers of three companies, who proceeded to raise their men as fast as Possible, but they had not all the success that could be wished, for only twenty nine in one

Company have passed muster, and twenty four in the other. The third Company has a number engaged but none mustered, the officers & men of the mustered company have been on duty for six weeks past, and have received the most of their bountys & blanketts, & behaved with the utmost bravery in the late action in this Place, indeed we were all in high spirits and every thing seemed to wear a smiling aspect till the Brigade Major Mr Newell arrived with positive orders to Disband all the troops in this department except those under my Command. For the discharge of these there is no order, tho' I am fully convinced by what appears, that it was your Honours pleasure, that they, also, should be dismissed. However, as I can keep them under my Command without breaking orders, and the exigencies of this Place seems to make it absolutely necessary so to do, I am determined, thro' a clear conviction of the necessity of such a measure, and the importunities of the Committee and others, to detain them in the Service, till your honors pleasure is known. The danger this place is in continually has doubtless been represented to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Court by the Committee and Cap<sup>t</sup> Allan, & therefore I shall only add, that I view it as in a very critical situation, and that its preservation is an object worthy the attention of the State, when considered only in itself, but when we view Machias as a valuable frontier town, a proper Retreat for the Indians, and a barrier to all our eastern Country, its importance to the State rises in our esteem a greater Excitement for Defending it.

I have the Honour to be with the Greatest Respect,  
your Honors

Most Obedient Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

GEORGE STILLMAN.

*Letter from Stephen Smith.*MACHIAS 28<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1777.

May it please your Honours

I have now to acquaint the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that soon after my arrival from the westward, Major Stillman Return'd in order to pass muster, Fifty Four non Commissioned Officers & Soldiera. The Attempt of the Enemy with the many Intelligences daily rec<sup>d</sup> of their movements, Brings Duty very hard & Close, so that most of the recruits could not give that Little assistance to their familys as they Ex-pected when Listed, to do before their being Embodied.

This occasioned many heavy Complaints, & for fear the service should be Detered, & Willing to perform every thing which in me Lay for the good of it. I collected all the money Possible, w<sup>ch</sup> I paid the Soldiers & Delivered notes of hand for the remainder. This being done without Immediate orders from your Honors, or the Brigadier it may no Doubt be Disputed, but as the service so much require it, & the men still Continuing in the Service I must pray your Honors to order the money to be sent me, the amount of which I here inclose you.

I also advanced them Blankets & other things, which were to be allowed them, I was somewhat obliged to do this sooner than I intended, for there was not those suitable necessarys to Complete their Rations, such as molasses, beans, Peas, Indian meal, Butter, Candles, Soap, &c.

The Duty has been very severe, both Militia, as well as enlisted Troops, very Little has been done by People in their Private business, not much Hay has yet been Pro-cured, which consequently will bring people to great straits, as well for their own support as their stock.

Time not permitting me Col Campbell went off to write respecting the Enemys attempt & other matters, shall refer mentioning any thing at Present on that subject, as I

Doubt not some others have given the Particulars. The present Exigency & Distress of these parts is hardly to be Conceived by a Stranger, the removing our Propertys & familiys in the woods for fear of the Enemy—many Persons Property was Embezzed & Destroyed, & their familiys much Exposed—many Laying out in the open woods.

Your Honours may remember that it was resolved that any Provisions advanced for the St Johns Expedition should be replaced, w<sup>th</sup> people putting their dependance on, by the scarcity, daily application is made, there is still remaining due 8691½<sup>lb</sup> Pork, 660lb. Rice, 1498lb flour, 2 Sugar; 11 Gall<sup>s</sup> N. E. Rum. This Expedition being of much service in securing the Interest of the Indians, I Doubt not but your Honours will order it to be replaced. The Truck House is at present very Bare. Mr Allan has Drained it very much with the Indians, we have great satisfaction in their zealous attachment, but a great Expence ensuing which Mr. Allan & myself is very uneasy about, pray let me know particularly about it. I have Impowered Col. Campbell to act for me who is an Honest man. I shall as soon as Possible give a proper state of matters.

I am with Duty & Respect, &c.

STEPHEN SMITH.

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*British Account of the Battle at Machias.*

[The editor is fortunately able to annex the British account of this little known, but very important action. It is extracted from a small, but very rare volume, entitled, "Compiled from a Journal kept on board the ship Rainbow, commanded by Sir George Collier," etc. The writer



seems to have made the best story possible under the circumstances, and were rejoiced that they got off without further loss; the damage done to the mills and other property was much magnified. Had the British succeeded in their attempt on Machias the effect on Eastern Maine must have been disastrous in the extreme.]

*Should follow the word Hope on page 238*

"The Marines were then landed and the boom being examined was easily cut. The Hope then proceeded on, flanked by the Marines who marched along the side of the river. They soon came to the spot where the magazine was erected which they found to consist of great quantities of clothing, salt, provisions and amunition; they were large separate buildings three in number. The stores were very valuable but as the rebels increased very fast and kept up a constant firing from the woods there was no possibility of bringing any part away. The buildings were therefore set fire to and the whole quantity of stores consumed together with a large corn mill and three saw mills. The habitations of the people and all private property were spared by the express orders of Sir George, who wished to bring back these infatuated people by acts of lenity rather than severity. The Marines after this embarked and the Hope and small vessels proceeded a little higher up into the centre of the town with an intention of destroying three or four other saw mills situated there, but the rebels had by this time increased so considerably and appeared in so much force, and with a body of Indians, that the officer charged with this service very prudently declined hazarding the lives of his people, as the object was not worth it, and accordingly as soon as the ebb tide made, he weighed and dropped down the river, the rebels lining the woods on each side and keeping up an unceasing fire of musquetry. The Hope had not proceeded far when by some accident she got aground, and in spite of every

exertion to get her off the tide ebbed so fast as to leave her almost dry. The rebels instantly availed themselves of this accident and in addition to their incessant fire of musquetry, brought a small cannon, a three pounder down through the woods with which they annoyed her exceedingly till the next tide, when she luckily floated again and joined the rest of the squadron, who had anchored as high up the river as the depth of water would permit. This fortunate enterprise put an entire end to all future attempts to invade Nova Scotia, and it was achieved with much less loss, than might have been expected, considering the force of the enemy, there being only three men killed and eighteen wounded in the whole fleet. The news was received in Halifax with great joy as it freed the province from any fear of an invasion, and Sir George received from the governor and council their best thanks for the service done the province."

*Begin here*

"The project of invading Nova Scotia was again resumed by the direction of the ruling powers at Boston, and Col. Allan was sent from thence to encourage the people of Machias to engage in the services and to establish magazines for that purpose of provisions, amunitions and clothing. Col. Allan brought with him presents for the Indians of St. Johns whose friendship and assistance he was ordered to court by every means in his power. He was indefatigable in all the business he was charged with getting a promise from the Indian chiefs to join in the attack on Nova Scotia. He raised a large number of men whom he assiduously trained to exercise, and by the large supplies he brought from Boston some considerable magazines were established, and grew fast to a completion. The vicinity of Machias to the frontiers of Nova Scotia made it impossible these great preparations should remain long a secret at Halifax. The governor and council accordingly took the alarm, convinced of the imminent

danger that threatened the colony, they laid their apprehension before Sir George Collier and Gen. Massey (who commanded the troops), offering it as their opinion that the only way to prevent the attack was to begin with the rebels at Machias before their preparations were quite ready, and urging these gentlemen to cooperate with them on this occasion, with the ships and troops under their command to carry the war into the enemy's country. Gen. Massey excused himself from having any concern in it. He said he was left there by Gen. Howe to protect and defend Halifax if it should be attacked, but that he had no power to send troops out of the province or to attempt any expedition offensive to the enemy. Sir George in answer to the application of the governor and council, informed them that he would instantly sail with what men of war he could collect and do every thing in his power to destroy the enemy's magazines and prevent their intended invasion of the province. He accordingly put to sea in two days having only the Rainbow and Blonde frigates with him, but the Mermaid joined him on his passage and he found the Hope at anchor among the Cranberry islands near Mt. Desert whom he directed to procure intelligence of what was doing at Machias and to meet him at these islands.

“The captain of the Hope confirmed every little relative to the intended enterprise of the rebels, and by a spy sent forward there was great reason to suspect many traitors who were in Nova Scotia intended joining with and assisting the rebels whenever they made their appearance there. Sir George upon this intelligence weighed immediately with his little squadron, and proceeded towards the harbor of Machias, but the passage was rendered very dangerous, by thick fogs, strong currents, numerous breakers and shoals which had nearly wrecked all the ships. They escaped, however, and made at last the entrance to the

harbour upon which the squadron went as far as the Rainbow could possibly go, who then anchored, but the other ships drawing less water went on. The arrangement had been made previous to entering the harbour, and the marines of all the ships were put on board the Hope, who, with some small vessels proceeded up till she was stopped by a boom across the river which was defended by a small fort. The rebels from the woods kept up a warm fire of musketry but the fort was abandoned a few broadsides from the Hope."

*and The marines etc. see page 225.*

*Extract of a Letter from J Allan.*

MACHIAS Sept. 22<sup>nd</sup> 1777.

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Since my last Letter we have been Continually upon the wing & harrassed By Different Intelligence respecting the Enemy — but upon the whole we have received authentic acc<sup>ts</sup> of their Intentions. The last came by Doctor Rice who arrived yesterday from Cumberland with Two young men whom I sent, when at the River St Johns — that Express orders had come from Lord & General Howe to Dstroy the Settlement of Machias, as its Lying so adjacent to Nova Scotia which now was the Only Asylum for the Royalist, was Lyable to be distress<sup>d</sup> as also it would be of Service in making an invasion into the Eastern Country. Accordingly 5 Ships of war with 800 Regular Troops besides what militia could be Rais'd was Collected together for the Expedition. But Sir George Collier of the Rainbow thinking the Place weak made the attempt before the whole force came, with what Marines he had on Board since their Defeat here, they have Gate all collected to-

gether at St Johns with Flat Bottom Boats to attack at diff<sup>r</sup> parts, So that we are in Dayly Expectation of them; a large ship has Laid this Some days at the mouth of the River, but so that Vessells pass in the night.

The militia have come in from diff<sup>r</sup> parts so that I Imagine there is now about 850 men including Indians, who have Erected a number of Breastworks & Batterys, & every one seems Determined to Defend to the Last. But things go on very Irregular & uncertain, Militia men very discontented & the Troops which we have lately Inlisted Being under no Regular Command will not obey, things cannot be done with that precision, regularity & Economy as is Required for the Interest of the States—for my own part I have taken upon me to Encourage the Defending this place, & promise many things that may be Disapproved of, two Hundred of our men under proper order & Discipline would be of more service than 600 as they now are—I am sometimes afraid the Britains will carry their point in Destroying the place, if we do not make a strong stand. The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board will be the best judges of the Consequences of this.

Expences at present are Great & more so Because of not having things upon a permanent footing—I am anxious Still, to get among the Micmacks, yet I cannot think of Leaving this Distressed place till I see the Event or arms Ordered otherways.

The Letter which came to Col<sup>l</sup>. Eddy it being on Public service I recommended to Major Stillman to open, where we found some Blank Commissions, had our Situation been more peaceable, I would have advised them to be Immediately fill'd up. But the Appointing Such Officers as might be thought necessary would give Umbrage to others who might so Influence the men as to occasion disturbance which at present appears our business to prevent. Besides it is thought requisite to delay filling them up at present,

as our Orders comes so Immediately to Col<sup>e</sup> Eddy who had the offer of the Command.

The Indians I still Keep & have Reasons to believe no people will defend the Liberty of America better—I have recei<sup>d</sup> a Second Intelligence from the Micmacks with tokens of Friendship. They are also assembled together waiting for a conference with me Determining not to give any Satisfaction till they See me should I be orderd otherwise I expect a body of them here.

The Penobscot Indians are constantly here making heavy complaints of Impositions & Extortions, & Insists upon being connected with the other Tribes.

Should the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Court authorise me I will give my attendance as I have not a Commission immediately from Congress Supposing at that time they were under some other regulation with This Still.

I find there is a French merchant (Mons Lunier) settled at the Head of Penobscot with a British Commission to Treat with the Indians, he uses every Art & means to turn them—they have had many Supplies from him & I fear they have given much Intelligence from time to time. We have received intelligence from Cumberland that certain news had arrived both publick as well as private from England that the Parliament of Brittain By the Olamor out of Doors where almost Equal in opposition. Threats given out publickly, thro the Kingdom that a revolt will take place. Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe sent home positive Demand for 50,000 men with every thing conformable or he must Give up the point—In answer to which he was told he must do what he could with those he had, for men were not to be had, & the Interposition of the French woud prevent any foreign Troops. That war was declaired between the Turks & Russiana. A French Ship of Sixteen Guns was taken & carried into Halifax; they Treated the Cap<sup>t</sup> very Harsh & Cruel, threatening to put him in Irons

for Supplying the Rebels, he told them they might do as they pleased but that the French were determined to supply, and in a short time it was probable they would see white colors off the Harbour no newspapers permitted to go abroad but to particular people; consequently none is brought,—the Garrison at Cumberland is very weak. Gorham is to be brought to a Court Martial for being so favorable to the families, he has indeed acted the part of a Humane Goodman,<sup>1</sup> 80 of the Militia every week is Drove into the Garrison; these do all the Drugery of the Soldiers. Petitions have been presented by the Yorkshire men & Several Officers, to take all the Families into the Fort as Hostages — but Gorham Treated it with that contempt it Deserved. The whole province is in Confusion Trouble & Anguish no one Dare Speak the name of their Dearest Relation.

My own family has by the assistance of Divine providence made out to Get so far, but her Treatment was Cruel & Severe, forsaken by those who I Expected would have helped her, for fear of being Ruined themselves, my proceedings in these parts has Brought on the keenest resentment & delivered vengeance against me; consequently those Concerned with me are Treated with Rigor & Severity. I could very Easily have removed my family this Summer but the necessity of my Close attention to the Business of the Indians prevented it — my mind at present has become burthend with Trouble about them, & I cannot think of leaving them there another winter as they must perish.— I must pray the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board will give me Liberty to allow me to Employ & Send Some persons to gite them away.

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Gorham's character.

*Massachusetts Council to the Passamaquody Indians.*

[This document was found in possession of the Passamaquody Indians who have preserved it from its reception near its date, to the present time.]

STATE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, }  
Council Chamber, BOSTON, Sept 15<sup>th</sup> 1777. }

**Friends & Brethren :**

We have been informed of your valor & good conduct in opposing the enemy in the attack they lately made on the settlement at Machias, and the intelligence has afforded us much satisfaction. If our enemies would return home and leave us to enjoy our own habitations in peace it would be the best for us, and for them too. We have no desire to injure or molest them, and if they had the same disposition towards us all would be well. They have begun & carried on a cruel & unjust war against us, without any provocation on our part, and so long as they continue it, we are determined to oppose them humbly trusting that the great God, whose kingdom ruleth over all & who will finally bring down every oppressor, will defeat all their wicked purposes against us.

We have the pleasure to inform you that our troops, under General Stark, have gained a very signal victory over the enemy, and another division of their army, at Fort Stanwix, has been made to fly before our people after suffering a very great loss. The state of our affairs both at the southward and the northward is at this time more agreeable & promising than it has been since the beginning of the war. We have sent sundry stores to Co' Allan, so that he may be better able to supply you with such things as you need, and we shall endeavor for the future to afford you the best supply's in our power, hoping that



the friendship which subsists between us will always continue to our mutual comfort & advantage.

In the name, & by the order of Council

I am Your Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JER. POWELL, Presid<sup>t</sup>

Underneath the signature are these words :

Command Captain

JOSEPH NEEALE Machias.

To Ambrose and the other Indians under Co<sup>l</sup> Allan at Machias.

*Superscribed* : Captain Joseph Neeale Ouast Machias.

*To the Chiefs, Sachems and Captains of the Maresheet Tribe of Indians :*

ST ANDREWS, PASSAMAQUODDY, }  
July 10<sup>th</sup> 1778. }

Friends & Brothers :

If any vessels comes into any of the Harbours in this District, you are to go on Board (if not arrived) and Examine their papers, and if they Belong to Nova Scotia, Newport, New York or any other of the Enemy's Ports, or are any way connected with them, you must Secure and Send them to Machias, you must acquaint All Torys that if they Send any intelligence to St Johns, speak Hurtfull and Threaten the Subjects of America, that you will Take them immediately up and send them to Machias. The Captains is to command the young men for Warr, when they take any Prisoners they are to deliver them to Ambrose as Chief Councillor, and he is to send them to Machias, and You are all to Assist Him. You will not allow any of your young men to have any connection

whatever with any of the people of Great Britain. Keep by yourselves, and keep good Council. Let me know how things go with you, what news from time to time, and everything stirring. Francis Joseph Neptune and Joseph Tomma are the persons to deliver out the provisions, and the Chiefs and Captains are to be particular to their attendance & see what persons stand in need of it.

I am, your sincere friend & brother,

J. ALLAN.

Colonel Command-in-Chief Eastern Indians.

*Superscribed:* (On Public Service).

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*The Penobscot Indians.*

MACHIAS September 25<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Sir.

In Consequence of a Letter I received from Colonel Jonathan Lowther at Penobscot last night, I am under the necessity to Trouble the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board once more.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board may remember that in my letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of June from St Johns, I acquainted them of my having Entered into an agreement of Trade, with the Marisheets, Madawaaka, Mednotic & Passamaquody Tribes, with Several Reasons for doing it in such a manner.

The Penobscot Tribe was not mentioned in my Commission, as I utterly refused it at Congress, supposing at that time that it was so in the heart of the Country, that they were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Gen<sup>l</sup> court of this State, and they having such an Intercourse with the Inhabitants, I presumed that things were carried on reciprocally, for the Interests of the States as well as

Indians, therefore did not for some time make any particular Inquiry about them.

Since my return from St Johns I have had several conferences with the Penobscot Indians one in particular where we Exchanged several strings of wampum, where I perceived from what they said and other authentic accounts, that some of the most Diabolical proceedings had been carried on, on that river. Great Embezzlements of Publick money, as well as Imposing on the Indians; which with the close attention Mon<sup>r</sup> Lumier, the British Agent on the head of the river gave to his business, I saw the Body must be soon driven off.

I used every Encouragement possible, and presumed to agree with them on the Same footing, as I did with the other Tribes, which they immediately published on their return to Penobscot which seems to occasion some stirr. M<sup>r</sup> Lowther (Lowder) writes the difficulty he is under by purchasing goods at so dear a price.

When I undertook the business, I supposed every Truck house was properly furnished, & where there could be no Indians settled, I Endeavored to Encourage the Indians to go where there was one.

The art & Insinuations used by the Britains, requires us to use every means possible to keep them, and I am conscious that notwithstanding the great outsets, that if Economy & care is used, and persons not too much bent upon Private profits, that the prices stated, with the high prices of Furrs on the Continent, will fully answer the cost, or very little short, Excepting where the Indians gives their close attendence to the service, which is the case at present here. 85 families are Encamped about 12 miles off; the men keep continually on duty for the Defence of this place, the families no way to subsist as the English do, Consequently they must be at a far greater Expence, then when kept only a hunting.

I have written M<sup>r</sup> Lowther there on this matter & recommend to procure necessary articles upon such a footing as to do them Justice & procure & keep their friendship, and if not countermanded before, I should be at Penobscot & have a Conference & settle the Diff<sup>r</sup> matters.

By the Latter End of October, I doubt not but he will lay a satisfactory acc<sup>t</sup> of things before the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board to Enable him to procure what will be necessary.

Permit me again to renew my solicitations, Earnestly requesting the candid oppinion & advice of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board How they would have the Indians fixed & Settled & whether it is agreeable to keep them in the Service, or take them up to the Lakes, for the great Expense now arising is a perpetual Trouble to me; tho' I fear the fatal consequences if they are Let go.

I greatly acknowledge the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Courts Kindness in Passing a resolve with respect to Debarring people from selling Liquor to the Indians; it has answered the End in some degree tho' not sufficiently.

I must further request that an act may pass, to prevent any person whatever (Truck Houses excepted) from Trading any way whatever, under a greater penalty than what is fixed, pointing out the methods of prosecution, for I find the Indians daily selling property which they have got from the Truckhouse which keeps them daily demanding it again.

The debaring people from Trading with them will be of further service to the Inhabitants of this Eastern Country; for the Little petty Traders which come along shore (I may say with propriety Pilfering) will not Dispose of the necessaries of life, which is much wanted by the Inhabitants, for paper money, Because they Expect hard money & furs from the Indians, By which I have perceived many are in the greatest Distress.

The Enemy has not been with us yet, but we are in hourly Expectations, and indeed if coming this fall, I heartily wish it Speedily, for in a few days our whole militia I expect will Leave us, to which time I fear our Enemies are preparing their Bloody Intentions to take us at a Disadvantage.

I wrote the 22<sup>nd</sup> Ins<sup>d</sup> and sent it a few days ago, which I expect will be Deliv<sup>d</sup> with this. \* \* \*

J ALLAN.

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*Arrival of two Vessels, etc.*

MAORIAS Oct<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Sir.

Being Necessitated to send an Express Westwardly suddenly, Gives me Just time to inform the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that I had the Honour of receiving their Esteemed & respectable favours of the 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup>, Ult the former of which covering a resolve of the General Court & a Number of blank Commissions.

Two vessels have arrived with a Number of Articles, having Two Nine Pounders & one four pounder with appurtinances to conform agreeable to the Resolves.

We have at present but very few men, which gives me much concern when I consider the large Property Deposited here for fear the Enemy should suddenly pop in and Destroy it, I should have thought it absolutely Necessary, that fifty men at least, should have been sent to Escort, however every Precaution shall be used to prevent a surprise tho' from the Intelligence I Get I am in some hopes the Enemy are Frightened for the present from pursuing their Intended plan. I Believe they have left St Johns.

Lieut Col<sup>e</sup> Nevers has not yet arrived, nor have I received any Intelligence from him. I doubt whether he will raise his men before the Time is out. Indeed should I receive favorable acc<sup>t</sup> by some persons I expect soon, I think it will be as well to lessen the Number, as such great Expense will be Needless, if the Enemy have thrown up the Matter, but I will be thoroughly convinced before I even hint such a thing this way.

It will be necessary to have a small fortress, for the security of the Cannon, of no other service now, for they being so heavy & the country so uneven & no roads, that an open Breastwork or Battery, People being liable to retreat in such places, must consequently Loose the guns.

I have summoned the principle officers of the militia & the committee to meete tomorrow to lay before them my Intentions of Erecting a small Fortress on an Emihance above the former Battery, which commands both Rivers, for their approbation, at the same time I shall demand a Number of the Inhabitants, to assist at the Business.

I cannot but think it is best, that some few should be continued in the service as artillery men, for the care of & managing the Guns, I have Inlisted Twelve for that end, would choose to have it made up to Twenty. Indeed a Company must be kept if possible for the care of such matters as may be Done Now. I am fully convinced that if the visit is laid aside this fall, we shall have them very early in the spring.

Of the Indians, I Keep but a few here, have sent them up the Rivers a hunting; should we have no attention soon I shall not Embody many as they will be very expensive Soldiers. They are much Elated at the news, & the Notice taken of them, and particularly are much rejoiced at my appointment, having told them it was occasioned By my continuation with them.

The Indigent state of this Country occasioned somewhat

by the movements this summer, opens to view, misery to a Great Degree, Particularly that of clothing. Many in the service are in such a situation as gives me Pain to command them to duty. I have taken upon me to Draw from the Truck House a few pieces of strouds &c., to Distribute among some whose lives are in Danger to stand sentry at Night.

Could there be a possibility of procuring a few pieces of cloth for this service towards their wages, it would be a great comfort to the unhappy people, and advantage to the service.

Capt A. Green Crabtree (whom I have now discharged), During his cruise of this & Passamaquody, took one John Long, who lives here; he had been taken by the Enemy at Passamaquody, some time ago. He was going with an express to Annapolis, from Cap<sup>t</sup> Fetters of the Vulture, when he was taken, the Particulars of which, with his Examination, I have Inclosed for the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Boards Perusal.

Since my Command I have forbid any connection with Passamaquoddy, the Inhabitants I have charged not to come here without they move their families & become residents here, otherwise I shall make them prisoners. A great Deal of Mischief is carried on this way, & particular Intelligence are generally sent to the Enemy, of the situation of these parts, and such property as is here would be a great inducement to many Villains to attempt the Destruction of it.

I cannot neglect this opportunity to acquaint the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of my surprise on finding myself so highly Honored, by being appointed to the command in this District. My unexperience in the practical part of the service with other foibles & Impediments often occasions fear that I shall Loose that friendship which I have been so favoured with since my Being in the United States.

It may reasonably thought vain & flattery in me to Excuse myself from this Promotion, But I except it from no other motive & principle But Gratitude & Duty. I owe to perform, what is in my Power for this Bleeding Country.

The Honor Conferred, with the Generous Assistance, sent to Enable to Discharge the Great Trust & Confidence reposed in me, is far Beyond what I merited for past Conduct or anything I am able to Do.

I am &c.

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*Arrival of Col. Loother and Capt. Guilman.*

MACHIAS November 18<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Sir.

The Multiplicity of Business which has Surrounded me, Since my appo<sup>d</sup> to the Command at this Place, & Daily waiting the arrival of Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell & Col<sup>o</sup> Nevers, with the Instructions & (the former only arriving the 15<sup>th</sup> & the Latter not yet) Has Prevented my Informing the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of any matters this way Since the 12<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> which Neglect I pray may be excused.

Not having received any particular Instructions from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board, I have Endeavoured to Act from my own Knowledge what I thought most Beneficial.

The men have come in very slow, & indeed, from certain Information that the Enemy may not be expected, I am Satisfied that no more have come, & have wrote Col<sup>o</sup> Nevers, that one Hundred Men will be Sufficient & not to recruit more. By the bad weather, which we have severely Experienced, very little Progress have been made in our small Fortress. I think By the Tenth of Next Month to



Discharge all but Fifty, as I shall not be at any further Expense than is absolutely Necessary without further orders from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board.

I have it not in my Power by this oppor<sup>t</sup> to communicate Particularly respecting Military Matters but shall in a few Days.

The Present is occasioned by the arrival of Col Lowther, Capt Guilman & Some chiefs of the Penobscot Tribe respecting matters on that river. It appears the Indians will not settle any matters but thro' my hands, & indeed I have promised to be there some time ago but being obliged to give close attention here during the Difficulty, which rendered it Impossible to give attendance there. It appears to me from what I can learn that the Treatment they receive on that river, by the Trade being permitted for every one, that they will go to Canada for Suppl<sup>y</sup>s. I wrote the Hon<sup>d</sup> Board the 25<sup>th</sup> Sept on these affairs, & must again strongly recommend that the Trade be entirely Prohibited, only the Truck Houses, or at least that certain persons be Licensed under Severe penaltys & restrictions. And from acc<sup>t</sup> I received it is highly requisite & necessary that a Truck House with full suppl<sup>y</sup>s should be kept up there as it would bring in the Indians from Canada.

I find I shall not have it in my power to keep my Indian Soldiers in such Regular order as I wish, their fluctuating Turn of mind & so subject to Liquor, that I admit but of few to be in Town. I had a conference with them the other Day, upon Settling the past summers Business. One of the Cap<sup>n</sup> in Particular, rose & said that no Distinction should be made with the Pay. But have the officers overplus Distributed among the soldiers, their Honour being sufficient, by which I payed them Ten Dollars per month from the 2<sup>d</sup> August (The time we arrived here), till the Latter End of October, Drawing upon the Truck House to Discount in the same manner as with

furs. The Men who in actual Service this Summer about 80 which I choose to keep close with me as it commands all the others of the various Tribes. I Promised to allow their family's some Provisions for the winter, all the rest pay for it. The particulars of this I shall mention in my next. I showed them the Commissions sent, they are highly pleased. We agreed to have all the Diff<sup>r</sup> Tribes meet at these villages, choose their Principle Chiefs & under Captains, which should meet this fall at Machias, when Commissions should be given them signifying their Diff<sup>r</sup> Ranks & be entitled to pay when called on Duty. Should the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board find any fault, or know of any thing more proper to be Done, it would add to the many obligations I owe, would they be kind enough to communicate it.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Crabtree arrived here yesterday. He has been to the mouth of St Johns where he found a Truck House Erected, by the Britains under the care of Messrs Hazen, White & Simonds, he Took everything of their property only. Also all the Indians Pledges he has bro't & Delivered me, Expecting some payment. I cannot say how far this was Legal for a Privateer, But I am Extremely Glad it is done, and am sure Crabtree would not have Done it, if he tho't it not for the Best, as he has acted here with much Honour.

Time not permitting me to write more on Business, but cannot conclude without mentioning to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board the unhappy Situation of my unfortunate family, having heard that a Cardeel was Intended, I proposed writing to the Province for fear it should Thwart the generous Intentions of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Court. But hearing no Acc<sup>t</sup> for Six Weeks, I made bold to send M<sup>r</sup> Delesdernier with five men in a Boat, four Indians in Two Birch Canoes. The Two Canoes returned a few Days Ago, Bringing me Intelligence that M<sup>r</sup> Allan & children, were seized & put in

Close confinement in the Garrison. This appears to be occasioned by M<sup>r</sup> Franklin & others who were at St Johns, as they attribute the reason of not penetrating & Destroying this Eastern part, Because of my Giving the Indians. This frown of Providence I justly Merit; tho' Greatest Affliction I ever Experienced, I must say was I not in the Situation I am, I certainly would penetrate that Province with a Number of Men and Endeavor to Treat them as they Deserve.

Having received Intelligence that some Provisions, Vessels and others are Bound up the Bay of Fundie, the Meresheete will sail to-morrow in company with Cap<sup>t</sup> Crabtree in order to Intercept them as it appears that no other but the Gage Sloop or Loyall Nova Scotia Schooner will be their Convoy. I hope to have a good acc<sup>t</sup> of them, in the Meresheete. I shall put Eight or Ten Men of the Troops, which shall be credited The Military Department. I have Desired Crabtree to Seize one justice Tay at the mouth of St John, who was one of the persons that Bro't the Troops, & to land him at the mouth of Cumberland Bay with a letter to Col<sup>o</sup> Gorham, to Dismiss my family, or reprisals will be made if refused.

Permit me at this time to Congratulate the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board on the success of the American Arms, in the Northern Department, a circumstance which must redound to the Honour of America. Even should they be conquered after, May the God of Armies give Conduct, Courage & Resolution to all our officers & Soldiers, to enable them to convince those Tools of Despotism, that Americans Valour & Virtue Springs from the Divine fountain. May Wisdom & Justice Reign in all our Senates, is the Earnest Prayer & Wish of &c.

Nov 19<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Since I wrote the above I have had another Conference with the Penobscot Indians. They Produced some promises in Writing from the General Court, some of which have not been Complied with. All which I promised should be fulfilled, & convinced them to their satisfaction why it was not before done.

As to the meeting which was intended before mentioned, it is referred to the Spring. I must again give it as my opinion that a Truck House be Supply<sup>d</sup>. I understand there is great Quantity of Peltry, which they will be forced to carry to Monsier Lunier, if not otherways Supplied. It will be necessary that the family of those who were in the Service on Penobscot River this Summer Should have some Little provisions During the Winter.

I have been obliged to Spare some Rum from the Truck House for the Soldiers Expecting that some would be sent to them.

I would mention that Nathan Jones, Esq., was taken the other day by Capt Crabtree & Carried him to Frenchmans Bay to his own house. He was bound for Passamaquody. If these things are Tolerated, the Horrors of war will be Endless.

By my next I shall trouble the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board with Several Matters.

I hope the Hospitality, Politeness & Generosity which New England is so Distinguished for will not give too much Liberty to M<sup>r</sup> Burgoyne & his army, Give me leave to say that I know well the Dissimulation, Deceit & Intriguing Talents of these Miscreants & Tools of Anti-Christ.

*Capture of a Small Vessel by the Crew.*MACHIAS June 28<sup>th</sup> 1778.

Sir.

The multiplicity of business which has lately surrounded me in settling matters for the Insuing Season, and the sudden notice of this opportunity prevents my being particular or properly answering the Diff<sup>r</sup> matters by M<sup>r</sup> Avery.

Shall only by this Inform the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that on Monday the 22<sup>nd</sup> In<sup>d</sup> one Serg<sup>t</sup> & Eight Soldiers belonging to the Royall Fencibles Americans, & the Loyall Nova Scotia Volunteers arrived here from the River St Johns in a Small Schooner belonging to Major Studholm.

The Major was sending her with a Packet to Annapolis, But the Serg<sup>t</sup> who was not Concerned in the rising hove it overboard; the Serg<sup>t</sup> is a Prisoner, shall send him to the westward by 1<sup>st</sup> opp<sup>t</sup>. The others have taken the oath of allegiance to the states & I Granted them passports.

The Bearer M<sup>r</sup> William Lambart arrived the Same day with his family, & from the character I have rec<sup>d</sup> of him from several persons, I believe him to be of the Greatest Assistance to the unhappy Prisoners & other of America, he will be able to Inform the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of any news.

I have just Completed the Maresheete & Whale Boats, for a Cruise to Passamaquody, where all the Indians adjacent are assembling. I Intend also to Stop an Intercourse which is growing to fast among the Enemy, so shall sail tomorrow.

The Indians I sent with Copys of Doctor Franklin's Letter respecting the Treaty are returned, after Delivering them to the Indians to be forwarded to Canada, & rec<sup>d</sup> several pledges of friendship, & yesterday rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter for 21 Canadians (who arrived at Penobscot), Informing me

that the Letter was near Quebec, & Directed the Indians where to go. They Informed me that the people of Canada almbet Universal, are Determined to join the States. An Excursion up St Johns river would be beneficial.

Yours, &c.

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*Interview with the Indians at Passamaquody.*

MACHIAS August 9<sup>th</sup> 1778.

Sir.

The Marisheete being Necessarily Detained (tho' very Disagreeable to me as it Prolonged the Time for the Information of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board), gives me an opp<sup>o</sup> of writing further on Matters respecting this Department.

The 26<sup>th</sup> June I wrote the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of my Intending for Passamaquody, as it was the place I intended to keep for the Indians if there was no Necessity for them here; as the expense of the State would be much less.

A short Time before this, Received very Particular & Certain Intelligence from Halifax & other parts of Nova Scotia, the designs of the Enemy on these Parts & their Determination to make another Vigorous attempt to gain the Indians, Seize myself by some stratagem, & Destroy as many places this way as Possible. It was Kept a ProFOUND secret, but by some family connections from their Connections with Government, I received it without doubt & kept it a Secret myself from every Person.

Accordingly to put this plan in Execution the Sloops, Gage & How, were prepared & sent round Cape Sables as a convoy with some Merchantman. They were to have a Body of Light Land forces & as Exigences required to

consult & Cooperate with the Ships stationed up the Bay & such others as might occasionally fall in.

Having duly Considered these matters & the Defenceless State of this Place in regard to Troops, I determined (as before), to push for Passamaquody, Collect all the Indians together & raise them for war. In consequence of which I sailed the 28<sup>th</sup> from this in the Marisheets, having put all her guns on Board, with Twenty Men, also Capt Smith with Supplys from the Truck House, & Stores as Commissary for Indians.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> July I arrived at St Andrew's Point, on the head of Passamaquody Bay, where the Indians were then Encamped. The same day, to my Great Joy as well as the Indians, arrived M<sup>r</sup> Delesdernier with agreeable News, that gave me a great advantage in Treating with the Indians. I immediately called a Council (as they call it), Communicated the News, Interpreted their Letter from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board, Delivered them Strings of Wampum as Customary & Every thing Ended to Mutual Satisfaction. In the afternoon sent the Maricheete Back to Machias for more Stores, hearing that a Number more Indians were near at hand. Demanded of them to know their Dispositions & Intentions & whether they were willing from Conscience to take up arms & Embody immediately for war, they answered that their Zeal & affection was still the same for America, that they were Zealous & Sanguine to assist in Driving the Invaders of our Country from the land.

I then addressed the War Captains, presenting Each a medal (having procured several for the purpose) as a Token of Friendship & for a Distinguished Badge for their former conduct, which they rec<sup>d</sup> & were saluted by all. I then addressed them again presenting Each a Small sword, which I delivered them in behalf of the Commander in chief to Defend their rights & Liberty, from the attempts &

Insults of a Cruel & Bloodthirsty Enemy, & to Secure them Invaluable Blessings to their most Distant Posterity. A general acclamation was given as a Token of their Assent, when another Salute in a very Solemn & Affecting manner took place. We had then some Matters Settled respecting trade.

After all was finished, I ordered the Stores open for Trade, the Bountys to be given, and a Quantity of Provisions.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> the Marisheete returned, & that Evening rec<sup>d</sup> word that a Sloop like a Wood coaster, was off the Island. Sent off two Birch Canoes with Indians, who returned without seeing any thing.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> I sent another Canoe Down, to Keep a look-out, about 8 o'clock P.M., Two of the Inhabitants of Passamaquody Came up & bro't Letters from the Cap<sup>t</sup> of a Bermudian Sloop, Praying for my Protection from the Small Privateers, that he had Come for a Load of Lumber & Desired my advice how he should proceed. I must freely acknowledge from the Simplicity which appeared in the Letter, & the behavior of the Two men, & the Indian Canoe returning, I was so Credulous & believed it all true, & upon the first reflection, foreigu from that proper guard, every Soldier should be upon, in such Critical Situation, I intended to have gone that way, as an Excursion was Proposed by the Indians in the Morning. But Kind Providence was more favorable, & at the Expense of the Captivity of others, Teach me to be more Critical & observing in these times. Upon the whole, I tho't it not imprudent & sent Capt. Dyer, Lieutenant Delesdernier & 4 others, in the Boat with Arms, to inspect their papers, make a thorough inquiry, & bring the vessel up. They went alongside, tyed their Boat, when it appeared to be the How Sloop Capt. Fanson, having on board 70 men.

The Tide of flood making Early in the Morning of the



8<sup>th</sup>, & the boat not Coming, I became Satisfied there was some Trap, sent down a Canoe but could not Discover any Vessell. About 10 o'clock I set off myself with 20 Indians, Expecting to meet with them about the Islands, soon after I met a boat who bro't intelligence, She went out early in the Morning, & that one John Frost of Passamaquody, was Pilot. I sent off 12 Indians to Take up all the Men at Frost's House, & returned myself to St. Andrews.

In the afternoon the Indians returned, bringing said Frost & 3 others; was informed of its being the How. They had Struck her Topmast, fying jibb Boom & took in every matter whatever more than their sails, which they put on board a Small prize Schooner; that there sole Business was for me, but afraid to come up where the Marisheete lay on acc<sup>t</sup> of the Indians.

At 12 at Night, I sett off & with a Number of Indians, Expecting I might see something of them, as it was Calm all day & it would Take some time to get the topmost sails &c., up. I went to the furthest harbour but found nothing of them.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> I wrote Major Studholm proposing an exchange for some British officers, & soldiers Taken by Capt. Rogers in a Small Privateer. Same day had a conference with the Indians & made Several Presents.

Having a considerable Quantity of furs & the Schooner having sprung one of her Masts, I thought it most prudent with the advice of Capt. Smith, to get her & the State's Property back as fast as Possible; I was determined myself to see her round, as I was jealous the Sloop would be looking out, I accordingly Took 11 Indians, & 4 Birch Canoes, & intended if nothing Else could be done, to run her on Shore, Defend or Burn her.

12 o'clock at Night we Sailed; next day could not get out for the foggy weather; the 12<sup>th</sup> a man came on board & acquainted us that the Sloop was Cruising off the Passage

we intended to go out at. I sent canoes for Discovery which did not see her; same day Examined the Prisoners; having several evidences, I discharged one, Bound Two of them, & Frost I bro't off, & have him now a Prisoner. We arrived at Machias that night.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> Ambroise with 2 Canoes I sent some time ago among the Micmacks, arrived; had a conference thereupon, 8 Strings of Wampum, one from the Civil Chiefs, one from the Warriors to the United States, and one for the King of France, Welcoming him into this country, to be an ally of America. They declared their Zeal and attachment, but their Situation was such, they could not act then, but was ready when called upon, to take up the Hatchet. Every part appeared most favorable, as to their Peaceful Disposition towards the States.

The 15<sup>th</sup> Ambroise & men set off for Passamaquody. At the Entrance of the Harbour, lay the Gage & Howe. They fired upon the canoes, chased them ashore, took most of what the Indians had. The old man fled by himself to the woods, no ammunition & but a little shott and Powder, he suffered Greatly, being very Infirm.

The 21<sup>st</sup> three Micmacs as Deputy's arrived. In order to Communicate Diff<sup>r</sup> matters & to know for certainty how things were going on this way, some other Indians & English arrived at the same time. I received certain Intelligence of the Designs of the Gage & How, who were to Cruise along shore, and to destroy when they saw an app<sup>o</sup> offer, tho' their Chief aim was for Machias. In consequence of this advice I wrote circular Letters to the Diff<sup>r</sup> Committees along shore to be on their guard.

By advice of several persons (though Determined before with myself) I ordered all the Indians to repair to Machias, & sent Capt. Preble on the 22<sup>nd</sup> for the Purpose.

The 23<sup>d</sup> Two Indians arrived with Capt. Halliburton, Master of a Schooner belonging to Nova Scotia, which was

at Passamaquody for a Load of Boards. The Indians Took Possession of the Schooner as a prize. Their behaviour at this matter Deserves applause; behaved with the greatest Politeness & Humanity to the Prisoners. I ordered the Vessel round, she arrived the 27<sup>th</sup> & is now hauled up by this opp<sup>o</sup> shall have her Libelled for the Captors.

By them we received Intelligence of 5 large Vessels being off the Mouth of the Harbour, which roused us a Little. Same Day rec<sup>d</sup> Intelligence of the Gage & How Destroying Naakeag.

The 30<sup>th</sup> had a Grand Conference with the St Johns, Passamaquodys, Micmacs & Several from Penobscot, when I acquainted them of past matters & Delivered a message to the Micmacs. Also a long letter, the Treatys Between the States & France which had been published & every other Matter of any consequence. I Demanded of them to thro' aside that Indolence & Lethargic Spirit, and to rouse to be ready when called upon, a general Declaration was made by all, that they were ready on the shortest Notice, after which we had a festival (so called) & every thing concluded to Satisfaction.

Aug 4<sup>th</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Halliburton Petitioned the committee & myself & Backed strongly by the Indians to Let him return home. His warm attachment to the American Interest in Nova Scotia, the Difficult Situation of a Large family, and many other Circumstances appearing he was Tolerated to go on Parole.

This morning I rec<sup>d</sup> Express from the St Johns Indians who were assembled to the Number of 25 familys & Daily coming in agreeable to a Previous Command of mine some time ago for them to Quit Connections with Britain. They sent word they were ready for action, that they had Seized a Sloop from Halifax, took out several things such as ammunition & some clothing, dismissed her & ordered that no more of the Kings Vessels must come up the

River. They desired to know what they were further to do. Would be glad that the Fort might be attacked as it was now very weak, also that another Message had come from the Micmacs, & those on the head of St Johns & confines of Canada, were all ready to assemble when ordered.

This is in general respecting the Indians. Should any Enterprise be set upon either to Canada or Nova Scotia & they be Wanting, I should be glad of Timely notice.

I have not been so Sanguin about pushing into Nova Scotia as now, & I am very clear from the Situation of matters in that country, that 200 Good Smart Troops under proper Discipline with the Indians would be of Infinate service to Penetrate Previous to an Expedition should one be intended. Had I but 40 men to spare, with the Indians I should be presumptive enough to make a Tryel on the Fort at St Johns.

It is a great pity preparations was not made in the Spring to have Troops Stationed here to act as Exegencys might require; it would have been of the utmost advantage in subduing places & bringing all to obedience; would prevent these heavy & Immediate charges which so often arrises when Necessity obliges us to act Suddenly.

The small encouragement Given by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board, men cannot be raised, we are full in the Artillery men but the other not one Quarter. The former I should not have got had I not given some more Encouragement myself in Procuring clothing, &c.

I sincerely wish that it was in my Power to acquaint the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that the Fort at the Rhym was forwards. The want of utencils is such that no work can be carried on. I shall Try to do something next week.

I would further mention that the Indians are prodigiously roused thro' every Tribe. War seems to be the Cry from all Quarters. If supplys Do not get along, I Expect to be very much handled, for I am asured a very great number

will be this way, if service could be gone upon it would be worth while to have it soon, for they will be of much use now, while their minds are prepared.

The How & Gage is still Cruising, the Albany Lays at St. Johns, the Scariboro' at Anapolis, 4 or 5 small cutters Cruising in the Bay. I am of opinion that they will make some Desperate attack somewhere on the Coast.

I have 14 Men which Came from St. Johns, & should have several more, but they have gone to the Westward. In the Marisheete goes some of the Portsmouth's men who fled from the How Sloop. 2 frenchmen belonging to the Ship from France, Drove on Cape Sable last Spring, & several others who fled from Halifax.

I sincerely congratulate the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board on the Great & Important Negotiations at the Court of France, the Victory gained by our illustrious General & the arrival of Count D'Estang. May it all Terminate in a final & solid Peace thro' the Continent.

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*Orders Given to Indians.*

MACHIAS, Aug<sup>t</sup> 17, 1778.

Sir

I wrote some days ago by the Schooner Marisheete, Inclosing several papers. Soon after her departure I rec<sup>d</sup> Intelligence of a large armed Sloop going to the Westward Close in Shore the day before the Marisheete Sailed, which makes me very suspicious She might have fell into their hands, for fear of which & considering the circumstances of this Department for want of supplies, I send this by Express Via Penobscot by land, Inclosing Copys of my Letters by the Marisheete. I must press the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board with every argument that they will order the Sup-

ply pr Mem<sup>o</sup> with the addition of 500<sup>lbs</sup> Powder & 600<sup>lbs</sup> Shot.

I find upon examination my Calculation for provisions something of a Mistake, there will be wanted 12½ pr C of Provisions more than there is therein mentioned.

In my Letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> I acquainted the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of Some Indians from St. Johns & of the assembling of these on the River. I have had another acc<sup>t</sup> & their Determination of Doing something one side or other, as they say the Americans as well as Britains are taking every step to make money to themselves. Accordingly I dispatched Capt. Hawwawas to take the Command. He is in the first place, to send a Peremptory order to leave the River (as <sup>is</sup> the Inclosed) as also to send back the Colours which were sent Last Summer, to the Indians from Major Studholm, now in Possession of Pier Tomma. As they were bent upon something I tho't best to Lay my Commands in respect to their Conduct. I ordered them not to interfere with any of the Inhabitants whatever, except a French Acadian, who had Taken a Commission from Mr. Franklin whom they were to bring Prisoner.

They are to Destroy Cattle &c., round the fort which are for the use of the Troops, Take Prisoners & Encourage Desertion, several Letters were sent from Deserters here to their comrades at the Fort. I laid strict Injunctions respecting their Behaviour to the people, from their promise as well as what I have generally Experienced among them, they will behave as well as any Troops in Point of Humanity.

I am rather forward myself in this, being anxious to have something Doing for the great expense we are at with them, & such Excursions are very pleasing to them & prevents much Trouble. I earnestly & sincerely wish I had a hundred or two good troops at this Juncture, to go in Boats along shore, to act in concert with the Indians.

The Diff<sup>t</sup> Avenues by land to the County of Cumberland, could be easily secured, which would Keep that Province in such a flutter & Terror as to be Able Easy to reduce it, & not to Molest the Inhabitants and would make an amazing odds in regard to the Expenses of the Indians. I am Extremely Sorry Privateers are so Encouraged this way. Their horrid Crimes is too Notorious to pass unnoticed. Both the Subjects of the United States as well as the Brittain feels the Effects of their voracious Dispositions. But the depra-dations Committed on the Coast of Nova Scotia is cruel, Robing the very people who every day are Secreting & spiriting the unhappy Prisoners subjects of the States in giting to the Continent, others go with an Excuse to rob certain Tories & to take revenge for Private Injury, by which Conduct, the poor unhappy Families there are Exposed to all the Malicious & Lew'd behaviour of Soldiers, Hawled out of their Beds in the Night to search for people. It is possible I may feel more resentment in this than others when I consider of my wife & children being Draged from their beds Last Summer, & carried to the Fort with a Party, Supposing those that were there went from me, when at the same Time I never sent a person, nor Letter to any body whatever, in that part of the Country During the whole of my residence here, But what I sent to Public Authority for my family for fear of these Difficulty's. Herein it may be perceived that the Innocent suffers with the Guilty.

These persons that go there seem to Defy all authority, they have generally made some friend or other to the Westward, some has Licences, others have letters of recommendation; or some other matter from some persons that are Indulged by Authority. Others gets old commissions Altered, & such Parties rising that people are afraid saying any thing about them, they all keep away from this place. Capt West in Two Whale Boats has

just Returned from a cruize up Menas Basin. What he has done is uncertain; from their Conduct & behaviour it is generally supposed they have been burning and Destroying Property. However it has occasioned much Trouble & Confusion, & such proceeding the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board may Depend upon, will occasion more Torys than 100 Such Expeditions Will make good. By what I can learn he has Taken some vessels, all which he Denies to me. Capt West bro't me his Commission; I must Confess I was astonished to think any person Living under the Protection of the Laws of the States should put such an Indignity upon the Resolves of Congress. The Commission was Issued in 1775 before Independence was Declared, for the Schooner Congress. They have erased out *Colonies* and put in *States*, the Certificate of the Secretary Scratched on in many places. I told Capt West of the Deception. But he asserted it came in that manner from the Secretary; the asserting such a thing in my presence, occasions my writing so particular, as it Surely effects the character of <sup>1</sup>Mr. Avery in his Public Capacity. Capt West has Signified much fear to several persons least I should take him (which I had not the least tho't of Doing); he promised to call for my letters, but I understand he has set off for the Westward. The selling of Rum to Indians Prevails greatly & by the Degeneracy of the People there is no bringing persons to account. Two Actions have already been set aside at Pownalboro' Court, for what reasons I cannot say; I sent word to the Gentlemen Acting as States Attorney, time not permitting my Taking Suitable steps myself. I am at a loss what to do in regard to putting the Law in Execution. I have only to mention, that this Conduct of people, has Destroyed (& will more) 100 Pr Ct of the States Interest.

I have the Honor &c

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<sup>1</sup> John Avery, Jr., secretary of the provincial congress of Massachusetts.



*Indian Operations.*MACHIAS November 18<sup>th</sup> 1778.

Sir

I wrote you the 2<sup>nd</sup> Inst, Since which I rec<sup>d</sup> an answer from Piere Tomma at St Johns River, which appears Deceitful and flattering, it being not of much consequence I shall not Trouble the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board with it for the present.

I mentioned in my former Letters of ordering Lieut Guilman from Penobscot with Six or Eight Indians, to fall in about Medocktic (140 Miles from the mouth of the River) sent some more Lower Down the River Spreading Intelligence at other Parts. By this manœuvre Expected to Divert the Indians & others on the River, to prevent any Solid matter being done by the Priest or M<sup>r</sup> Franklin. This matter Took the Desired effect, and in the middle of their Pursuit with the Indians, they received the Intelligence & in 24 Hours both of them Left the River, Promising to return again soon. By this Time the Indians in the Lakes got on the move, & having heard of the retreat of these Two Gentlemen with some other affairs which Intervened they Took a Turn this way, where I am now overloaded with them on Account of the Indigent Situation of this place. Add to this the Indians at Penobscot hearing of my orders to M<sup>r</sup> Guilman they in a manner all turned out; he disputed this manner. But upon the whole Sixteen Insisted on going; they have executed the business very well & returned here the other day. But their demands and Claims are intolerable, & the Necessity I am under to procure matters at a most Exorbitant price makes it very expensive. Those Indians which have Taken the oath of Allegiance on the river St Johns, I have Neither heard from or Seen any But Piere Tomma. A small Tender from the Albany is Continually Cruising about

Passamaquody & Intercepting every thing doing for the States. Ambroise<sup>1</sup> had his Canoe taken away the other Day, with a Number of things, among the rest some expresses and belts of Wampum, I was sending to St Johns and the Micmacs.

A few days ago I rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter from Col<sup>o</sup> Lowder, respecting some Difficulty among the Indians about sending to Boston, Instigated by some English Persons. I am not much surpris'd at these affairs, as the Profit, arising from the Trade of the Indians will occasion Perpetual Quarrels and jars, till such time as Government fixes it upon so Permanent a footing as to hold the whole Trade. I find from the Indians Present, and the word sent by the others at Penobscot, that they had chosen Old Orano<sup>2</sup> & French Mitchell to go to Court Both (the former in particular) very suitable.

I sent word when the Merisheete was going up, that as they desired and were Determined to pay a Compliment themselves to Government, it would be suitable then, as others were going upon the same business. Preparations were making, which would prevent many Unnecessary Expenses otherwise, & ordered the Merisheete to call accordingly. But Capt Preble I presume, hearing of some being gone before, proceeded without calling.

I am very well Convinced that some Schemes are Laying by different Parties. I recommend to the Court with Humble Submission, to be very Cautious, there are some Indians gone, who are marked out by Every Tribe to be warmly attached to Britain, & have made a Point for many years to Create Divisions, so that there is not one Tribe in my District will admit them in Council. Lewis Neptune is the Principal man who was formerly of Passamaquody

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<sup>1</sup> Ambroise, an Indian chief.

<sup>2</sup> The principal chief; a worthy and reliable man.

& is not now allowed at Penobscot. By some Craft a few weeks ago he Took from Francis Joseph (son to the Late Chief of Passamaquody) the Family's medal, which I presume among strangers he calls his. However Let him do what he will, it will not be ratified by the other Indians.

The Intricate Situation of Penobscot is such that I am Discouraged about it. I shall be up soon & Communicate the State of that Place a Little more to fulfill my Promise to the Indians; when I will be glad to get clear of it, as there seems to be a Determination among all in General to frustrate any good Intentions of Government.

I have the Honor &c.

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*British Efforts to obtain the Indians.*

MACHIAS May 18<sup>th</sup> 1779.

Dear General

I have the Honor to acquaint you of my safe arrival at this place this day about Two o'clock, where I found every matter in as good condition as could be Expected.

• The Gentlemen whom I Left, have discharged their duty with Honor, & kept the Indians together, Notwithstanding the Vigorous Steps pursued by the Britains. Tomorrow I shall dispatch off Intelligence among the Indians & Expect soon to have a Multitude about me. But Notwithstanding all this I have every reason to expect the greatest Difficulty, & if some immediate assistance is not given, all that has been done will be fruitless. The Backwardness & Delays in furnishing supplies for such a department as this, makes every matter that is attempted appear uncertain and what I would be willingly doing, both for my own Honor & reputation, as well as the ad-

vantage & Interest of our great cause & country is prevented, by a *Something I cannot conceive*.

You will see by the Inclosed Intelligence received from Penobscott, the Plan Laying by our cruel & Bloody Enemy. It is probable it may be nothing but a finesse of theirs, but certain it is, that the Express &c arrived here & the Indians of this Department in the greatest flutter. Add to this the hideous & melancholy countenances on the poor Inhabitants who appear to have no alternative to choose.

I do not think the Enemy has any Great Expectation from such an attempt, only to ruin & Destroy the poor people of these Infant Settlements, to Glutt their revenge & malice. These Employ'd are Desperadoes, But few Indians among them, But like the Band of ruffins on the Susquehanah (the whites are far beyond the savages when they Take upon them the Character) Destroying all Indiscriminately. I Trust Good Sir that your Endeavours will not be wanting to urge the consequence of these matters to our Civil Rulers. I have also Inclosed to you, Intelligence received from Nova Scotia; the person I sent is a Trusty good man. Upon conversing with him I find it is uncertain what the Enemy intends doing, only that they are Securing every avenue, & fortifying every Necessary Post towards Canada by St Johns, so that a Constant Communication is now keep'd up. I must request of you to Transmit to his Excellency the General Washington these matters, with my respectfull & Dutifull Compliments. Time will not admit of my writing to him so fully as I could wish, as I send this by Express on hearing the Penobscut news, which I thought best not to delay. I intend the Schooner Neashquo'woit<sup>1</sup> shall Sail in the Course of next week when I will Transmit the State of this Depart-

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<sup>1</sup> A privateer named for an Indian chief.

ment, with such other matters that I have no time at present. In the meanwhile rest assured I shall Exert every nerve & use every means in my power, in Executing the business Intrusted to me. And am with, &c,

J. ALLAN.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Heath.

*Report of a Spy to J. Allan.*

Sir

Agreeable to your Directions I left Machias the 18<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> last & proceeded to Cumberland in Nova Scotia, where I arrived the 18<sup>th</sup> of March following where I Immediately Distributed Count D<sup>e</sup> Estangs Proclamations & Monsieur Holkens Letters to the Indians, among the Inhabitants, both French & English. I then made Enquiry respecting the Military Force in that Province, and the most authentic Acc<sup>t</sup> that could be obtained the following is a State of the Whole. Vir<sup>t</sup>.

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| In Halifax commanded by General McClain,...                              | 3,000        |
| In Garrison at Fort Cumberland do by Lieut Col <sup>o</sup> Gorham,..... | 120          |
| At Windsor Emigrants do by Cap <sup>t</sup> McDonald, .                  | 100          |
| At Cornwallis do do by Cap <sup>t</sup> Campbell,.....                   | 50           |
| At Annapolis do do by,.....  | 100          |
| At St Johns River do do by Major Studholm,..                             | 120          |
| <b>Total,.....</b>   | <b>3,490</b> |

The Garrison at Cumberland is to be soon relieved by a party of a new Raised Regiment call'd the Orrange Rangers commanded by Lieut Col Byard.

About the Latter End of March last, the Harbour of Halifax was left with only one Frigate to Guard it, no news of the arrival of any more Naval Force as yet. The

Troops in General are well supply<sup>d</sup>. The Garrison at Cumberland is made very strong, mounting about 24 Pieces of Cannon, 9-6 & 4 Pounders. All the Fortresses in the Province (Except Annapolis) is made very strong, for what End or Design I cannot learn. The Accadians are almost to a man unanimous, warmly Attached to the American cause, & on Receiving Count D'Estang's Proclamations & your Letters, in my presence, Burnt the Certificates which they had from the British Government. The Indians when in Company with Americans are very Zealous for the Cause, but are constantly in the Garrisons & receiving very great supplies from the Enemy, who seems to be under no apprehension that the Indians will hurt them. Superintendent Franklin & Bailey, the Priest is gone along the Eastern Coast, a Chappel is Erected at Miramichi, verry large supplies Laid in there & Chaleur Bay. The Indians to Receive payments for all Damages Sustained by them, the warr & otherwise. The Stocks of Cattle are either more than they were in the beginning of the war & all other supplies of Produce Plenty, There is large supplies of English Goods in General, thro' the Province, Great Quantities of Provisions and other supplies Daily Expected from Britain & Ireland. Col<sup>o</sup> Johnson was in Halifax the beginning of the Winter with a Number of the Mohawk Indians on some Important Business but could not learn what it was. The civil Courts of Justice are conducted in a very Arbitrary manner, & none but a few who are very Zealous for that Government, can have any chance for record against them in a very unjust manner, by which themselves & Families are Rained.

Yours &c.,

JOHN STARR.

MACHIAS, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1779.

To Col<sup>o</sup> John Allan Com<sup>d</sup> officer, at Machias.

*Capt. Preble's Report.*

Intelligence Received from the River Penobscot by Capt John Preble in the Service of the United States of America, who was sent express by order of the Continental Agent & has been Particularly Examined into by

JOHN ALLAN

Continental Agent & Com<sup>r</sup> in Chief of Ind. in Eas<sup>t</sup> Dept.

MACHIAS May 18<sup>th</sup> 1779

April 30<sup>th</sup> 1779

John Neptune<sup>1</sup> & Orono came into Prebbles at Penobscott Falls by Express sent by John Marsh from John Prebble, and was Informed that a Message with Wampum was sent from Captain Smith at Machias Deputy Superintendent, to acquaint the whole Tribe that Col<sup>o</sup> Allan requested their Assembling at Machias the 25<sup>th</sup> May to Receive the Priest &c. & to bring their Peltry with them. Then John Neptune Presents three small strings Wampum and says (holding the first String) These are sent our Tribe from Canada by Two Young men about three weeks ago.

"1<sup>st</sup> String, We sent you this to open your Eyes.

2<sup>nd</sup> String, That you may see a great way.

3<sup>d</sup> String, That your Ears may be opened to hear, & fix your Hearts, that you may have a Right understanding to what I am going to tell you."

Then Presenting a Large Belt of Wampum, 1500 White;

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<sup>1</sup> Neptune was for a long period the principal chief of the Penobscots; he always was friendly to our cause, and during his long life was respected by both Indians and whites. He died in the summer of 1865, aged over one hundred years; he was undoubtedly the last survivor of all who were in any way connected with the revolution in that part of the country.

said this Likewise was sent us from Canada with this Message:

“Brothers Don’t have any Connections with the Americans. Remove yourselves off from them & not keep with them, for Powder & Balls has no Respect to Persons for if we should find one of our Brothers Dead it would make us sorry & Angry. The Americans have no knowledge of what they are about in Fighting the Great King of England but now the King is in Earnest & Determined to whip them severely, we send you this Great Belt of Wampum for every one of you to see and think of, and to show it to the St Johns & Micmacs, & to let them know what we say & return the Belt Back to us Immediately. The Indians are coming across the Woods as soon as the Leaves are as big as our Nails, and we are Determined to Destroy the white People — 800 on the River Penobscot, 100 upon Norridgewalk River & 800 upon Cohos. There is 800 Barrels Flour at Soccocon for the Support of the Indians who are coming across the Country. Brothers of Penobscot we have Provisions Enough in Canada to last 10 Years if the War should last so long, Don’t think this Belt of Wampum is sent for nothing, Don’t make a Laugh & scorn of it, it is the Truth we send you & you may Depend upon it. Brothers, there is now at & near Canada 1000 Indians ready to Execute any orders they may receive from the British General in Canada. Brothers the Indians were so rejoiced to get their Wampum Carried to your Tribe, that they Danced & Drank three Days & Nights & Liquor was given them as free as water.”

JOHN PREBLE.



*Report of the Troubles Occasioned by the British Operations at  
Penobscot.*

MACHIAS, July 16<sup>th</sup> 1779.

Sir

My last to you was the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant from Passamaquody Via Penobscot, by the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mon's De La Motte, who I sent among the Indians on that River, Acquainting the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of delivering a War Belt of Wampum to the said Indians. The day After Twenty Canoes with Families, arrived from St. Johns & Eight from the Passamaquody Lakes, by which Ninety Canoes together, as soon as I had concluded every necessary with them, & my being wanted at Machias, I returned There the 8<sup>th</sup> to forward business and take other measures for future. I Brought with me four Micmack Indians, having a Conference I found that they were on Speculations to See how matters was Going, & that if Agreeable to them, were ready to take up the Hatchet, it was concluded That two of them should be sent off to the Tribes from Chalem to Chignecto, who were their Constituents, the others Two Continue till a Return, & Incline to go to Penobscot. Mr. Frankline & Baley<sup>d</sup> the Priest, being Expected at St. Johns & Maj<sup>r</sup> Studholm giving great presents, Engaged Twenty-Five Families to Continue on the River. The rest are all ready to march, when Ordered and something to leave with their families. The account I Receiv<sup>d</sup> from Penobscot By the Spies, I sent are that the Enemy were not more than five hundred Strong, one Thirty-two Guns Frigate, one Twenty, & two sixteen, with Smaller ones, that only six pieces of cannon were <sup>burned</sup> loaded, and appeared to Be in utmost Consternation for fear of an Attack, were much deceived & disappointed in the promises & Expectations from the Tories. Most of

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Jacob Bailey, who went from Kennebec a tory.

the Inhabitants had submitted & taken the Oath of Allegiance, But according to Custom, Experienced the Advantages of having British Troops in Committing some of the Most Horrid Crimes among them, These are rather more to be pitied than Many more Eastward, who has gone a distance to acknowledge themselves Subjects. At Union River, Naskaig, & Deer Island, most if not all the principle people, & two or three from Frenchman's Bay, & Goldsborough, have taken the oath. But from the proclamations Issued & the Vigilant Conduct of Lieut. Col<sup>e</sup> Campbell, Aided to the Good Spirit of the people at Mount Desert, Frenchman's Bay, Narraguagus, Pleasant River & Machias, a determination has taken place to oppose & defend the country to the Last, and tho' it is Lamentable & Deplorable to a degree in the want of provisions & other necessaries, I trust under the smiles of a Kind Providence shall prevent their penetrating further. I cannot But Take the Liberty to Express myself, with what mortification & Deep sorrow I am under, That the Situation of this Department is Such, no certain Intelligence or Instructions what I am to do or what movements are making to the Westward, that I might be able to do some Service at this Critical Juncture, not Above Two pounds of Bread Kind per Week to each for three weeks past, am obliged to Borrow & Beg from every Denomination, when Expresses or other necessary business is to be done. Had the Supplies &c., Recommended, been laid in, in the Spring, This attempt would not have Been made By the Enemy, for tho' their plans has been in Agitation for some time, they lay'd aside its Execution, till they saw what was granted by Court, as their Strength was not Equivalent other ways, this I have from Undoubted Authority in Nova Scotia. I now beg leave further to mention That by what I can Learn, the Intentions of the British Government is, that they Expect to be Compelled to declare the Independency of the thir-

teen States, But determined to Keep Canada & Nova Scotia, & by this to Extend their line of Territory to Kennebeck River. I rely & Trust & most Heartly plead that I may not be left unnoticed in this affair, that I may be Enabled to assist in the Affair at Penobscot. The 11<sup>th</sup> at 4 o'clock in the afternoon I Rec<sup>d</sup> Express from Lieut. Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell at *Narraguagus* that a prize Brig of 150 Tons Deeply Loaded with Provisions from Ireland, taken by the *Wasp*, Capt. *Somes* of Cape Ann had got in there & were in great Danger of Being soon attacked, as the Enemy would soon have Intelligence of her. There is a number who give every Intelligence, in spite of what I can do, & that she cou'd not by any means go westward whilst the Enemy were at Penobscot, sailing very Bad. I immediately sett off in a Boat with six men. I consulted with the Capt<sup>o</sup> & for several reasons, among others, the Great Advantages the Enemy would reap (they being very short at present) and the Discouragement to the Inhabitants should she be taken, no place of Defence at *Narraguagus*.

I ordered Ten militia men on Board, & Bro't her Round here Two days ago, Under the Cannon. She is full of Pork, Beef, Butter, Oatmeal & about 20,000 Weigh<sup>t</sup> Bisquit, Some English Goods. From our Indigent State, & the Indians Making a Great noise, supposing it in my power to take The Whole, I took the Liberty of Borrowing 1½ Barrels Pork, 12 Barrels Beef, 21 cwt. 1 qr. Oatmeal, 19 cwt. 2 qrs. 0lbs Biscuit & Eight firkins Butter, or 4½ to be paid for or replaced in Boston, which I Doubt not will be agreeable, & Trust will be paid when Demanded. This Cargo would be very advantageous for the States, for use here or sent Westward, But as this does not come within my jurisdiction, I only Took what Necessity Required for the present till further orders. I have just received Intelligence By Two Indians that the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mon<sup>o</sup> De La Motte

is on his way to Passamaquody By the Lakes, I shall sett off myself this Evening for that place.

P. S. *July 18<sup>th</sup>* The wind & weather continuing Bad, detained me. Last evening the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. La Motte arrived, his Behaviour & Conduct has given me much satisfaction. He is indefatigable in the Business. This goes Via Penobscot with Cap<sup>t</sup> John Preble whom I send Express to the Commanding officer of our Troops on that River, and to Command the Indians of that river if necessary, which I leave to the Discretion of the Com officer.

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*Capture of Col. Allan's Dispatches by the Enemy.*

MACHIAS Oct<sup>r</sup> 20 1779.

Sir.

I had the Honour of writing you the 28<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> by Capt<sup>o</sup> De Badie who went in Company with Col<sup>o</sup> Lowder of Penobscot, By the Lakes 180 miles Back with four Indians in Two Birch Canoes. But very Unfortunatly the whole Fell into the hand of the Enemy, About the 12<sup>th</sup> Instant on the River Penobscot, some Canadians, Indians & French to the number of Twenty six under the Direction of Cap<sup>t</sup> Lunier, who Lives on the Carrying place between Penobscot & St Lawrence. They arrived at the Indian Village about an hour before Col<sup>o</sup> Lowder, none but Two Indians of Penobscot being present the Rest gone to Kenebeck & others come this way. Their Business was for Intelligence & very Unfortunatly for me and this Department they found out the particulars of every matter.<sup>1</sup> This way

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<sup>1</sup> The unfortunate result of the expedition to Penobscot, in the summer of 1779, by which the eastern part of Maine was completely isolated from

Lunier finding by Letters that the Indians were on their March for St Johns to Join me, Dispatched a canoe with a Belt of Wampum Inviting them to Canada with Great promises & on refusal Threatening Them. The advantages the Enemy must reap by this will be great if they Improve their time. I took This opportunity supposing it very safe to write to Congress, the General & several others wherein a full state of the Whole Business was communicated a copy of what I wrote, with The several papers to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board I here Inclose. No time must be Lost for aid to Enable me to support these posts. This Cap<sup>t</sup> Lunier, The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board may remember That I mentioned his name several times since my Being here, he is an active Vigilent fellow & great Influence among the Indians. I was very anxious to have him Dislodged, on my first Coming here, which might have easily been done then. But he has now a number of Regular Troops &

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the rest of the country, must have greatly complicated Col. Allan, and to add to his other difficulties, many of the people within his command took the oath of allegiance to the British, while many others were clamorous for trade with Nova Scotia, so they could find a market for their lumber in that direction. It must have been a gloomy time; but he and his associates, at Machias, never for an hour despaired.

The capture of his dispatches which he here deploras, was very unfortunate, as it gave the enemy the facts they wished to obtain, and exposed his weakness and wants so fully that it seems strange they did not at once take advantage of it.

Capt. Lunier was, no doubt, in the pay and interest of the British; he was probably an Indian trader. Allan says, "he resides on the carrying place between Penobscot and the St. Lawrence." This locality can be seen on the map of Maine; it is near the northwest head stream of the Penobscot, north of the northeast part of Moosehead lake, and on the head waters of the River De Loup, a branch of the Chaudiere, between Portage and Penobscot lakes.

Capt. De Badier, who was the bearer of the dispatches, was probably an Acadian; they were on the usual route to the Penobscot, and the westward, via the Schoodic lakes, &c.

Canadians with him. I dread him most at present & by his late success, no doubt he will Endeavor to harass these Settlements.

The Difficultys & Troubles in this Department seems Growing; the success of the enemy strengthens the sentiments & Encourages the Dissaffected & Selfish Combinations forming to overthrow every order & Regulation, & Reports propagated to discourage the common people as to render them useless members of the States, every Illicite Method pursued, both in Trade & Politics, authority defyd & Declarations made, that the principle of the General court will support them in Their Trade with Nova Scotia. This is prevalent Thro' all the Settlements Eastward of the Penobscot. . The Sloop which the Indians took from Littlefield was taken from the place where the Indians Left her, in a most Villianous manner & convey into another part of the State, where by a mock Process to be Libelled in Behalf of the States By a naval officer, without doubt to return into the hands of the former owners. This has occasioned a great resentment among the Indians, which with several others of the Like Kind Keeps the Indians so unsteady, That no dependence can be put upon Them, & Creates an Intolerable Expense by making presents to prevent their going to the Enemy. The unsteady conduct of the Indians, with some Unhappy conduct of some people has obliged me to use every mean to prevent their going to St Johns. Every Employment & service requires Immediate pay, which has consumed every means I have had come. I flattered myself much in the Spring in having a Chaplain, but am Greatly deceived in my Expectations; have not met with such Difficulty previous to this Summer.

Ammunition is become very short, all Bread Kind is just out. I must request an Immediate supply at all risks, as also dry goods. Lieut Delesdernier whom I sent to the

Indians assembled on St Johns River from the Confines of Canada to prepare them to meet me, returned a few days ago with Intelligence of their Being on the Way to Passamaquody to join us. Ambroise sent me Word of their being upward of three hundred. This day have sent them some provisions & shall follow in Two or three days myself. I expect Great Demands to be made & our Shortness of Bread, Dry Goods & Ammunition, the latter Continually in want of, I shall be put to hard shifts, More particularly as I know not the intention of Government. I shall be at a Loss how to Settle them for the Winter, they must not be permitted to go away, as the Safety of the country depends on their being near us.

The Militia seems to act now with a Little better spirit Tho' I am obliged to persue every easy & condesending manner to obtain them. I allow them provisions & have Settled the meat part, with those Eastward of Frenchmans Bay, That were going to Penobscot, & obligated myself to settle the rest. I have also calculated The Bounty to so much a month, to keep up the Garrison in a posture of Defence. The Fort is finished & a Barrack almost done for 40 men. I have a Compound Complex & mixed affair to go thro' to Sustain the post & keep it anyway respectable; in all shall Endeavour to keep as close to the resolve of Court as possible & accomplish the Intention of Government. But am often Compell'd to Depart from regular Rules, & fall Upon & persue a Variety of Measures to bring about Matters. Several Things I mention in a Hurry in postscript in my Last Letters which I now omit, particularly respecting the Indians assembling at St Johns.

I have deliv'd Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell some advertisements which I published Thro' the Country, for the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Boards Satisfaction, which Contains the Intelligence.

I trust & Rely That attention may be given to my

Letters, That I may know what I am to Depend upon & how to manage.

I have the Honor, &c.

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*Difficulties in Carrying out Orders.*

MACHIAS Nov<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1779.

Sir.

I had the Honor of writing the 10<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>d</sup> from the River St Croix — have now to acquaint the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of my Arrival here with all the Indians, Except 14 Wigwams which I ordered on the River Copcook which leads from Passamaquody to Machias.

The Virtuous Conduct of those savages requires the Generosity of the States, to attend to their Situation; and for fear of their Drawing off from us, Commands the exertions of government to give an immediate ear to the Care of them.

As soon as I arrange matters a Little I intend if Possible to go with a Number of Indians towards Majorbaguaduce (Castine) to join Capt Preble who I sent some time ago to raise Rangers, by the Encouragement I received from several Inhabitants on that River, Agreeable to a resolve of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court. I have Dismissed Capt O'Brien<sup>1</sup> & some others, also what militia I have on duty here I shall dismiss this week.

I have Call'd on the Commissary for a General acc<sup>t</sup> of every Expenditure since my Command, & am now settling the whole affairs of this Department, which shall be Trans-

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<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Wm. P. Haines, Esq., of Boston, for the following facts: While Governor Fairfield, of Maine, was a member of congress, he received a petition from the widow of Jeremiah O'Brien, for compensation for services rendered by her husband, in which she stated, that she made with her own hands a flag for his privateer. It represented a pine tree, and was wrought on white cloth. It was certainly a true emblem for Machias, and would still be.



mitted as soon as finished with the other Returns. I am sorry that I am Compelled to inform the General Court that much bad Conduct appears to take place; (under the Colour of Permits to bring effects from Nova Scotia) of Carrying on an Illicit Trade.

The military by doing their duty must become obnoxious. This I find will soon be the case with me, nor can I discharge the Duty I owe my Country without bringing the Vengeance of the Commercial part of the Eastward upon me. By which I am Liable to be kep'd in perpetual Broils, much to the Damage of the Public Service, as it must prevent my pursuing my business with the Indians, which requires all the Time & Talents I have.

From these Circumstances, should there not be a check to such proceedings by Government, I must claim the Indulgence to be dismiss'd from my Military Employment in this place. I have been very happy in this Capacity, & Esteem it the Greatest Honor & favour During the Course of my whole life in being in the Military Department & Could wish to Continue during the War. But the difficulty I have to encounter is beyond my fortitude or ability to withstand in this place. Should the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Congress approve of my past Conduct and thinks it suitable to Continue me Longer with the Indians—I would Chuse to move the Stores & Every matter whatever of this Department from among the Inhabited part of the Country. Should my Conduct not be approved of & tho't Expedient for the Public Service that I should be succeeded, I willingly offer my services as a volunteer under any Gentleman appointed, to continue until he may be acquainted with their ways. This day I have a Conference with the Indians, the whole Proceedings I shall Transmit by next opp<sup>r</sup>.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 10, 1779, had a Conference with Indians on the River Macadavick.

*Conference with the Indians.*

At a Conference Held at Machias the 18<sup>th</sup> Day of November 1779 with a large Number of Indians of the St Johns & Passamaquody Tribes, with Several from St Francis in Canada and other Tribes.

Present

|                           |                                  |                        |                             |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                           | Colo Allan Supr Int.             | Stephen Jones          | } Inhabitants<br>of Machias |
|                           | Lieut Avery Secy to do           | Mr O'Brien             |                             |
|                           | Lieut Delesdernier A. D. O to do | Mr Longfellow          |                             |
| in the service at Machias | Major Stillman                   | Mr. S. Archabald       | } from<br>Nova Scotia       |
|                           | Capt Smith Com'y                 | Mr. T. Archabald       |                             |
|                           | Capt O'Brien                     | Mr. J. Archabald       |                             |
|                           | Lieut Albee                      | Capt Somes of Cape Ann |                             |
|                           | Lieut Ferree                     |                        |                             |
|                           | Doctor Clark                     |                        |                             |
|                           | Quar Masr Foster                 |                        |                             |
|                           | Pierre Paul Interpreter          |                        |                             |

Pierre Tomma, Chief of St Johns.  
Brother

By the grace of the Almighty, who Conducts all his People we are permitted to meet together at this place where we formerly did, and by the continuance of his Goodness, I hope we shall be prospered in all our Undertakings. The Old men, the Sachems, the Captains & the Young men Salute all the officers & Gentlemen here present as well as all the rest of the Americans. \* \* \*

*Secretary Avery's Report.*

INDIAN EASTERN DEPARTMENT  
MACHIAS June 4<sup>th</sup> 1780.

Sir.

By the Direction of Col<sup>o</sup> Allan I have the Honor to Acquaint the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that I arrived from the Indian Encampment at Passamaquody last evening, where I left

*not  
Pres.*

him pursuing every measure in his Power to Retain the Indians in the American Interest & prevent their going to St Johns. He has prevailed on them to continue for the present, but if Troops & more Stores does not arrive soon, they will not stay.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> In<sup>st</sup> Two British Arm<sup>d</sup> Schooners Arrived at Passamaquody. One of which was the Buckram of 8 Guns Cap<sup>t</sup> Allderdier Commander, the other an Arm<sup>d</sup> Transport of 6 Guns. Col<sup>o</sup> Allan Called a Council of Indians & Requested that more of them go on board, which they promised they would not. However, Pierre Tomma the Chief of St Johns (always considered a Tory), and Louis Neptune of Penobscott (Called Col<sup>o</sup> Louis), the pretended chief of Passamaquody went on board & Received Several Presents, Cap<sup>t</sup> Allan's Indians informed that M<sup>r</sup> Franklin & M<sup>r</sup> Burk arrived at St John the 30<sup>th</sup> of May, with Large Supplies and Desired a conference with them. This puts all the Indians on the alert, the enemy making them such large offers & Col<sup>o</sup> Allan having nothing to give them nor no Troops, they seemed Tired of the Service & it will be very difficult to keep them.

Col<sup>o</sup> Allan finds it will be impossible to keep the Indians Except he has immediately at least 50 men and more supplies. Had he had but 30 men with him at Passamaquody all the Indians would have cheerfully Turned out, and would have been of the Utmost Service in Harrassing the Enemy at St John's. None of the Troops ordered for this place has yet arrived nor can Col<sup>o</sup> Allan get the least Intelligence respecting them.

There is here 4 Deserters from the Buckram since her being at Passamaquody, & three more came away that has not arrived. Two of them bro't off the Buckrams Barge.

The Stores are mostly gone, there is now in the Store about 140 Bus<sup>h</sup> Corn & 1000lbs Butter & there is not one

ounce of meat for Troops or the Indians. The Dry Goods are mostly Distributed among the latter.

I enclose a Copy of a letter which Col<sup>o</sup> Allan sent off by Express some days ago, for fear the Original should not arrive.

Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JA<sup>o</sup> AVERY Sec<sup>y</sup> to

In<sup>ca</sup> Ep.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Jer. Powell Esq.

*Report of an Indian Council.*

HARBOUR LATHEL

PASSAMAQUODY June 11<sup>th</sup> 1780.

Sir.

I wrote the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board some days ago, In which I mentioned of Two Expresses being gone for Penobscot, & River St Johns, they are since Returned. The former Tribe is to be here in Six days, for the purpose of Holding a grand council on the Invitation from Canada.

Ambroise was on the Embassy to St Johns he would not have gone had not a private Affair obliged him; one of his Relations killing Pierre Tomma's Son some time ago. The Intelligence he brings is that Deputys from the Marshetts, the Micmacks, Oriskanys or Mohawks, Argontier or Mountainers and St Francis, Assembled there when it appeared as I first Told the Indians that the Britains were at the Bottom of this to bring Confusion among the Indians, which I hope they are Satisfyed, tho' not come to a Conclusion. I Received a String of wampum & message in answer to one I sent to the whole to the General Council, the Litteral Translation as follows

In an assembly of the Tribes before mentioned at Aukpakue on St. Johns River.

**BROTHER:** Agreeable to What you Tell us, that the Great God who sees us & Knoweth our Hearts & Intentions, may still Lead us in Truth. We Rec<sup>d</sup> your message with joy & thank you for the notice you take of us; we salute you in Return.

**BROTHER:** We met here on business Among ourselves. We have not had axe or knife in our hands yet this way. The Americans are our Brothers & in our present mind we mean not to hurt them. But what we shall do, when our Council is finised we cannot now Tell but you shall Immediately know all.

**BROTHER:** Our Ears are opened to hear, our Eyes clear that we can see. Our Heart open, & we have observed on the news of every one. We trust God will keep us so & prevent us from falling into the Snares or Traps Laid to take us by any.

**BROTHER:** We now Salute you with a Good Heart we salute the Congress, General Washington, all the chief men, Capt<sup>m</sup> & Young men, women & children of America wishing all Health & Success, that the Good God may protect you all, & keep you. A string of wampum.

There is something more, the message the Indians assembled at Moreal to the Several Eastern Indians which is something Lengthy have not time to prepare it to send.

I have to acquaint the Court that there is a Considerable number of Indians here, a Great Consumption of Provisions, Great number is Expected from Various parts. I cannot keep them Together without supplying them with Provisions & Ammunition. Had the Troops arrived I should act otherwise. But at present there is no other Defence for the Country should they withdraw & the Enemy make ever so Little Attempt they must carry it in the present Situation of the Country. I must again pray.

that further supplies of provisions & some men may be sent.

At present I am obliged to follow a different sort of Business than is consistant with my Station. Every Leisure time I go in Boats a fishing which is all the meat kind we have to use Either for whites or Indians.

I must solicit the favour, & press the Execution of it; that a Committee or Some Agents to Settle the Government Accounts in this Department may be sent down for the purpose as I should be happy that the Acc<sup>ts</sup> may be brought to a Conclusion this season.

I have the Honor, &c.

#### NOTE.

After our disastrous defeat at Penobscot, in 1779, the whole bay and river were held by the British, and our communications with the Indians there were cut off. To prevent their forming an alliance with the enemy, and to carry out that stipulation in the treaty in which we agreed to supply a truck house with articles for their trade, a depot was established at head of boat navigation on the Kennebec. For this purpose old fort Halifax, which had been built some twenty years before, was occupied, and from this the Penobscot tribe were supplied. This place seems to have been their head-quarters for a considerable part of the year; it was kept up till the end of the war.

Here resided their priest, Juniper Barthium, of the order of the Recollect. He was by birth a Frenchman. As most of the priests, who had during the war proved to be emissaries of the English government, he was suspected; but full evidence of his loyalty to the patriot cause, was sent by the select men and others of Winslow, where the fort was situated. This fort still stands at the junction of the Sebasticook with the Kennebec. It is now (1867), in the town of Waterville. It was built of hewn timber, and should be preserved as a relic of ante-revolutionary times.

*Remarkable Effort of the British Agent on the Indians.*MACHIAS July 12<sup>th</sup> 1780.

Sir

An opportunity just offering gives me the Honor of Writing a few Lines to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board. My last was of the 11<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> from Passamaquody. The 22<sup>nd</sup> I returned to Machias to settle matters there. An officer and Twenty-one men arrived from Camden, with Cap<sup>t</sup> Preble, whom I had sent to know the reason of their Detention.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> I set off for Passamaquody with Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell as it was Necessary he should Communicate personally what was done for the Indians at the Westward, which is their Custom. The 31<sup>st</sup> as we were assembling for a Conference, Three Indians arrived Express from St Johns, with a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Bush the Priest Desiring them to attend him immediately on business of the Church, as also a letter from Major Studholm promising Pardon for past offences, Protection & Presents. I was Desired to Interpret these letters, which when Done, much was said. A Conference held the best of two days, they came to a Determination to see the Priest at all events, but Declared their Zeal for America, their friendship & affection for me, that they would have no concern with the Britain whatever; only meant to see the Priest, their Souls being heavy & Loaded with Burthens of Sins, that they acted on a Duty commanded in their church which they could not Neglect. They Delivered a very large Belt of Wampum to be sent to Congress and a French ambassador (which will be sent at a proper opp<sup>o</sup>) I used every method in my Power to Divert their Intentions but all in Vain, go they would. But made the most Sacred Protestations to be back in Three weeks. Accordingly all but about 100 Including women & children set off the 8<sup>th</sup> Inst.

I am very unhappy in being obliged to acquaint the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of this, after the Success I have experienced in Disappointing the Priest & M<sup>r</sup> Frankline for this three years. I do not believe they will be persuaded to do anything against America, but it will give great Encouragement to the Britains, and have too much reason to suspect they mean us mischief by this Sudden manouver, the Indians being the only Dread for sometime. Should nothing happen, I shall be contented, as it will save much Provisions. But the great Disposer of Human Affairs I Trust will Direct us for the Best. Our Situation may be easily conceived when the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board is acquainted, that I have but Thirty five men to defend this Post, Part of which must constantly be with me among the Indians. I have already Troubled the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board Much in my Complaints about Troops not coming. This Spring I have Experienced & seen the Evil. Thirty men is Double the Expense in proportion to what sixty would be, as the Duty is Various & constant that men must be Extra Supplied to Enable them to go thro' the Hardships was their a sufficient Number to Guard Half would be sufficient for Indians, for the want of men we have to count & pay them for every Trifling matter. Are often obliged to hire people at a very great Expense; which by having men would be Prevented. Had there been but 20 men, to have attended me at Passamaquody & made that a small Temporary Post, It certainly would have prevented the Britains Erecting a Post up St Johns River & neither Frankline nor the Priest would have dared to be so near. With the same Number of men I could with the greatest ease taken the Buckram Schooner & a Large Transport with supplies for the several garrisons up the Bay of Fundi. Upon the whole the Damage arising by not having a Hundred men at this Post makes a great odds in the Expenses, & at present Liable to loose all we have been Defending &



Expending money upon these three years past. I have received Intelligence from Nova Scotia, that the most of the Troops in the out Garrisons are called into Halifax, one Third of the militia ordered to be Drafted, a part for Windsor, by forced marches for Halifax, where they are Carrying on Works. Advice coming from England that a French fleet is Expected. About 2,500 men in Halifax, & Two Ships. The Stores Received from the Continental Commissary a great part is useless, and all Extremely under weight. Let this arise from what it will, it will make much confusion, as where it has been sent to the Indian Villages & to my Quarters, in Barrells, there will appear great Quantities more than there really is. As we have Generally Depended upon the accuracy & certainty of the Consignee, we did not find the mistake till considerable was consumed. I have ordered a Board of officers in conjunction with some of the principle Inhabitants to Examine into the whole. With submission I must request a word from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board to the Board of war, to forward the supplies Voted for Indians with all Expedition, as of the greatest consequence if it was Intended to keep their Interests. I feel rather Diffident In giving such trouble to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board, as I am well asured of the Pains they are pleased to Take. I will do the best I can let it be which way it will while I am Honored with the Command.

I shall despatch off M<sup>r</sup> Avery with the Several matters concerning the Department next week.

I have the Honor &c.

*An Effort of the British to Control the Indians.*

That the British government was making every effort in their power to control the Indians, the following documents, long in the possession of the high sheriff of St. John county, N. B., conclusively proves. By reference to Col. Allan's letter of this period it will be seen that he was aware of their great exertions, although he did not seem to have known that their particular object at that time was to obtain masts for their navy.

"To the Chief, Captains & principal Indians on the River St John:

**BRETHREN:** I am much concerned I cannot see you as I intended on the 25th of this month, but Major Studholm will meet you for me who will tell you the sentiments of my heart.

**BRETHREN:** King George wants masts for his ships, and has employed people to provide them on your river, depending on you to protect them in cutting them down and conveying them to fort Howe (this fort then stood on the present site of Carleton opposite St John).

**BRETHREN:** The governor sends you some presents which Major Studholm will deliver you. They are intended to bind fast your promise that you will protect the Mast cutters.

**BRETHREN:** King George My gracious Master has sent me a large quantity of presents for you; they are on the water on the way to Halifax; when they arrive I will deliver them to you in person. These presents the king gives you for your delivering up to me the treaty you had entered into with the council at Boston.

I am your affectionate Brother

**MICHAEL FRANKLIN.**

WINBOR N S *May 18, 1780.*"

To this is annexed an invoice of goods shipped on board

a vessel consisting of seventeen different kinds suitable for Indian use and in large quantities; the last articles being "a cask of wine for the squaws & such men as don't drink rum." Just such an invoice as Col. Allan was pleading for in vain. Was it not expecting too much of these poor suffering Indians that they could withstand such strong temptations and adhere to Col. Allan with his almost naked commissariat? We infer that Indians went to the St. John river, and obtained the property, and, after fulfilling the agreement to the British, returned to Col. Allan, and remained faithful to our side, to the close of the war.



Return — Continued.

| NAMES OF HEADS OF FAMILYS AND<br>MEN ABLE TO BEAR ARMS. | No. of Men. | Women. | Children. | NAMES OF HEADS OF FAMILYS AND<br>MEN ABLE TO BEAR ARMS. | No. of Men. | Women. | Children. |
|---|-------------|--------|-----------|---|-------------|--------|-----------|
|   |             |        |           |   |             |        |           |
| Probably Merisheetes and Passamaquodies.                |             |        |           | <i>Penobscots :</i>                                     |             |        |           |
| Nichola Gondan,.....                                    | 1           | 1      |           | Esqr. Ansonng,.....                                     | 1           | 2      | 4         |
| Nichola Gondan, Junr.,.....                             | 1           | 1      | 1         | Tommarsh,.....  | 2           | 2      | 4         |
| Loul Gondan,.....                                       | 1           | 1      |           | Aanice,.....  | 1           | 1      | 1         |
| Pierre Assueganesh,.....                                | 1           | 1      |           | Pierre Newel,.....                                      | 1           | 1      | 1         |
| Grand Pierre,.....                                      | 1           | 2      |           | Joseph,.....  | 2           | 2      | 3         |
| Baziel Pannis,.....                                     | 1           | 1      |           | Nichola,.....   | 1           | 1      | 1         |
| Tomma Sesh,.....  | 1           | 1      | 2         | John Batlest,.....                                      | 1           | 1      | 1         |
| Andre Quarct,.....                                      | 1           | 1      |           | Joseph Moxce,.....                                      | 2           | 2      | 2         |
| Kehorat & son,.....                                     | 2           | 2      | 1         | E-spernot,.....   | 1           | 1      | 2         |
| Francoise & mother,.....                                | 1           | 1      |           | Francis Moxes,.....                                     | 1           | 1      | 2         |
| Andrew Pergnes,.....                                    | 1           | 1      |           | Many Greet,.....  | 1           | 2      | 2         |
| Francoise Xaviere,.....                                 | 1           | 1      |           | Attien Nicktowabolt,.....                               | 3           | 3      | 4         |
| Andrew Xaviere, son, }.....                             | 2           | 2      |           | Joseph Marie,.....                                      | 1           | 2      | 1         |
| Michel Denny,.....                                      | 1           | 2      |           | Plansay,.....   | 4           | 2      | 1         |
| Rene Portas,.....                                       | 2           | 2      | 2         | Benedict Benwoit,.....                                  | 1           | 2      | 1         |
| Charles Neptans,.....                                   | 1           | 3      |           | Joseph (Mohawk),.....                                   | 1           | 2      | 2         |
| Loul Argontien,.....                                    | 1           | 1      | 1         | James Horral,.....                                      | 1           | 2      | 1         |
| Jean Nichola,.....                                      | 1           | 1      |           | Salome,.....  | 1           | 2      | 4         |
| Pierre Nichola,.....                                    | 1           | 1      |           | Joseph Marrie Wamtel,.....                              | 1           | 2      | 3         |
| Joseph Pemcawoit,.....                                  | 2           | 1      | 1         | Bennowoit,.....   | 1           | 2      | 1         |
| Francis Xaviere Jacob,.....                             | 1           | 1      |           | Jack Tomma,.....  | 1           | 1      |           |
| Orgamett Washinton,.....                                | 1           | 1      |           | A. Jong,.....   | 1           | 1      |           |
| Laurent,.....   | 1           | 1      |           | Sangsang,.....  | 1           | 1      | 4         |
| Joseph Marrie,.....                                     | 1           | 1      |           | Aticnesh,.....  | 1           | 1      | 1         |
| Herod Frans. Xaviere,.....                              | 1           | 1      |           | Francis White,.....                                     | 1           | 1      | 1         |
| Mary Anphaquenoque,.....                                | 1           | 1      |           | Pierre Jeack,.....                                      | 1           | 1      | 2         |
|   |             |        |           | Joseph Denny, or Oirons,.....                           | 1           | 3      | 2         |
|   | 30          | 33     | 8         | French Michael, or Wine,.....                           | 1           | 3      | 2         |
| <i>Micmacs :</i>  |             |        |           | Michel Denny,.....                                      | 3           | 4      | 2         |
| Antoine Uny,.....                                       |             |        |           | Jno. Batist Nocktelmunch,.....                          | 3           | 2      | 1         |
| Joseph Calepn,.....                                     |             |        |           | John Neptane,.....                                      | 2           | 3      | 2         |
| Joseph Shepaswoit,.....                                 |             |        |           | Frans Xaviere (Mohawk),.....                            | 3           | 1      |           |
| Jean Battitret,.....                                    |             |        |           | Asang She-gee-has-wa,.....                              | 2           | 1      | 3         |
| Joseph Bernard, Senr.,.....                             |             |        |           |   |             |        |           |
| Joseph Bernard, Junr.,.....                             |             |        |           |   |             |        |           |
| Maetten,.....   |             |        |           |   |             |        |           |
| Francis,.....   |             |        |           |   |             |        |           |
| Nichola,.....   |             |        |           |   |             |        |           |
| Ettinne,.....   | 10          |        |           |   |             |        |           |
|   |             |        |           |   |             |        |           |
|   | 39          | 23     | 8         |   |             |        |           |
| At Schoodic & Passamaquody,....                         | 46          | 42     | 62        |   |             |        |           |
| Marisheets,.....  | 51          | 53     | 65        |   |             |        |           |
|   |             |        |           |   |             |        |           |
|   | 136         | 118    | 135       |   |             |        |           |

Total, 136 men, 118 women, 135 children : Penobscots, 51 men, 57 women, 55 children ; in all 578 souls.

1st Lt. FRED'K DELSERNIER, Lieut. Ind. Dept.

*Sec'y Avery's Report with a Belt of Wampum.*

Sir.

Herewith I beg leave to lay before the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board, a Belt of Wampum sent by all the Indians under Col<sup>l</sup> Allan's Superintendency, as a pledge of their friendship & Fidelity to the United States & the King of France.

The Belt is thirteen Rows Wide, which represents the Thirteen United States, the Cross at the End their attachment to the French; the other white places the Diff<sup>r</sup> Villages of the Indians.

This belt is presented to your Honors in behalf of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Congress, as Col<sup>l</sup> Allan thinks it would be better for your Honors to manage this matter than to send it to Philadelphia. Your Honors will also receive their speech at the Time they delivered the Belt to the Superintendent.

The Belt is to be returned to them again with medals at each End, as Tokens of accepting their alliance & Friendship, on one end for the United States; & the other for the French (which M<sup>r</sup> Velnais will manage in behalf of the King of France). It will be also necessary for the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council to return an answer in writing, in behalf of Congress, with the State Seal affixed (as M<sup>r</sup> Velnairs will do for the French), this matter the Indians hold sacred, and having it conducted properly will be the greatest service in Sementing their Friendship. The sooner it is completed the better.

I would also inform the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board that when at Rhode Island, I apply'd to admeral Torney for a Priest to go to Machias for the Indians. He could not return a positive answer till the Day after I left the Island, which he was to do to Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath, but from what he said, I have reason to think one will be granted.

I have the Honor to be &c  
JA<sup>s</sup> AVERY Agent for Col<sup>l</sup> Allan.

BOSTON Aug. 18<sup>th</sup> 1780.

*Report from Sec'y Avery.*

MACHIAS June 14<sup>th</sup> 1780.

Sir.

I have the Honor to inclose the Honble Board, a letter from Col<sup>o</sup> Allen Rec<sup>d</sup> last Evening by Two Indians from Passamaquody, where he still continues Pursuing his Business with the Indians.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> In<sup>o</sup>., Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell with a Quantity of Stores for the Troops, arrived safe at this place; but have not heard any thing of the troops Ordered.

I would also inform the Honble Board, that M<sup>r</sup> Parker, by whom the Honble Board wrote to Col<sup>o</sup> Allen, was Taken and carried into Bagaduce, by which the letters Either fell into the Enemy's hands or were Destroyed.

I have the Honor to be &c

J<sup>A</sup><sup>s</sup> AVERY Sec<sup>y</sup>

To The Hon'ble Jer. Powell, Esq.

INDIAN EASTERN DEPARTMENT, }  
MACHIAS April 27<sup>th</sup> 1780. }

To the Penobscot, Meresheete, Madewascow, all the rest of the St Johns, Passamaquoddy, Mickmacks, and all other friends and Brothers to America and the French Nation:

BROTHERS: Peace attend you, with the blessings of the great God to rest on you and familia. Open your Eyes, Ears and Heart. Hear & attend to what I say. I salute you with a loving heart.

(String of Wampum).

BROTHERS: I see you have become much scattered & divided, that good council for your safety cannot be procured without being more together, and knowing one another's minds.

BROTHERS: The opportunity will be very advantageous

& safe for you to get together. The Supply's and Troops ordered to this Country for its Defence and your safety by America and France will prevent the Enemes of our Country from molesting us in our Important business.

**BROTHERS:** I do therefore, now by this belt of Wampum, in the name of the good people of the United States of America, & by the duty & affection due your ancient father, the King of France, by virtue of the Treaty of Friendship settled and confirmed between these two nations, *Summons* and *Require* you to meet me in *Grand Council*, to be held at Passamaquoddy, as soon as possible after the 25<sup>th</sup> day of May, and for you to give me notice & information thereof.

**BROTHERS:** If you think of your safety & that of your wives and children, you will not neglect this on any account whatever.

JNO. ALLAN,

Council Agent & Commissioner-in-Chief  
of Indians, Eastern Department.

The original of the above is still retained by the Passamaquoddy tribe.

*Report of Col. Allan's Journey to Frenchman's Bay, etc.*

MACHIAS March 17<sup>th</sup> 1781.

Sir.

My Last which I had the Hono<sup>r</sup> of Writing your Excellency was The 26 Jan<sup>r</sup>. I then acquainted you of the situation of The Department to that Day, and of my Intention of going to Frenchmans Bay, in consequence of the Intelligence I had Received from that Place.

It was the 8<sup>th</sup> of February before I could get ready, when I set off in Company with Col<sup>e</sup> Foster, also Col<sup>e</sup>



Campbell on our way. On our arrival there, found much Disturbance respecting some Persons being at Bagaduce, (Castine). I accordingly in a Military Capacity seized two men, and had an Examination in presence of the Committee (who are all men of Virtue, & Zealous for their Countrys Good). The deplorable situation of The Inhabitents, and the fear of agravating the Enemy made it precarious how to Act for the Safety of the people. I consulted with the Committee, and finally on their application to be Responsible for the Prisoners future Good Conduct, Delivered them up to the town, who took necessary steps for securing them. This was the only Step I could Do, even at the Best tho' not known to others, as the Indigent State of this Post rendered it Impossible for me to secure such people. There was a Meeting of the whole Town but four or five Absent. These present Voted Unanimously to do their Utnmost to oppose the Enemy if they came there. I promised them every Assistance in my power, depending that I should soon be able by assistance from the Westward. Matters appeared Settled & agreeable for the Present. I returned to Machias. But on the 24<sup>th</sup> the British Ship The Allegence, of eighteen Guns from Bagaduce arrived there. Landed a party of Men about Two in the morning, at a Village called New Bristol,<sup>1</sup> & with the most wanton & cruel agravation, Burnt M<sup>r</sup> Beans & Cap<sup>t</sup> Sullivan's Houses, taking the Latter Prisoner. The former was the House I put up at. The man & woman in an advanced age of Life, the Latter Infirm. Both of them were often Threatened to be Laid in the Pile. Not permitted to have sufficient cloths to Secure them from the Inclemency of

*intro?*  
<sup>1</sup>This place has since been known as Sullivan. They carried off Capt. Sullivan, brother of Gen. Sullivan, and confined him in the dreadful prison in New York, where he died. His descendants are now among the most respectable inhabitants in that place.

the weather. Thus a family in the most affluent circumstances in a new Country Rendered miserable by Those Bloody wretches. I shall not Trouble your Excellency with more particulars of This. Your own Principles of Humanity will point out their Calamitous Situation. The 27<sup>th</sup> I Received the Express, it Seem'd to Strike a Panic thro' the Country, nor was it in my power to give any assistance, any further than by promises to Encourage them to perseverance. Several proposed making retaliation on the Torys, which I discountenanced for the present, only to stand upon the defensive.

The Ship committed several other Depredations, plundered several people & threatened Ruin to every one, who any way opposed their Taking off Lumber. Lieut Col<sup>l</sup> Campbell mustered what militia he could Raise. But the scarcity of Every necessary rendered it impossible to continue any time; at Present all Still, but expect Every Hour to Hear of British Vessels Taking off Lumber.

About Three weeks ago a Sloop armed, arrived at Gouldsbrough with Falmouth papers on Board, and a forged passport from the Commanding officer for Boards. She was Loaded & the money paid. Has since, I understand, been taken by an American Privateer.

There is much Confusion now in the Country in Respect to Neutrality. Some late advices Brought from Boston that it would be Comply<sup>d</sup> with if Requested, has sett some Districts much upon the wavering Hand. I did not put much Dependence for some time, but Lieut Col<sup>l</sup> Campbell Informs me, that by the Influence & persuasion of some, most of the people will fall in with it not knowing the nature and meaning of such a State, nor concerning the Consequences should it be permitted. I presume something will be mentioned at the Head of government Respecting This when I doubt not suitable Steps will be taken as are best for the Public Utility. It appears certain

that the Self Interested & Tories thro' the Country are Determined to Grasp at every straw rather than give up the Connection with the Britains, if they fail will Endeavor to Bring others into Disgrace with Themselves, or be supposed to be Friendly. Last week a British Ten gun Schooner came to Narraguagus & took a schooner which Col<sup>e</sup> Jones & some others came from Boston in, and carried her to Bagaduce, where I understood He and some others have since gone to Endeavor to get her Back. It is surprising that this Vessell should be taken only, when there was another belonging to Cap' Walice of the Militia, who has upon all occasions been active & forward in Defending the Country & a man of Property. The other had a Permitt from Mowet.

This is the way they have managed for some time and under a Cloak of being distressed has kept the Country in Confusion & Trouble to carry on their own Intrigues.

Since my Last to your Excellency several Indian Familys have arrived at Passamaquody from St Johns. On my Return from Frenchmans bay, I Dispatched off the Priest & Lieut Delesdernier to celebrate Lent, who returned in Eight days.

They found every Thing agreeable & friendly, only the great want of provisions. I have furnished them with Considerable Ammunition. They Rely upon Something which Keeps up their Spirits. And your Excellency may rest assured by the Last of April a very Considerable Body will be Ready for any matter they may be Commanded to do.

Your Excellency would see by my Last the State of the whole Department as I have Received no assistance since. It may be easily Conjectured what our present Situation is; But it may be Depended upon, that every Exertion in my power shall be used to Secure the Country & the Interests of the Indians.

I have the Honour &c.

*On Indian Matters.*

INDIAN EASTERN DEPARTMENT

MACHIAS June 4<sup>th</sup> 1782.

Sir.

My Last which I had the Honour of writing your Excellency was of the 26<sup>th</sup> March, wherein I mentioned my Intention of removing among the Indians. On preparing for my departure some difficulty arising in this place which had a Tendency of giving advantage to the Enemy in their pursuits for this country, and not being able to procure Common necessarys for Subsistence, I proposed going until I received Intelligence and Supplys, and Dispatched away my two Eldest sons among the Indians, as pledges between us for the present. A few days ago arrived an Express from the Indians on St Johns, with strings of Wampum, to know what is Intended by the Americans & French with them, and to agree upon a Genl Conference somewhere between this & St Johns. By them I received Intelligence that about 200 men with Ten pieces of Cannon and Two mortars, with large Supplys were arrived at Fort How & landed, also Two Ships of War and Four other armed Vessels. By Information I have had previous to this, with a further confirmation of the news, I amagine the enemy Intends fortifying different places on St Johns, to keep an open Communication that way, as allso to Extend to some of the Rivers on Passamaquody for the purpose. Twelve days ago an express arrived from Quebec brings Intelligence that they were Constantly fortifying the Diff' posts on the river St Lawrence. Genl Haldiman was gone from Quebec to Montreal. Five weeks ago arrived here from Halifax a Young Gentleman, a Subject of the Empereur of Germany. It appears he has been Traveling on Speculation; came from England to Canada. By the Papers I have in pos-

session he appears to have the greatest recommendation, has been as far as Detroit on Lake Erie; was Employd in some matters military under Direction of Gen' Haldiman, but on becoming Acquainted with affairs of America, and Detesting the Horid proceedings of the Britains in Massacreing the Inhabitants (which he was an Eye Witness to at Detroit) with some other reasons. He left Quebec Last fall & by various methods got thro' by St Johns to Nova Scotia, from thence Bro't here by some Accadians of Cape Sable. He wants much to get Westward, but afraid of being taken. As no Suitable opportunity offers & not Inclining to Let him proceed without Some person going, who will see him safe in Boston, I shall detain him for the present. I shall not Trouble further respecting our Situation, as your Excellency must know of it. But think it my Duty to acquaint you, that for want of necessarys and supplys, it is not in my Power to Secure the Interests of the Indians, nor to prevent the Enemy from taking possession of this place & other parts of the Country; should they attempt it with a very small force. That an open communication and correspondence with Bagaduce, Nova Scotia & St Johns, by the Inhabitants in these parts are growing Every day and countenanced by Every ranque thro' the Country.

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*Mission of the Micmacs & Indian Troubles.*

MACHIAS Aug 22<sup>nd</sup> 1782.

Sir.

I do myself the Honour of Informing Your Excellency that in consequence of my determination & agreement with the Indians, as soon as supplys arrived I proceeded Eastward to pursue the Business of my agency. I had a

conference with the Passamaquody & some of the St. Johns Tribe near the River St Croix. In answer to the speech I made them (particularly the St Johns) they signifyd much surprize at the Difficultys which arise in supporting the Department, after they had continued so long for the Defence of the Country. It appears they have from time to time, been fully Informed of the obstacles and obstructions in procuring necessarys for the Subsistence of the persons in the Employ, & indeed the Report has Extended thro' Nova Scotia & every transaction is as well known in Halifax as Boston; to conclude with them, from the Indigent State of matters this way, the Horid & Villianous conduct of Traders towards them, the whole of the St Johns Tribe have come to a determination to Remove immediately to that River; some of the Passamaquodys have gone to Canada & the rest gone on the Lakes. As I could give them no other Encouragement I was determind to continue myself as near them as my safety would permit, to advise & consult during my stay in the service. On the 18<sup>th</sup> arrived at my Quarters, Michel Augustine, Chief of the Village of Enechebucto a Principal Sachem of the Micmac Tribe, also a Chief of Cape Briton with other, young men, the former well known in Nova Scotia for his sagacity as a Politician & abilitys as a Warrior. The business they are upon is to know the certainty of news & the State of matters between America & France; as also to make Complaint against the Small Boats for Plundering the Traders that Live among them. "They say they woud Rather choose to trade with the Americans than the English, if any came among them woud defend them against the English to the Last, but necessity compells them to trade with somebody, and before their Eyes, have seen property themselves had a right to, taken away, but from a Principle of Friendship to America has made no opposition. The Conduct of this

Chief and the Villages under his Immediate Care, is well known to many besides myself, during the Warr, in opposing & threatening upon all occasions the British Government when attempting to Employ the Indians & do much in his Zeal, that even in that Country where the Britons have the Preeminance, no Trader dares go among them, who does not Express Sentiments in favor of America. I transmit this account to your Excellency at the Request of the Chief. It lyes with Government to Judge & order what is right. I woud only observe that had the Indians followed the Example of these Plunderers & Illicit Traders (many of whome takes turnes alternaty in pursuing both Methods as opportunity offers for gain), the whole Eastern Country as well as Nova Scotia, would very probably be in a State of Ruin & desolation or Lost to the States. The Indians being desirous of hearing & seeing all Machias possible, I concluded to accompany them to Machias which is the cause of my being here at present. Shall Return tomorrow towards St Johns were I shall continue until Business will permit my going Westward.

Your Excellency (by your Letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> which I had the Honour to Receive) appears to be against my going Westward at this Juncture. I trust at the same time your Excellency will be pleased to Consider my Situation. On my private Business shall be silent. Woud only observe as a Public officer the great & Extensive Business I am Intrusted with. The Various Demands which necessarily attends it requires more supplys and more Regular. I am satisfyd with what Ever government is pleased to Send & Shall use every Economy.

But your Excellency must be sencible, that I have only received Bread & meat for 25 men for two months & 50 Bushels Corn since Last March for the whole business. I have daily Employ<sup>d</sup> what consumes 20 Rations besides Contingencya. I have to attend at the Several Villiages

of Indians to whom I am obliged to give something. But not to trouble your Excellency more, will only take the Liberty to say that its a matter impossible for me to persue the business agreeable to the orders of Congress in this Situation. I am very unhappy for the uneasyness Given Your Excellency in drawing two orders for some supplys. Absolute necessity to prevent fatal consequences was the cause. I presumed for the Reasons Given that it woud have been complyd with, as it is not, I Submit and Rest contented & shall not give further Trouble in such Matters. Your Excellency by this may know the Situation of this Post, and How farr I am able to persue the Indians Business, must there fore Request two months Rations for 25 men, 2 Barrels Powder, 600 wht Ball & 500 Flints, as the Least I can demand for Immediate use. A vessel which this goes by will sail from Newbury in a Short time by whom I wish to Receive these articles.

Having no Correspondent or agent in Boston, your Excellency will please Excuse the Liberty I take in Requesting that whoever may have the direction of furnishing supplys may be urged to send it Expeditionally.

By this opportuiny goes M' Lacour the Gentleman I formerly mentioned who came from Nova Scotia. During his stay here he has been very active & serviceable in the Business of the Department. No doubt your Excellency will have him Examined which I presume may be necessary.

I have the Honor &c.

J. ALLAN.



*A Document found in Possession of the Passamaquoddy Indians.*

The Chiefs, Sachems & Captains of the Meresheete Tribe of Indians, and St Andrews, Passamaquoddy.

BOSTON, Feb'y 23<sup>d</sup>, 1784.

EASTERN INDIAN DEPARTMENT }  
OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA. }

To the Chiefs, Captains and Young men of the several tribes of Indians in the Eastern Department of the United States, settled at Passamaquoddy & its Vicinity.

BROTHERS: With pleasure do I now take my pen to Lett you know of what has passed, since I see you; what may be Expected, & to Inquire of your health & welfare. I salute you with a heart of affection, wishing you, your Women & Children, Health, Peace, Comfort & prosperity.

BROTHERS: I have Transmitted to Congress the Great Council of this Nation, your last Speech, as well as what passed at our several Conferences, when last at Passamaquoddy: they received it with glad hearts, & expect every Hour an answer, which will be delivered you Early in the Spring. Also the Great Council of the Massachusetts, and all your Brothers Westward, has a Love and Regard for you. They feel the Affection of Brothers, desires and wishes nothing but your Welfare, that you may Enjoy all your Reights & Privileges in as full & ample a manner as any of your Brother Citizens of the United States; and are determined to see Justice done in your Claims, as far as is Consistant with their Power & Authority.

BROTHERS: The despute which appears among several persons at Passamaquoddy, respecting the Lines between the United States and Nova Scotia, I have to acquaint you that it is not the Intention of the Chief Rulers of America to Claim any property Authenticated, nor does it

appear the Rulers of Great Britain desire otherwise than to have it immediately settled. It is Intended on our part to have Commissioners for the purpose of settling those things Early in the Spring. Therefore you have my advice & directions to pursue your Suits on the Several Streams as usual, without giving yourself any Trouble. Take no notice of what may be said to you Respecting these Matters, by Persons which may come among you, not authorized by both nations for the purpose, but wait Quiet & Peaceable, minding only your several Employments for the support of your families, untill the Commissioners. Empowered by the United States & Great Britain arrives on the spot to ascertain the proper bounderies.

**BROTHERS:** Nothing shall be wanting on my part to the utmost of my power, to defend and assist you in every Just claim. It is my wish & hearty Desire that you Enjoy every Blessing. May peace & happiness dwell in your villages & success & prosperity in your several Employments.

I salute you all, Men, Women and Children, Farewell.

JNO. ALLAN.

Superintendent of Indian affairs for the United States in the Eastern Department.

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*Gen. Washington's Letter to the Passamaquody Tribe, the Original of which is still in their Possession.*

**BROTHERS OF PASSAMAQUODIA:** I am glad to hear by Major Shaw, that you accepted the chain of Friendship which I sent you last February from Cambridge, & that you are determined to keep it bright and unbroken.

When I first heard that you refused to send any of your warriors to my assistance when called upon by our brothers of St John, I did not know what to think. I was afraid that some enemy had turned your hearts against me. But I am since informed that all your young men were employed in hunting, which was the reason of their not coming. This has made my mind easy and I hope you will always in future join with your brothers of St John & Penobscot when required. I have desired my brother the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Massachusetts Bay, to pay you the money which Capt Smith promised you for sending my letters to the Micmack Indians.

**BROTHERS:** I have a piece of news to tell you which I hope you will attend to. Our enemy, the King of Great Britain, endeavored to stir up all the Indians from Canada to South Carolina against us. But our brethren of the six Nations & their allies the Shawanese & Delewares would not hearken to the advice of his Messengers sent among them, but kept fast hold of the ancient covenant chain. The Cherokees & the Southern tribes were foolish enough to listen to them and take up the hatchet against us. Upon this our Warriors went into their country, burnt their houses, destroyed their corn and obliged them to sue for peace and give hostages for their future good behavior.

Now Brothers never let the king's wicked counsellor turn your hearts against me and your brethren of this country, but bear in mind what I told you last February & what I tell you now.

In token of my friendship I send you this from my army on the banks of the Great River Deleware, this 24th day of December, 1776.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*Report and Order on the Return of the Indians who had served  
in the Army.*

"The Memorial of Francis Shaw, Jr., humbly shows that he has arrived in this town with 9 of the St John and 6 of the Penobscot tribes of Indians that have been engaged in the service of the United States & obtained leave to return to their homes & would represent there is an opportunity of sending the Penobscots immediately home, but cannot do so till your Honors give an order for their being clothed as Gen Heath has promised & the balance of wages due paid them."

Feby 19th 1777 an Order was passed "That Francis Shaw Jr., procure a small vessel & convey the St John Indians home. And that Shaw proceed with the letters from Gen Washington, which he has in his care to the Indian country, & there deliver them & remain among said Indians at least six weeks, so as to return home by 1st of July next, & he is hereby directed to use his best exertions to confirm s<sup>d</sup> Indians in the intrest of this Continent. He is to receive his present pay of 15£ per month & shall rank as a Major."

"The Committee on the Memorial of Francis Shaw, Jr., have considered the same & beg leave to report by way of resolve.

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, }  
In the House of Representatives *Jan'y 26 1777.* }

*Resolved.* That there be paid out of the treasury of this state seventy five pounds to Francis Shaw Jr., to enable him to clothe the six Penobscot Indians agreeable to Gen Heaths promise to them & also to pay the balance of wages due them being £39—6— and likewise to provide

provisions & pay their passage home, he the said Shaw to be accountable to this court for the expenditure of the Money he shall receive, that the Government shall be charged for the same."

Names of Penobscot Indians Commanded by Capt Andrew Gillman.

Arexes 1½ months  
 Wongonet 2 months & 26 days  
 Attenenies Ditto  
 Aussong Neptune Ditto  
 Aussonses " Ditto  
 Joseph James Holet Do  
 Joseph Cook a Mohawk Do.

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*Visit of the Oneida Indians to Boston and the Powder Mills.*

"Feb'y 19 1777, In Council Chamber.

Whereas, The Rev Mr Kirkland with Six Indians from the Six Nations have come into this State and propose travelling to the Eastward & Southward.

All persons where they may pass & repass are directed to treat them with respect that is due to our brethren of the Six Nations. And in case they Visit any powder Mills the powder Makers are directed to give them all the information they are able to respecting the making of Powder, in order to convince them that powder is really made in this State & that our powder is good, & present them with a small sample of it." These were of the Oneida tribe who remained faithful to us through the war, mainly through the influences of their Missionary Rev

Mr Kirkland. This story of our not being able to make gun powder, and that as soon as the stock on hand was exhausted we must give up the contest, was also circulated among the Indians at the Eastward by the British emissaries.

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*Various Items Extracted from the Massachusetts Council Records.*

*" Aug 6, 1776.*

Petition of the Committee of correspondence Inspection and Safety, of Union River, in behalf of ourselves and our Constituents Humbly Sheweth that we lay very much exposed to the Indians. If they should take up arms against us, which we have great reason will be the case. If they should, our circumstances will be shocking, as we have not two charges of powder to a man although we have taken all ways in our power to obtain it, yet have not got any, otherwise we should not have troubled your honors, being resolved to be as little burthensome to the colony as possible, we refer you to the bearer Capt Benj Milliken and your assistance in the above will much oblige your Humble servants

JOHN RAE,  
JAMES DAVIS, and others.

*" Aug 19, 1776.*

The following persons were appointed officers in the company to be raised in the four Townships, Goldsborough, Narraguagus, Number four [now Harrington] and Pleasant River, for the defence of the Sea coast, viz Francis Shaw jr to be Capt. Edmund Stevens to be first Lieutenant and Joseph Tucker to be second Lieutenant."

"Sept 19, 1777.

Lt Col Nevers was appointed to that office to serve under Col Allan, and he was directed to deliver enlisting orders to Benjamin Lamont of Georgetown capt, Car Barker of Pownalborough 1st Lieut, John Mathers of Thomastown 2<sup>d</sup> Lieut, Thomas Butler of Georgetown Ensign, and he was empowered to raise men in Walooboro Warren & Thomaston and report and receive orders from Col Allan."

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*Extract from Journal of General Court 1766.*

"A petition of the Inhabitants of a place called Machias showing that when they made their settlement they apprehended it to be crown lands and settled upon the encouragement of the King's proclamation, but have since found that it falls within the bounds of this Province. And as they have been at great pains & cost in making improvements thereon they pray that they may be incorporated or otherwise invested with the privilege of choosing officers," &c.

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*Col. Allan's Report on the Indians of Maine and New Brunswick in 1798.*

The following document in the handwriting of Col. Allan, but without date or address, is no doubt a copy of a report made to the government of Massachusetts, and was written in 1798, or the following year. It contains inform-

ation of much historical value relative to the Indians in Maine and New Brunswick, their condition and numbers at that period, as well as a recognition of their services and fidelity to the United States during the revolution.

It will be remembered that about 1798, the condition of our national affairs with England was far from satisfactory, and the best informed feared a war was almost unavoidable. That government had refused to surrender some of the forts according to treaty, and their continually furnishing the western tribes with arms and influencing them to hostilities on our western settlements had caused a strong feeling throughout the country.

In addition to all this, the defeat of Gen. St. Clair by the Indians, and the poor success of other detachments which were sent against them, occasioned people who resided near any of the tribes to fear their vengeance. It is not unlikely that this paper may have induced the legislature of Massachusetts to make the treaties with the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots, by which the former tribe were secured in possession of Pleasant Point, near Eastport; the islands above tide water in the St. Croix, and also a good township of land on the lower Schoodic lake on which a considerable part of the tribe now reside.

The Penobscots were also secured in the possession of some townships of land, and the large island, the home of the tribe, a dozen miles above Bangor, as also all the islands in the river above that place. It is supposed that the numbers of both these tribes is now much larger than during the revolution. A census taken within a few years shows them to be about equal, each having just about five hundred persons. They both retain their original language, and many of their ancient customs. The Passamaquoddies were originally a part of the St. John or Marasheet tribe, and their dialect is still nearly identical, but not so different from the Penobscot, but they can



converse freely together. The Micmacs are still numerous in Nova Scotia, and although they seem to often affiliate with their neighbours upon the St. John, they are of an entirely distinct race, and their language has no affinity whatever.

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*Col. Allan's Report on the Indian Tribes, in 1793.*

From a misapprehension of people in general in this country respecting Indians, before we enter upon the present state of those in the eastern country, it may be necessary in a summary manner to bring into view their situation & communication, one with another, making such other observations as may give a competent Idea of them.

On the river Penobscot which lies within our settlements, there may be at present fifty or sixty families. The river runs toward Canada, an easy carrying place from its Source to the river St Lawrence below Quebec, on which is a small Indian fort, for the Security of such supplies as may be laid in, & to keep up a correspondence between this tribe & the Indians in Canada; the person who has the care of it is in British pay. From Penobscot Easterly there is a communication by water, extending near the westerly branch of Schoodic, the carrying place, short, easy and a good path. You then run thro' a chain of Lakes untill the waters discharge into the sea at Passamaquoddy. These Lakes I conceive lie at the head of all the Rivers as far Westward as Union River. Most of them I know have carrying places from their source to the Lake. On the Lakes you will find numbers of Indians from Canada, St Johns, Penobscut, & the Mickmack Country,

pursuing their several employments agreeable to the seasons. Some constant residents, & many of them for years not seen on the sea coast, being perpetually on the move. You may pass one day and see only some scattering wigwams, and the next observe Villages. From Penobscot to Passamaquoddy I suppose it is about One hundred & Twenty miles.

The Passamaquoddy Tribe which by marriages & Other Connections have removed to different parts, does not Exceed Thirty resident families; but the great advantage in fishing, fowling, conveniences, pleasant situation & the easy access to the sea, from all parts by the Rivers which disembogue into the Bay, great numbers resort from all quarters & by the many Islands & Inlets Which are interspersed round that Extensive Bay; many families have been known to reside for months with out being seen by the white Inhabitants. On entering Schoodic twenty miles from Salt water, you come to the crotch where the Western & Eastern branch meet. Pursuing the Latter you find an Other chain of Lakes extending towards Maggaudavick [the ancient St Croix] & St Johns; from these lakes run a number of streams, within a short distance to the river St Johns, some of the carrying places not exceeding two miles; in this branch you may Find Indians situated as on the Other branch; the latterly I understand not so constant, but on the river Maggaudavic many make it their home.

The river St Johns is extensive both to its source, as the many Lakes and streams, which discharge into it. The number of Indians settled on the several parts from all quarters are Indefinite. The Chief tribe is called Marasheett who occupy an ancient Village ninety miles up the river [probably Aukpaque]. From this to above the great Falls One hundred and twenty miles farther is an Other large Village called Maddawaeca. When the waters

are up Spring and Fall, a canoe can go to a carrying place, within three miles of the river St Lawrence; but the common communication by Land is about Thirty miles, where there is a good road for horses. The facility of passing to & from Canada, is such that I have in the War rec<sup>d</sup> letters at Machias the 6<sup>th</sup>, day from a Priest (with whom I corresponded) only 60 miles below Quebec, & the Indians have told me, when the stream was rapid they have delivered letters to the French commanding Officer at the mouth of St John, in four days from Quebec. From Passamaquoddy to St Johns in a straight line is about Sixty miles.

There are several routes from St John thro' the Mickmack country extending near the bay Chaleurs. The principal is the great lake so call'd, a stream from which runs within three miles of the river Merrimichi about Seventy miles from the entrance. The Course of this river I think is about W. S. W., the mouth empties in the Gulph St Lawrence, fifty Leagues N. N. W. from the Isthmus of Nova Scotia laying on the bay Verte. On this river is a great and wealthy tribe, many warriors among them. Between this & the bay Verte are several rivers, on each of them are Villages of Indians, and they have easy Conveyances by land to the great Lake of St Johns. From Merrimichi northward the carrying place does not exceed fifteen miles, into the bay Chaleurs, at the head of which is the river Rastigouchi. The tribe here may be truly call'd respectable, as to numbers, wealth and Intrepidity. This concludes the boundarys of the Mickmack Country that way; only observing that there are numbers of Indians, in every river on the peninsular of Nova Scotia, between the bay Verte & the gnt of Canso. Most of the Indians of Cape Sable shore have removed to these rivers and Cape Breton.

A correspondence & intercourse have been open'd a

long time, thro' the several tribes, VIZ, from Penobscot St Francis in Canada & the whole of the Mickmac Country as far as Chaleurs. During the last French war the Indians being called in from different parts for the defence of Louisbourg, Canada &c., an acquaintance became more General, & I can assert from authority, that an Indian can hardly be found past 80 years of age but is acquaint'd and known within this circle. The very easy conveyance by the Lakes, rivers and Streams so Interspersed in this Country, they can easy take their women children & baggage, where ever their Interest, Curiosity, or caprice may lead them, & their natural propensity for roving is such that you will see families in the course of a year go thro' the greatest part of this extent. This of course brings on a nearer Connection by Inter marriages which is now become universal, particular as far as Merrimichi & St Francis, so much that I well know that numbers which I had in the War are now residents in Canada & other distant parts, and many from thence are now Living at St Johns, Penobscot & Passamaquoddy.

Thus connected there appears no distinction in the right of the several hunting grounds, for all by some tie or other have an equal claim, are fully domesticated as if natives of the district. The Same priviledges are observed in council, in peace or war, whether in a local or general assembly, the result you will hear of at a most distant part in a short time. This I have often known myself from an assembly's even above Montreal, during the late war.

From this cursory View, it may be seen how easily the Conveyance between them is, particularly from Canada, to our eastern settlements & the affinity & connection among the Indians thro' this Extensive tract. I assert this from my own knowledge by a long acquaintance & frequent interviews before the revolution, having been in

every Indian Settlement (Canada excepted), which are here mentioned. [This shows that Col Allan must have been an Indian trader and in part accounts for his great influence over them.]

It may be assured there will be no permanent settlement made with any one tribe, without the sentiments & dispositions of the other are known; & tho' it happens some time when there is an object of consequence in view, some Villages from local circumstances, situation & policy may not consent as a tribe, individuals will Join the acting power. Thus it has happened when tribes have been challenged for committing hostilities, they will protest against it & disavow any such Intentions, when probable the evil arose from the assistance given by a few Individuals of their own tribe.

It may be noticed by the foregoing, how uninformed most people even in the Eastern country are in regard to the number & situation of the Indians. Seeing a few, poor, Indolent & drunken fellows attending about stores and places where they can procure liquor, a contemptible opinion is formed of the whole. It has been also observed that unlike the Western Indians these will never pursue those Savage customs & from a long attachment will not injure us. This is a dangerous and presumptuous assertion. I know them too well to risk life or property on such a desperate and precarious foundation. The greatest task I had during the late war was to restrain them from acts of cruelty, & only by close attention, persuasion & Example brought them in a degree to a habit of humanity. For they are always anxious to follow some Violent or desperate course agreeable to their ancient Custom. I believe take them in a body or by particular tribes (as before observed) they would not consent Officially, but I am convinced a number of Individuals are always ready, when the least encouragement is given to form in small parties &

scatter about the Country. Should they not kill or destroy, they will take such methods as greatly to intimidate & distress the Inhabitants. But what must be the danger when it is considered that the whole country Eastward of Penobscot are withdrawn & supported within the British lines exasperated by the neglect & Inattention of the United States, Subjected to the Influence and perpetual Insinuations of those under the Influence of Lord Dorchester. I have the least to dread myself of danger from them, but when such combinations of Inducements, sanctioned & encouraged by Ecclesiastical authority, & Indulgence, the most Esteemed Friend cannot be safe, which by Fatal experience has taken place in Nova Scotia.

I shall not attempt briefly to notice the different transactions and operations with the Indians, from the commencement of the revolution which have come within my knowledge. Before my leaving Nova Scotia in 1776, it was suggested by some persons in Government, to Encourage the Indians to take an active part against the United States, as a check upon the Inhabitants of the Province) a great proportion of whom were attached to the Interest of America), & to aid & Influence the Indians more Westward to harass & disturb the Eastern settlements of Massachusetts so as to annex these parts to that Colony. In consequence of this I dispatched couriers to the different Villages thro' the Mickmack Country, and previous to my departure, met a large body, among them were deputies from St Johns & other parts adjacent. A long & tedious conference took place & a satisfactory explanation given of the dispute between America & Britain. It was then concluded by a lengthy speech from them & a solemn declaration made that if from situation and distance they could not assist, they would not injure or molest the Americans. A chief from Merrimichi spoke for the whole, they were all as one, no distinction made between

the different tribes. Being compelled to leave that country suddenly, the business was soon communicated to the Council at Boston. Mr Bowdoin, then president of the council, entered very minutely into the particulars, and pressed my departure to the Southward. General Washington approved of the proceedings & desired me to lay it immediately before Congress that Steps might be taken to retain their friendship. As the nature & Extent of the business was fully understood by the Several official departments to whom it was communicated, the agency appointed for this purpose comprehended the whole Eastward & Northward of Connecticut River, making no exceptions in what Nation or Country the Indians resorted.

Previous to my being appointed, there were several negotiations by order of the Massachusetts & General Washington, Letters & Speeches are now to be seen among the Indians, & Great encouragements & promises made them. In May, 1777, I arrived on the river St Johns, where a number were collected. The business was communicated and myself accepted as an agent. We soon had a general meeting composed of deputies from different parts, including the whole tribes of St Johns and Passamaquoddy. It was agreed and concluded that Peace & Friendship be now Established permanent & lasting between the United States & the Several Tribes that such of them as were in the vicinity of the States should immediately withdraw and assist in the defence of the country, which lay within the Jurisdiction of the United States. That any Individual belonging to those tribes whose Situation would not permit them publicly to take an active part were admitted to join with those who did. That those employed should be supported during their service & the widows & children of such as died in the time, to be taken care of till otherwise provided for. That they should be for ever viewed as brothers & children,

under the Protection & Fatherly care of the United States & enjoy every right & privilege, according to the difference of situation in proportion with others. They should enjoy the free exercise of religion agreeable to their profession, a clergyman of that denomination be furnished and a suitable residence be provided for him, on which a place of worship was to be erected. They were to have an exclusive right to the beaver hunt,<sup>1</sup> or if not consistent with the rights of others, necessary Steps were to be taken, as to prevent a destruction of the game & other enormities committed by the white hunters, by which conduct a great diminution of that ancient & profitable support has been the Consequences. That in times of difficulty & distress, or by any unforeseen calamity those who live within the Territory of the United States, should be furnished with ammunition for fowling &c in proportion as their necessity required. That trade was to be so regulated as to prevent imposition, that an agent should constantly reside as near them as possible, to whom they might apply for redress, & to assist in the transacting of business among the Inhabitants & such other necessary matter as their situation required. These were the principal objects at this time, but in the course of the war, the Indians of St Johns & Passamaquoddy, resigned to the United States their particular claim to lands known to be within their haunts, on Condition that the United States would confirm to them the ancient spots of ground, which they have hitherto occupied, & a Suitable tract for the use of all Indians, which might have occasion to resort there.

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<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to know at what period the beaver became extinct in the eastern part of Maine. It is within the memory of the writer and certainly as late as 1823, that beaver skins in considerable quantities were received in Boston, which were purchased of the Passamaquoddies at Machias. The Indians say that they were careful to kill only the old ones, but the whites killed old and young, and then they soon became extinct.



How far these people have complied with their engagements our present possessions, Eastward of Penobscot might be a sufficient proof, as it is acknowledg'd by all acquainted with that country that their assistance was a principle support in its defence. But in Justice to them I would take the Liberty to mention a circumstance among many others, which must evince the Zeal by which they were actuated. Sometime after my arrival in St Johns in 1777, Lieut. Gov. Francklin British Superintendent arrived with a strong Land & Sea Force furnished with every requisite to allure the Indians. Our quarters were within Eight miles. Only two white persons remained with me. Conferences every day alternately on both sides, & after using every Stratagem & art to gain them & make me a prisoner, they in a body to the number of 128 canoes containing near Five hundred men, women & Children, left the river with me at the End of Ten days, only a few families remaining to keep up a claim & give Intelligence, when there was not more than a weeks provisions for the whole. They left their little plantations well improved and a good prospect, with a great part of their cloathing, & after 28 days Journey arrived at Machias, suffering many hardships & difficulties by the excessive heats, and the Lowness of the Streams, which greatly obstructed the canoes.

Their Zeal & attention during the war, from the attempt made by the British under Sir Geo. Collier, is so well known in that Country that it needs no coment. Their uniform conduct both in respect of humanity, as well as submitting with patience under every difficulty was not Inferior to the most disciplined troops, & even when Imposed on at a time of Intoxication & fleeced of the little they had, they always sat down contented and resigned without any appearance of resentment or malice.

At the close of the war, a circumstantial account of the Proceedings was laid before the Government of Massachu-

setts & Congress & approved of by them. As the constitution invested the latter with the management of Indian affairs, they of course fixed the agency on a peace establishment which comprehended as before the whole tribes Eastward of Connecticut River, the plan adopted would have prevented much trouble & expense and given security to the country, this appointment took place in June, 1788. In September it was communicated to the Indians in the several parts, who signified their Satisfaction. The treaty of 1777 was then confirm'd & an arrangement for future Conduct. The Indians at this time endeavored to prevent the English from making a Settlement at St Andrews, & did actually seize some persons, who attempted to survey the Lands there.

In January, 1784, it was Suggest'd to Congress from the Massachusetts, that such an appointment was improper, consequently, as no steps were taken to contravert it, the agency was dissolved in March following. From that time, it does not appear that any notice has been taken of them to the Eastward of Penobscot.

The Indians notwithstanding the treatment & neglect, continued sometime in the vicinity of Passamaquoddy expecting when the confusion and hurry arising from the war were subsided, notice would be taken of them; but nothing encouraging coming to view they began to withdraw in small bodies to their former Settlements, destitute of necessaries to subsist, & of friends to protect them. In this indigent state, those of St Johns suffered much & they felt the resentment of the Loyalist, for their attachment and assistance to the United States, & For near two years wandred about from Place to place, disquieted & unsettled. They at length began again to embody & consult more generally respecting their situation still attached to this country, they repeatedly apply'd to me for a settlement & to procure a clergyman, if nothing else could be done. I

Evaded the business, they continued their Solicitations, & I finely gave them for answer, it was not in my power, & recommended to make application themselves to the head of Government; but in January, 1791, a message came from the Several Villages on St Johns & repeated their demands & deliver'd it in such a manner as alarmed me, consequently I consented to meet and consult with them, (this may be thought Timidity, but it is a maxim with me, never to live near Indians, except in a state of defence, without a certainty of their Friendship either in peace or war). At a large Council it was agreed among other things to address the Bishop of Baltimore, praying to be consider'd as brothers & Children of the United States, & to take them under his care as Spiritual Father & requesting a clergyman to reside among them. That an address be presented to the General Court of Massachusetts to lay out a suitable Settlement as a resort for themselves & a residence for the Priest. The former of these were answered to their Sanguine Expectations & the clergyman arrived among them in October, 1792, A man who appeared well qualify'd for the mission.

In March, 1793, a speech was presented to the General Court & Commissioners were appointed who met the Indians in October following, but their power was so limited, that no satisfactory agreement could be made.

The Indians at this time appeared very thoughtfull & anxious about the business, & the proceedings rather operated to our disadvantage.

In November the Indians sent for me to attend. I was with them five days, in which time we had several public and private conferences. After recapitulating their Treaties & the promises made them. Their Conduct during the War, their sufferings &c; they demanded a fulfillment of these promises; particular Lands for settlements, which if refused they should view themselves free from all engage-

ments & be at liberty to treat and accept of any Proposals made to them by any other Power, & in future to pursue in their own way what they thought consistant with their rights and Interest, but would wait to the begining of Febuary to know what would be done for them in Boston.

A report prevailed this Summer that the British were endeavoring to draw the Indians into New Brunswick, & in November when at the Village I received authentic advice & Information of the particulars.

The British in those parts found it necessary to bring the Indians over for the deffence of the Country, as the marching Troops were ordered off to assist against the French. Also should any rupture take place with this Country, to secure their Interest betimes. For this purpose preparations have been making since August last, supplies of all kinds have been laid in, & many things distributed among them. Several letters have been sent the Priest, promising every attention, & a satisfactory Compensation. During my Visit a letter was received & a Vessell detained at St Andrews some days for him. I remonstrated against his going; he promised not as long as he could retain any Indians and procure Subsistance as he had suffer'd hitherto. But in April it appears that himself & the residue of the Indians had removed to St Johns, a few Stragglng ones Excepted. This is the true state and situation of the Indians in that country.

It has allways been observed that even a few suspected Indians creates a great dread on the minds of the Inhabitants, particular in an Infant country, where the dwellings are generally scattered from each other, & this is the Case with a large portion of our new settlements. While the Indians continued among the Inhabitants there was not this to fear. For a friendly communication has always appeared & which in a Singular manner has been practis'd on the part of the Indians residing at Passamaquoddy,

they have acted in as civilized a manner as any of the Inhabitants, by such connections when any Impending danger timely notice is given, but when removed every trifling Occurrence gives a general Alarm.

It is remark'd by some that they had better begone, that it will save trouble & Expense, but let it be observed this remove is but for a small distance. The Inhabitants are continually subject to the same Evil & deprived of many benefits which arrises from a more Intimate acquaintance.

Should the Indians get once settled down & attached solely to the other Government it will opperate very much against the settlement of the Eastern Country. The old Inhabitants who have been accustomed to their ways, are much concerned and dread the consequences even in peace. It is therefore essential for the advantage of the settlements in that part of the commonwealth some methods should be taken to show the minds of the Indians what is their Intentions, and Endeavor to secure their Interest and Friendship as soon as possible.

It has been observed by some, that we have no right to negotiate with Indians, that do not live within the Jurisdiction of the States. This seems to have been the sentiments of the Committee, who made the report in March, 1798, as to the lands proposed & the resolves were Confined for the use of the Passamaquoddy tribe. If the foregoing Statement be confided in & Intelligible, it may be seen that there is no distinction to be made, but if there was, the Passamaquoddy Tribe Comparitively have the Least Claim, both as to numbers & attention in time of difficulty, & in the Late Transaction there were Five others to one of them.

But this sentiment I never heard advanced before, either by the French, English or any other nation. Indians are not subject to, or amenable to any power; they have been

always viewed as a distinct Body, govern'd by their own customs & manners, nor will they ever tamely submit to any authority different from their own, while they remain in the present uncivilized state. Their mode of life leads them thro' the Territory of different nations, their residence uncertain & Changeable, that it can not be known where they really belong except that they were born in such a district & may be called by the name of the tribe. I presume that at every treaty & conference with the United States a large proportion live upon lands, to which our Government have no claim, & I know this to have been the case with the French & English. It is not the right of soil or the claiming a Jurisdiction, that should be contended for, nor to prompt them to acts of Hostility against any nation or people; But to secure their amity & Interest to prevent those horrid scenes of revenge & cruelty to which they are accustomed. I am fully persuaded that every Nation who are subject to depredations from them, have a right & authority to Cultivate their Friendship, & pursue for that purpose every measure by negotiations or other methods, either in the country where they reside, or any other place agreed on (provided it does not disturb the peace & quiet of the civilized Subject), in order to guard against & ward off such evils, as much as to defend themselves against the Wolf or bear. For should the former doctrine be established, the Eastern Country must be in a ruinous Situation, as there can be no Indians to treat with in the Eastern department, but those of Penobscot, for even those of the Passamaquoddy tribe now reside mostly within the British lines.

*A Report of the Standing and Property of Col. Allan in Nova Scotia when he left there and took up Arms for the Revolutionary Cause.*

To all people to whom these presents shall come Greeting

We the Subscribers Residents in the Counties of Westmorland in the Province of New Brunswick & County of Cumberland in the province Nova Scotia; Do hereby Certify publish & Declare from our own personal Knowledge, that John Allan Esq<sup>r</sup> formerly of said Cumberland, was possessed of a Certain Farm in the County of Cumberland, commonly known by the name of Bloody Bridge Farm; about seven Miles distant from Fort Cumberland, on the road leading to the Bay Vert, and that in the Year 1776 said Allan with his family resided thereon, that there was a number of French Acadian families settled on said farm as tenants to said Allan, as we understood & believe, and that there was a number of Houses, Barns & out Houses on said premises at that time, also a large quantity of Cattle and farming utensals; that it was at that time & still continues to be esteemed one of the best farms in the two Counties. That in November, 1776, at the time of the Invasion made against Fort Cumberland by a number of the disaffected Inhabitants of said County & a few persons from the United States, an attack was made on the invaders by the Kings troops who were successful, that in their pursuit they burnt & destroyed, among many others, all the Houses & Barns &c with all the Wheat & other Grain then being on the aforesaid farm, to a great amount as we then understood. That previous to the said attack and during the siege of Fort Cumberland, the People in Arms with a view of setting Fire to Buildings in the Fort *as was said*, burnt a number of Houses near the Fort, among which was a very Valuable House, Barn & out

House belonging to William Allan Esq<sup>r</sup> of Halifax the father of the said John Allan.

We further Certify that the said John Allan previous to the year 1776 & we believe from the year 1769 at different times sustained the several Officers & appointments of Justice of Peace, Clerk of the Sessions & Inferior Court, Clerk of the Supreme Court, Commissioner & Clerk of Sewers, Representative in general Assembly & other offices within the Town and County of Cumberland; and that from the great Interest he had & the high esteem he was in among the people we believe he might still have Continued to hold & enjoy all the most Lucrative Offices in said County had he remained among us, but upon the unhappy Contest between Great Britain & the American Colonies & from the begining of 1776 the said Allan was suspected of Treasonable practices against the Kings Government for which he was liable to the penalties of the Law & that during the Summer of said year he disappeared & as it was reported went into the United States.

Certified at Cumberland in the Province of Nova Scotia the 16<sup>th</sup> day of September, 1798.

JAMES LAW J. C. Pleas Colo of  
Militia County of West-  
moreland

SAM<sup>r</sup> GAY J. P.

J. WETHERED D. Sheriff

THO<sup>r</sup> DIXSON J. P.

J BURNHAM J. P.

CHARLES BAKER J. Quor<sup>m</sup>

THOS. LUSVY J. Peace

ALPH<sup>r</sup> MORSE J. P.

RALPH SIELDALL J. Peace

W<sup>m</sup> BLACK J. Peace.

ROBERT DICKSON



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