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MACHIAS AND THE INVASION OF NOVA SCOTIA

By D. C. HARVEY

To keep my paper within limits, I must assume that this audience knows, in outline at least, the close connection that existed between New England and Nova Scotia, prior to the American Revolution, both in trade, fishing, and settlement and in general policy. I assume, also, similar knowledge of the fact that, while during the Revolution, Nova Scotia was officially loyal, a small minority was actively disloyal but the majority of the people wished to be neutral. Friends or relatives of both participants in the struggle, they were inclined to submit to the will of the stronger; and their undecided neutrality provided an uncertain basis for both the loyal officials who wanted tangible support of their loyal resolutions and the disloyal minority who wanted New Englanders to force them all to be free. This paper deals chiefly with the activities of the latter.

The centre of organized activity against Nova Scotia in the early stages of the American Revolution was the little frontier town of Machias, a lumbering settlement some 20 miles west of the St. Croix, founded in 1763 by 16 migrants from Scarborough, who had applied twice to Nova Scotia for a grant of the township but had finally secured it from Massachusetts in 1770. Here, Rev. James Lyon, who had been an associate of Alex. McNutt in his land grabbing and colonizing schemes in Nova Scotia and had practised his craft of preaching at Onslow, settled in 1771 and assumed spiritual leadership of the little flock. When the Revolution broke out he became chairman of the Committee of Safety of Machias and was eager to bring Nova Scotia into the American union.¹

May 17, 1775, the second Continental Congress had prohibited all exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, the Island of St. John's, Newfoundland, and Georgia, and had decreed that no provisions or other necessaries should be furnished to the British fisheries on the American coasts, until further notice. Two weeks earlier Massachusetts had appealed to the Eastern Indians to join them against the British; and on June 11, Machias, not wishing to be backward in patriotism, seized two sloops that had been granted permission to load lumber for Boston under convoy of an armed schooner, and in one of the captured sloops pursued and captured the armed schooner. Flushed by this success proposals were made for the immediate invasion of Nova Scotia by a force of 1,000 men and four armed vessels. The expedition was to be made up at Machias, to proceed to Windsor, "capture the Tories", make as many proselytes as possible, then go on to Halifax, and destroy the King's dockyard and the town, if thought proper.²

The proposal was submitted to General Washington in his camp at Cambridge; but it did not meet with his approval and was tactfully vetoed by him on August 11, in the following words:—

I apprehend such an enterprise to be inconsistent with the general principle upon which the Colonies have proceeded. That Province has not acceded, it is true, to the

¹ Frederick Kidder, *Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia in the Revolution*, Albany, 1867, p. 35, 46.

² *Amer. Arch.* 4th series, III, p. 90.

measures of Congress, but it has not commenced hostilities against them, nor are any to be apprehended. To attack it, therefore, is a measure of conquest rather than defence, and may be apprehended with very dangerous consequences. It might perhaps be easy, with the force proposed, to make an incursion into the Province, and overawe those of the inhabitants who are inimical to our cause, and for a short time prevent them from supplying the enemy with provisions; but to produce any lasting effects the same force must continue.

As to the furnishing vessels of force, you, gentlemen, will anticipate me in pointing out our weakness and the enemy's strength at sea. There would be great danger that, with the best preparations we could make, they would fall an easy prey, either to the men-of-war on that station, or to some which would be detached from Boston. I have been thus particular to satisfy any gentleman of the Court who should incline to adopt the measure. I could offer many other suggestions against it, some of which, I doubt not, will suggest themselves to the honorable Board. But it is unnecessary to enumerate them, when our situation, as to ammunition, absolutely forbids our sending a single ounce of it out of the camp at present.³

Unable to procure an army of Congress, the people of Machias decided to act alone; and, under the leadership of Stephen Smith, they raided the mouth of the St. John river, burned Fort Frederick and the barracks there, took prisoners the four men who were in the fort, captured a provision ship that was loading for Boston, and returned with their spoils to Machias.

The Government of Nova Scotia was helpless to avert or avenge these depredations, as Governor Legge, now at loggerheads with his officials, had only 36 effective troops at his command. He and his council petitioned Admiral Graves to station some frigates in the Bay of Fundy to protect provision ships and busied themselves in trying to embody the militia, while Legge himself sought and obtained authority to raise a regiment of 1,000 men in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to be on the Imperial payroll. Captain Spry, the engineer, made temporary works for the security of the dockyard, and helped to formulate plans for the fortification of Halifax. Late in October, General Gage sent two companies of the 14th Regiment and 70 of the Royal Fencible Americans to Halifax; but, though Colonel Goreham mustered 390 men, on November 4, only 126 were fit for duty. Under the encouragement of the Chief Justice, 700 of the inhabitants of Halifax, Kings and Annapolis, took the oaths and entered into an association acknowledging their duty to the crown and the supremacy of Parliament.

While these activities of a purely defensive nature were in progress, two armed schooners from New England, that had been stationed near the strait of Canso in the gulf of St. Lawrence, to watch for provision ships and to prevent supplies getting to Quebec, went beyond their orders, raided Charlottetown, plundered the few houses that were there, carried off the administrator, Phillips Callbeck, the surveyor general Thomas Wright, the records of the Supreme Court, and such jewels and personal effects as they could find. On this cruise, they reported the capture of 22 vessels; and, on their way home, they called at Cape Fourchu, repeating their depredations there.

In this same month, November 1775, the inhabitants of Passamaquoddy, Nova Scotia, having chosen a committee of safety, applied to Congress to be admitted into the association of the North Americans for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and Congress resolved to send two men into Nova Scotia, "to enquire into the state of that colony, the disposition of the inhabitants towards the American cause, and the condition of the fortifications, dockyards, the quantity of artillery and warlike

³ *Ibid.*

stores, and the number of soldiers, sailors, and ships of war there and to transmit the earliest intelligence to General Washington." It also resolved that General Washington be directed, if he should judge it practicable and expedient, to send sufficient force to take away or destroy the war supplies that were found to be there. The two men sent were Aaron Willard and Moses Child; but in spite of the natural and Biblical affinity of Moses and Aaron, they were unable to penetrate far into the province; nor was the report which they made calculated to encourage Washington to depart from his decision of August 11.

They reported as follows:—

We did repair to a place called Campo Bello, about twenty or thirty miles into the Province aforesaid, but could not cross the Bay of Fundy, for no vessel could be hired or procured, except we purchased one, as every vessel, even to a boat, that crossed the Bay, was seized as soon as they came into port, except cleared from Halifax; and we could not travel any further into the country, by reason of Governor Legg's establishing martial law in said Province, and issuing several Proclamations, one bearing date July 5, 1775, which is as follows: "I do therefore, with the advice and consent of His Majesty's Council, publish this Proclamation, hereby notifying and warning all persons that they do not in any manner, directly or indirectly, aid or assist, with any supplies whatever, any Rebel or Rebels, nor hold intelligence or correspondence with them, nor conceal, harbour or protect any such offenders, as they would avoid being deemed Rebels or Traitors, and be proceeded against accordingly"; also a Proclamation dated Dec. 8, 1775, forbidding any stranger to be in Halifax more than two hours without making his business known to a Justice of the Peace, upon the pain and peril of being treated as a Spy; also, forbidding any person entertaining any such stranger for more than two hours without giving information, on the penalty aforesaid. From our own knowledge, and the best information of others about eight parts out of ten of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia would engage in the common cause of America, could they be protected. There are no fortifications in the Province, only at Halifax, and those much out of repair; but they are at work on them. They have picketed the town in, and have about one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, not mounted, and about twenty or thirty pieces mounted in the town. There were at Halifax about two hundred soldiers, the beginning of January 1776, which were all that were in the Province at the time; but we are credibly informed that there are two regiments arrived there since that time. There was only one ship-of-war of sixty guns, at Halifax, and one of fourteen at Annapolis, at the time aforesaid.⁴

While the comparatively disillusioned Moses and Aaron were making their report, the cold winds of Halifax were laden with wild rumours of invasion and treason in Cumberland county. It was rumoured that 13,000 men had been embodied by Congress to invade Nova Scotia and that only fear of the small pox in Halifax had detained them in the fall of 1775. It was rumoured that 14 inhabitants of Cumberland had gone to New England to invite an army of rebels to liberate them from the bonds of British tyranny. In July, it was reported that 4 men from Cumberland had carried to Congress a list of 600 men who were eager to fight for the American cause; and in August it was reported that the rebels were on the march and that a road had already been prepared for them from the river St. John to Shepody.

These rumours and the fact that more troops were left in Nova Scotia between Howe's evacuation of Boston and his occupation of New York induced General Massey to garrison Fort Edward at Windsor with the Royal Highland Emigrants and to send Colonel Goreham with the Fencibles to occupy and repair Fort Cumberland. At the same time small detachments were sent to protect Liverpool and Yarmouth; two vessels were fitted out to watch for privateers who had been infesting the coasts and

⁴ Amer. Arch. 4th series, IV, p. 1149.

plundering friend and foe alike; an interchange of militia was proposed as between Lunenburg and Cobequid; Lieutenant Governor Arbutnot went on a visit to the townships on Minas Basin and found the people very satisfactory subjects; and Francklin went to Cumberland where his influence was strong to get as many as possible to enter into an association in support of British authority. Altogether it was an anxious time for the authorities at Halifax for they did not know the actual conditions on the frontiers.

But it has already been seen that the rumours of invasion were rumours merely and that Congress had its hands full at home and before Quebec, without assuming new burdens, particularly when it could not be sure that reports from Machias and Passamaquoddy had not been altogether too optimistic. Though the reports of association in Cumberland friendly to the American cause had been greatly exaggerated, a small but noisy minority had been preaching liberty and had apparently won the acquiescence at least of the majority of those who had protested against the militia laws. All the Yorkshire families, who had recently settled there, remained firm but the others were willing like the Micmacs "to submit to the strongest power". The outstanding agitators seem to have been John Allan, Jonathan Eddy, William Howe, Samuel Rogers, Zebulon Rowe, Josiah Throop and Robert Foster.

Of these, the first to leave the settlement and approach Congress was Jonathan Eddy. Just what he carried to Congress I have been unable to find out. At any rate, for his expenses on this journey, he received a grant from Congress on April 27, 1776, of \$350. Of this amount, \$250 was allotted to him and \$100 to Isaiah Beaudreau his Acadian attendant. Eddy returned to Cumberland for his family; and, accompanied by Zebulon Rowe and William Howe, he fluctuated between Machias and Boston, until August, when he set out from Machias as the leader of a fruitless expedition against Fort Cumberland.

Their petition to the General Court of Massachusetts was read on August 28, 1776. The essential part of the petition is as follows:—

That your Petitioners would Inform Your Honors that the British Enemy are now Repairing the old Forts in that Province to the Great Detriment of the Inhabitants there. That we apprehend Can be for no other Intent but to keep the Inhabitants in Subjection to their Tyrannical measures. Especially Since their forces arrived from Boston the Last Spring to Halifax. That the far Greatest part of the People of Nova Scotia are Greatly Concern'd about it, and has been the Cause of many of them to Leave their Estates to be Confiscated and to Come over to These States and will be the Cause of Many More to do the same if they Can Effect it, unless they Can have some Supplys and Assistance. That your Petitioners Humbly Conceive that if we your Petitioners with a small number more to joyn our Brethren there Could be supply'd with some necessarys as Provisions and ammunition we Could at Present Easily destroy those Forts and Relieve our Brethren and Friends." (5)

The court appointed a committee to deal with this petition but without waiting for this report Eddy had returned to Machias, had enlisted there Capt. West and 20 men, and had started off, hoping that his forces would roll up like a snow man at Passamaquoddy and Maugerville and that all of Cumberland county would rush to his standard. At Machias he met John Allan who had spent the summer amongst the Micmacs trying to alienate them from the British side. Though influential with them, he found that while the Micmacs were much pleased with a letter that they had received, in common with all the Eastern Indians, from General Washington, and were willing to call their children after the General, they were not willing

⁵ P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc. 16. This petition was sent to the Council for concurrence on August 31st.

to take up arms on either side, but inclined to submit to the will of the stronger. Allan had just arrived in Machias; and, knowing the feeling in Cumberland, he tried in vain to dissuade Eddy from attempting invasion with such a small and inadequately equipped force. ⁽⁶⁾

At Passamaquoddy, Eddy was able to enlist only seven men, and at Maugerville where he found the people "almost universally to be hearty in the cause" his strength was increased by only one captain, one lieutenant, 25 men, and 16 Indians. The contrast between words and deeds on the St. John can be accounted for by the fact that in May two privateers had entered the river and warned the inhabitants that if the Americans should have to conquer the country all their lands would be confiscated. Forced to a decision, the inhabitants had called a meeting on May 14, appointed a committee, drafted certain resolutions in support of the American cause on May 21, and sent off their resolves to Massachusetts with the information that 125 inhabitants were in accord with their sentiments and that only 12 or 13 at the mouth of the river including Hazen, Simonds and White, had refused to sign. ⁽⁷⁾

These resolutions are too long to include in this paper; but they indicate that the people of Maugerville were distressed by having to take sides in civil strife and that they too were largely concerned with self-preservation, though blood was thicker than water. After preliminary declarations to the effect that the British Parliament was wrong in its extensive claims of supremacy and that the colonies were right in resisting they resolved:—

That it is our minds and Desire to submit ourselves to the government of 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 Province may order it.

But it was one thing to throw themselves upon the mercy of Massachusetts Bay and another to enlist under the banner of a freebooter like Jonathan Eddy. The marvel is that he got as many recruits as he did; for he had no official sanction from Massachusetts to exhibit for recruiting purposes. ⁸

In fact at the very moment when he was on the St. John, Rev. James Lyon was writing an indignant note to the General Court which clearly proves that up to this time the pressure for the invasion of Nova Scotia came from Machias alone and that Machias felt that even its need not to mention its ambitions were being neglected by Massachusetts.

After a flamboyant defence of the importance of Machias and a frank criticism of its neglect, Mr. Lyon wrote:—

Should your Honors now ask, what I mean by all this? I reply, I earnestly request you to send one of your *frigates*, or two or three of your ablest privateers to take the ships that infest our coasts, & clear the way for fishermen & coasters; & then perhaps some generous persons may be disposed to send us bread & take some of our lumber. I ask for a small army to subdue Nova Scotia, or at least that some

⁶ Allan met Eddy in Machias Bay on August 13, 1776. Kidder, op. cit. p. 12.

⁷ Vol. 364, doc. 13. The Committee itself appointed as agents to Mass., Asa Perley and Asa Kimball and gave them full authority to act. May 20, 1776. For the actual petition to the General Assembly of Massachusetts, dated May 21, 1776, see, P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc. 23. This explains their neutrality to date and also the events that have caused them to make a decision, omitting however an essential point—the warning they had received from privateers.

⁸ P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc. 26. Eddy says, Nov. 12, 1776. "Pursuant to *Instructions* we proceeded from Boston raised a few men and arrived at Cumberland in high spirits." These instructions must have been verbal. But a quantity of ammunition and provision had been issued by the General Court. P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc. 11, p. 34.

person, or persons, may have leave to raise men & go against that Province, at their own risque. I believe men enough might be found in this county who would cheerfully undertake it, without any assistance from Government. The people this way are so very anxious about this matter, that they would go in whale boats rather than not go. Provided they might call what they took their own in common with the good people of that Province. I confess I am so avaricious that I would go with the utmost cheerfulness. I hope, however, I should have some nobler views, for I think it our duty to relieve our distressed brethren & bestow upon them the same glorious privileges, which we enjoy, if possible, & to deprive our enemies, especially those on this Continent of their power to hurt us. With these views the Committee of this place once petitioned for leave to go against that Province. And had our request been granted, in all probability, that country had now been intirely ours, & vast quantities of provision would have been cut off from our enemies. Messrs. Shaw, Foster & Smith would now do the business. But were our General Court at their own expense, to take Nova Scotia the other States of America would have no pretensions to any part of it. And the requisition would be unspeakably great. That Province is invaluable, and would make ample amends for the expense & we might [must] have it, or our fishery is lost. Now it is at most defenceless & nearly nine tenths of its inhabitants would bid us a hearty welcome, & now it may be taken without must loss of blood if any, but hereafter it may cost us very dear.— I highly approve of the noble spirit and resolution of Capt. Eddy & heartily wish him success, & all the honor of reducing Nova Scotia provided our General Court do not see fit, that any of their own subjects should share it with him. The reduction of that Province is a matter of the utmost consequence to this place, & would relieve us of many of our distresses.⁹

At any rate the combined army of Whites and Indians, Americans and Nova Scotians with which Eddy left Maugerville for Cumberland totalled only 72 men; and they travelled in whale boats and canoes only. Their first halt was at Shepody, from which point their adventures are described by Capt. Eddy himself, as follows.¹⁰

At Shepody we found and took Cap^t Walker and a Party of thirteen Men who had been stationed there by Col Gorham Commander of the Garrison at Cumberland, for the Purpose of getting Intelligence etc.—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^d their Uneasiness at seeing so few of us, and those unprovided with Artillery, Nevertheless 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, etc. to the Amount of about 300, but finding afterwards that she was the Property of Mr. 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 30 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^t & 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^t of the Guard: The Serg^t on coming up, Ordered his Men to fire, but was immediately told by Mr. 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:

⁹ P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc. 18.

¹⁰ P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc. 33.

Among the Rest, Capt. Barron, Engineer of the Garrison, and Mr. 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.¹¹

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.

Upon Col. Gorhams Refusal to surrender we attempted to storm the Fort in the Night of the 12th Nov' 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.¹²

In this Posture we Continued a Number of Days 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 27th Nov' 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.¹³

Nov. 30th 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.¹⁴

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 etc. 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 etc. & 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 forwards.

¹¹ Goreham "The Chepodia party taken by the Rebels consisted of one subaltern officer, one serjeant and 12 rank and file, this with the safe guard placed on board the provision sloop, and those of the working party spies and others taken and decoyed amount in all to one Capt. acting Engineer, one Lieut. one Acting Chaplain, three serjeants, and 42 rank and file".

¹² Goreham: 15 carpenters inhabitants of the country who had been employed in the engineer's branch during the summer carried arms and continued in garrison, one half pay Lieut., three officers of the Militia being Magistrates, with 8 or 10 more inhabitants with their numerous families were all that joined us either for defence or protection. He gives his forces thus: Royal Fencible Americans 171, Royal Artillery 1 Bomb and 3 gunners, 15 carpenters, 1 half-pay Lieut., 3 militia officers and 9 inhabitants—about 200 including sick.

¹³ Goreham says: 2 capts, 4 subs, 1 surgeon, 3 serjeants, 2 drums, 77 rank and file and that they had parted with about 120 Royal Emigrants.

¹⁴ Goreham: 150 rank and file; Killed several Indians, Fr. Acadians and Rebels. Only 2 Royal Fencible Americans killed and one wounded.

Two other contemporary accounts of these incidents have survived: the accounts sent by John Allan to the Massachusetts General Court and by Colonel Goreham to General Massey.

Allan gives some interesting particulars as to the attitude of the Cumberland people and the rather shabby behaviour of some of the invaders. He says that when the inhabitants saw Eddy's small force they hesitated to join him but that Eddy told them in the name of the United States,

That they had supply'd the Enemys of America which had much displeas'd the States. That the Congress doubted their integrity, that if they would not rouse themselves and oppose the British power in that province they would be looked upon as enemys & should the country be reduced by the States they would be treated as a conquered people & that if they did not Incline to do something he would return and report them to the States, But if they would now assert their Rights publicly against the Kings Govt. he was then Come to help them and in Fifteen days Expected a Reinforcement of a large Body of men.

Allan also states:—

Many outrages were committed by some who came with Mr. Eddy, some of the property of the Friends of America were taken. After matters became quiet & a prospect that those left behind would rest unmolested, William How with some Deserters from a man of war, Entered the House of a magistrate and took from thence a Considerable value, which occasioned Goreham to issue a Second Proclamation desiring all those who had come under his protection to assemble in different Divisions & to be at the call of the magistrate to aid offensively and defensively & on neglect or Refusal he would look upon them as actually in arms against the Kings Government & would Exercise the Calamity of fire & sword.¹⁵

Goreham's account confirms Eddy's narrative in several particulars but gives more specific details as well as copies of all the communications and proclamations. His account of the numbers engaged as indicated in the previous footnotes and of the losses suffered differs but otherwise there is substantial agreement and Eddy's account has been taken because it is more readable and not so well known.¹⁶

One incident in this raid, not mentioned by Eddy, was the seizure on November 29th, of Capt Lowden's ship *Molly*, which was loading lumber in Pictou harbor for Scotland. This seizure was made by 16 men, who were detached for the purpose from Eddy's party, and who got assistance from Daniel Earl, James Watson and Dr. Harris of Pictou. The design seems to have been to sail first to Bay Verte, thence to Charlottetown, to procure some cannon that were said to be lying buried in the sand near Fort Amherst. When the ship arrived in Bay Verte, Goreham forced some of the inhabitants to take charge of her, and Capt. Boyle of the sloop *Hunter*, who was in Charlottetown, sent his tender over to Bay Verte to carry off the prize. When this was done the whole Eddy party was in full retreat to the St. John.

In addition to the party that had come with Eddy to Fort Cumberland, 59 of the local inhabitants who had been most deeply compromised, followed him to Maugerville and ultimately to Machias. These included Captain Beaudreau who had accompanied him on his first visit to Congress and 13 other Acadians. Of the 59, 28 ultimately went to Boston and besought aid from the General Court either to organize a second expedition against Cumberland or to assist them in removing their families hence. They were preceded by a petition from Cumberland signed by Josiah Throop on

¹⁵ P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc: 36.

¹⁶ Goreham's account is in Massey to Germain, Nov. 22, 1776 and Jan. 4, 1777.

behalf of the committee and they were warmly supported by John Allan who had been promoting a comprehensive design against Nova Scotia ever since Eddy had gone on his foolhardy expedition.¹⁷

Josiah Throop had been despatched by the Committee from Cumberland on November 13th before Eddy's party had been forced to retreat. Though his petition was not considered in Boston till December 23rd, it still contemplated support of the Eddy expedition, the remnants of which by this time had reached the St. John. Beginning with the usual contrast between liberty and tyranny it continued with the prayer,

That the Counties of Cumberland and Sunbury in Nova Scotia may be taken under the Protection of this State till that Province can be subdued. That coasting vessels for the future may clear out for Passamaquoddy, the River St. John and Cumberland, and that certificates from these places to any port in this State may secure them from the American Privateers. That our army now in Cumberland may be considered as part of the continental army and taken into continental pay. That a colonels commission be sent to Jonathan Eddy Esq to command the forces now raised and to be raised for our purposes this winter. That blank commissions for officers for about 500 men be sent to our committee to fill up for such men as shall be chosen by the soldiers.

That Machias be fortified and garrisoned for a retreat or asylum for our women and children if need be. That some cannon mortars and warlike stores be sent to Machias this winter so that we may have them early in the spring. That two or three armed vessels be ready early in the spring to proceed up the Bay Fundy and if possible 500 land men. That provisions Powder and ball be sent for those that are now there as early in the spring as may be. Or that such other methods may be taken for our safety and success in the cause as your Honours in Wisdom shall think more expedient. And we doubt not but by the Divine Blessing and your friendly assistance we shall soon add another stripe to the American flag and another colony to the United States.¹⁸

A committee of the General Court in considering this petition approved of the suggested protection of shipping recommended a colonel's commission for Eddy, and a captain's commission for Throop, that some ammunition be provided, and that the whole matter be referred to Congress for their serious consideration. Congress in turn voted \$200 to Mr. Throop for the expenses of his mission and referred the whole question of Nova Scotia back to Massachusetts, with power to act. This was the procedure that they adopted henceforth on all petitions dealing with Nova Scotia, including the very elaborate proposals of John Allan.¹⁹

¹⁷ Kidder op. cit. p. 76. Apparently Francklin and Goreham had not able to win the confidence of the inhabitants of Cumberland for on Nov. 11th they made the following protest to Goreham: "The inhabitants of the County of Cumberland have given incontestible Evidence of their Peaceable Disposition, but if the Garrison came here to defend and protect them, tis very Late to be informed of it, four or five days after a Number of People from the Westward in Arms appeared amongst them with an Intention to take the Fort, attended by Hundreds of Savages who threatened to burn our Houses and destroy our Families if we do not join in the Common Cause whatever therefore may be done by the Inhabitants is warranted by the Law of self preservation.

We are not so insensible and stupid as to run Mad in a Wild Affair inconsiderately but cast ourselves on the Providence of God and expect His blessings and protection. We are averse to the shedding Blood. We have ever prayed and still do for a speedy and happy settlement of the present and unhappy troubles.

But since Your Manifesto threatens us for what is already done with a Military Execution We have no encouragement to retract—We had rather die like Men than be Hanged like Dogs. At the Desire of the Inhabitants of Cumberland.

¹⁸ P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc: 30. A joint petition of the committee for the counties of Cumberland and Sunbury was also presented, dated Dec. 17, 1776, and signed by Elisha Ayer and Jacob Barker, see P.A.N.S. Vol. 364, doc: 28.

¹⁹ Allan's proposals have been printed in full in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. II.

Allan's proposals contemplated a force of 3,000 men, eight armed schooners and sloops. Fort Cumberland was to be taken, Halifax taken or cut off from the western part of Nova Scotia, if it could not be destroyed, and sympathizers with America set free to its ultimate support. Magazines and stores were to be established on the St. John to prevent the British cutting off communication between Nova Scotia and New England and opening communication with Canada. If none of these things could be attempted, a force of 200 men should be sent to help the friendly inhabitants withdraw to the St. John River. Allan himself was going to the St. John to carry on his agency with the Indians there, and if possible to bring both them and the Micmacs over to the American side.

Congress seems to have had confidence in Allan; and, in referring his proposals to Massachusetts, they practically approved of them. On January 8, 1777, they Resolved,

That the council of the State of Massachusetts bay be desired to attend to the situation of the enemy in the province of Nova Scotia, and, if they are of opinion that an advantageous attack in the course of the winter or early spring may be made on fort Cumberland and the said province, whereby the enemy's dock yard and other works with such stores as cannot be speedily removed can be destroyed, they are hereby impowered to conduct the same in behalf of these united states; to raise subsist and pay a body of men not exceeding three thousand under such officers as they shall appoint for carrying on the said expedition; and for this purpose to provide suitable magazines of military and other stores and convey them to such of the eastern parts of the said state as they shall think best, and they are desired to conduct this affair in the most secret manner that the nature of such an enterprize will admit and to apply to Congress for a sum of money sufficient to accomplish the design which they may form relative thereto.

Allan followed up this action of congress by a series of letters to the Massachusetts Council, during February and March, and finally on March 15, 1777, he was heard in the General Court upon the affairs of Nova Scotia. As a result of this interview it was recommended that a sufficient force be sent into Nova Scotia to secure the inhabitants in the possession of their estates and to act as occasion might require, that two battalions be raised in Massachusetts and one in the province of Nova Scotia, on the continental establishment for the term of one year.

But performance did not tread upon the heels of recommendation; and a petition of Robert Foster of Cumberland to Congress in April was dealt with on May 13, when Congress resolved,

That the council of Massachusetts Bay be requested to consider the case of the inhabitants of Cumberland and Sunbury counties, in Nova Scotia, who are sufferers by their attachment to the American Cause; and to devise and put in execution at continental expense, such measures as the said council shall think practicable and prudent, for the relief of said sufferers; and to enable such of them as may be desirous of removing to a place of greater safety, to bring off their families and effects. And the said council is hereby authorized to raise a number of men if necessary, for that service, not exceeding five hundred, in such places as will least interfere with the raising their quota of troops for the continental army.

During June and July desultory efforts were made by the much preoccupied Massachusetts to select officers, procure recruits, and to supply stores and ammunition for the secret mission to Nova Scotia. The command was offered to Moses Little and declined by him but accepted by Jonathan Warner, who does not appear to have exerted himself very strenuously. Less than 100 men ultimately reached the St. John; and of these the majority were again from Machias and vicinity, under Col. Francis Shaw, Capt. Henry Dyer and Capt. Jabez West. The

actual leader as well as promoter of the expedition was John Allan, now Col. Allan, and agent of Congress to the Eastern Indians, acting on their instructions to trade with the Indians, secure intelligence from them and to keep General Washington posted on the feelings and movements of the Indians of Canada as well as those of the St. John.

But Allan was to find that while his expedition was slowly preparing the British had not been idle. After routing the Eddy invaders, Goreham had compelled the penitent inhabitants to do fatigue duty at the Fort, had confiscated the stock and effects of the rebels, had put a price on the heads of Howe, Rowe, Rogers and Allan, and had sent four men taken in arms to Halifax to be tried for treason. These four were Dr. Parker Clarke of Fort Lawrence, Capt. Thomas Falconer who had led 25 men from Cobequid to assist the rebels, James Avery of Cobequid and Richard John Uniacke, a comparatively recent arrival in Nova Scotia. Clarke and Falconer were tried and convicted but, as they pleaded the King's pardon on the proclamations of Goreham, execution was delayed and they were confined to jail from which they escaped. Avery escaped from prison before trial; and Uniacke was saved by his friends and got out of the country.

In May, 1777, Colonel Goold of the Council and Major Studholme were sent to the St. John in the sloop *Vulture* to investigate conditions there. When the inhabitants were invited to return to their allegiance, they informed Goold that their greatest desire had ever been to live in peace under good and wholesome laws and that they were ready to attend to any conditions of lenity and oblivion that might be held out to them. Goold administered the oath of allegiance to most of them, held a conference with the Indians to whom he promised a priest, and, considering his work complete, returned to Halifax in the *Vulture*. But before the *Vulture* returned it captured a whale boat belonging to William Howe and John Preble, the advance guard of Allan's expedition, and two schooners laden with supplies for his truck house. Howe and Preble escaped and carried the news to Allan, who was at Machias.

Allan, with Preble and West, set out May 30th with a force of 43 men. They picked up some Indians at Passamaquoddy and reached the St. John on June 1st. A few days later they were joined by Col. Shaw with 42 more. This was their entire force. They found the inhabitants afraid to assist them; and, blaming Hazen, Simonds and White for bringing the British there, they took Hazen and White prisoners and proceeded to work with the Indians; but their sojourn was destined to be brief. At the end of June the British returned from Halifax with the warship *Mermaid*, the sloops *Vulture* and *Hope* and a detachment of troops under Major Studholme; and on July 1st, Francklin arrived from Windsor with 150 men. Allan fled with his Indians up the Oromocto and across country to Machias; West and Dyer were routed; and the whole expedition collapsed.

With the failure of this second expedition, which had again demonstrated the half-hearted nature of Nova Scotian interest in American liberty as well as the importance of sea power, Massachusetts decided not to listen to any more petitions for help. By the middle of August 1777, Eddy, who had not accompanied Allan but was preparing to join him on this raid, was instructed to disband his recruits and Allan was informed that the expedition was laid aside for the present and he was

appointed Colonel in command of forces in defence of Machias (1777).⁽²⁰⁾ Henceforth, Massachusetts was occupied at home not only with the general war for independence but also with British raids on Machias and Penobscot. When further petitions reached congress, in 1778, the Nova Scotians were told to wait and see what effect a war between France and Great Britain would have upon the British forces. As matter of fact Congress now looked forward to gaining by negotiation what they had been unable to take with the forces at their disposal. Hence it is, that their plenipotentiaries in negotiating for peace were instructed to get Canada and Nova Scotia, if possible, but, at all costs, to get equal rights in the fisheries.

At any rate, from 1777 until the Peace, Nova Scotia had no occasion to hope or fear for invasion. Rather the reverse. In 1777 Sir George Collier raided Machias destroying the magazines and stores of those persistent expansionists; and in 1779, Col. Francis McLean took control of the mouth of the Penobscot. Henceforth, Machias began to fear that not the Missaguash, not the St. John, not even the St. Croix, but the Kennebec might become the Eastern boundary of the American Union.

²⁰ P.A.N.S. vol. 364, docs: 57, 58, 73 and 75.