

The Loyalists in the Revolution.

First Paper.

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INTRODUCTION

We are so far removed from the days of the Revolution, and most of us know of it only through the medium of school or popular histories, that we have a very inadequate, and I may add an improper idea of the actual situation. The most favorable aspect of that struggle is always placed before us, while the darker features are generally kept in the background. It is only when we go back and examine original sources, read contemporaneous documents, make ourselves masters of what the principal actors in that great drama had to say of it as it moved slowly through the years, that we get a true insight into its disagreeable features.

I do not now allude to the opposing sentiment that existed among the people, that led them to espouse the different sides as their feelings dictated; but to the indifference and the half-hearted way in which only too many of the Whigs, as they were called, gave support to the cause of independence. We denounce the Loyalists without stint for their unpatriotic part in that great struggle; but there is also much to condemn among those who professed the greatest loyalty to the cause of the colonies. Their actions too often belied their professions. The greed of gain swayed the men of 1776 even as it sways the men of our own days. Avarice was as rampant then among private individuals and army contractors as it has been at any period since. Many of those who had merchandise in the camps held it at extortionate prices, compelling the commissioners of subsistence in many cases to seize it by force. Soldiers were almost starved in the field that contractors might become rich. The traffic with the enemy was on an immense scale, and I regret to say men of all kinds engaged in it. British guineas were more attractive than depreciated Continental paper.

The habit grew as the struggle proceeded. Even men high in office were often not averse to engaging in this wretched business. The public securities were counterfeited. Appeals from the pulpit and press went unheeded. Men refused to pay their taxes and often their debts, when they could avoid it. Washington, in one of his letters to Joseph Reed, said: "It gives me very sincere pleasure to find the Assembly (of Pennsylvania) is so well disposed to second your endeavors in bringing those murderers of our cause, the monopolizers, forestallers and engrossers, to condign punishment." Again, he writes: "From what I have seen, heard and in part know, I should in one

word say, that idleness, dissipation and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most; the speculation, peculation and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration."

The country was not poor. Before the revolution, it imported tea of the value of two and a half million dollars annually, and many articles of luxury, and was well able to support the few thousands who served in the thinned ranks of the army; and yet we all know that provisions were never overabundant, and how often our soldiers were absolutely suffering from hunger. All this time, the King's troops reveled in abundance supported by "patriotic farmers." "I am amazed," wrote Washington to Colonel Stewart, "at the report you make of the quantity of provisions that goes daily into Philadelphia from the County of Bucks." Philadelphia was at that time occupied by the British forces, while twenty miles away the patriot army lay shivering in the snows of Valley Forge, and almost at the verge of starvation.

I must allude to still another most discouraging feature of the struggle, the reluctance of the many to enter the ranks of the army and to remain there. As the war went on, it was found impossible to keep the ranks filled; in fact, they never were full. The professions and practice of most were not in accord. There was always a big army on paper, but never in actual service. "At the close of one campaign, there were not enough troops in camp to man the lines; at the opening of another, when the Commander-in-Chief was expected to take the field, scarce any state in the Union," as he himself said, "had an eighth part of its quota in the service." A resort to the payment of bounties became a necessity. In time, these bounties became excessive,—seven hundred and fifty dollars, and sometimes even one thousand dollars,—besides the bounty and emolument given by Congress. As much as one hundred and fifty dollars was paid in specie for a five-months service.

It is true we should make some allowance for many of these men. Most came from their farms and workshops from which they derived their means of subsistence. The claims of their families, too, had to be considered. The women and children could not carry on the home work satisfactorily. These causes must be added to the want of clothing and food and the natural hardships of the campaign. A competent authority tells us: "There were soldiers of the Revolution who deserted in parties of twenty and thirty at a time. A thousand men, the date of whose enlistment had been misplaced, perjured themselves in a body, as fast as they could be sworn, in order to quit the ranks which they had voluntarily entered. In smaller parties, hundreds of others demanded dismissal from camp under false prettexts, with lies on their lips. Some, also, added treason to desertion and joined the various corps of loyalists in the capacity of spies upon their former friends, or of guides and pioneers. Many more enlisted, deserted and re-enlisted under new recruiting officers, for the purpose of receiving double bounty; while others who placed their names upon the rolls were paid the money to which they were entitled, but refused to join the army. Another class sold their clothing, provisions and arms, to obtain means for reveling and to indulge their propensity for drunkenness; while some prowled about the country, to rob and kill the unoffending and defenseless."¹

In innumerable cases, the officers were no better than the private soldiers. There were some who were as destitute of patriotism as of honor, who drew large amounts of money to pay their men, but who applied them to their own purposes. Some went to their homes on furloughs and failed to return, and "who, regardless of their word as men of honor, violated their paroles, and were threatened by Washington with exposure in every newspaper in the land, as men who had disgraced themselves and were heedless of their associates in captivity. At times, courts-martial were continually sitting; and so numerous were the convictions, that the names of those cashiered were sent to Congress in lists." "Many of the surgeons," said Washington, "are very great rascals, countenancing the men to sham complaints to exempt them from duty, and often receiving bribes to certify to indispositions, with a view to procure discharges or furloughs; and they drew medicines and stores in the most profuse and extravagant manner, for private purposes." In a letter to his brother, he declared the different states nominated officers who were "not fit to be shoe-blacks." In 1777, John Adams wrote: "I am wearied to death with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry one another like mastiffs, scrambling for rank and pay like apes for nuts." All this is unpleasant reading. I call it up to show what many do not know, and which still fewer may be willing to believe, that the bad men were not all on one side of that contest and that the Whigs were not all saints any more than the Tories were all sinners. Our struggle for independence had its lights and shadows,—nearly as many of the latter as of the former.

NO DESIRE FOR INDEPENDENCE AT FIRST.

The people as a rule did not desire a change. The testimony on this point is strong. Soon after peace was declared, John Adams wrote: "There was not a moment during the Revolution, when I would not have given everything I possessed for a restoration of the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance." This seems a proper place to point out the difference between the two parties at the outbreak of the struggle. The Whigs were willing to remain as subjects of the King, if they were secured in their rights; while the Loyalists were willing to remain so, without asking for securities.

Franklin but a short time before the fatal affair at Lexington testified that he had "more than once traveled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a variety of company, eating, drinking and conversing with them freely, and never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America." Testimony to the same effect was borne by Mr. Jay, our first Chief Justice. He said: "During the course of my life, and until the second petition of Congress, in 1775, I never did hear an American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the colonies." Mr. Jefferson is on record in these words: "What, eastward of New York, might have been the dispositions towards England before the commencement of hostilities, I know not; but before that, I

never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain; and, after that, its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all." Mr. Madison may also be quoted: "It has always been my impression that a re-establishment of the colonial relations to the parent country, as they were previous to the controversy, was the real object of every class of the people, till the despair of obtaining it," etc.

"The native-born Presbyterians were almost all staunch Whigs; but the Scotch traders and merchants, numerous in the southern colonies, adhered generally to the Tory side." "The Episcopal clergy throughout the colonies leaned, with very few exceptions, to the support of the crown; and in the middle and northern provinces, their flocks were chiefly of the same way of thinking."²

"A large number of the merchants in all the chief commercial towns of the colonies were openly hostile, or but coldly inclined to the common cause."³

"The barbarous and disgraceful practice of tarring and feathering, and carting Tories—placing them in a cart and carrying them about as a sort of spectacle—had become in some places a favorite amusement."⁴

LOYALISTS IN BRITISH ARMY.

It is, of course, impossible at this late day to form a correct estimate of the number of loyalists who served under the standard of Great Britain in the field. The best that can be done is to make an approximate estimate, and this has been done by various competent hands after carefully sifting all the evidence. The loyalists themselves, in an address presented to the King in 1779, declared that the number of their countrymen then serving in the armies of his Majesty "exceeded in number the troops enlisted (by Congress) to oppose them."

Not only did many enlist as single individuals, but there were many organizations composed exclusively of Loyalists. The names of these various corps may be given. They were: "The King's Rangers; The Royal Fencible Americans; The Queen's Rangers; The New York Volunteers; The King's American Regiment; The Prince of Wales' American Volunteers; The Maryland Loyalists; De Lancy's Battalions; The Second American Regiment; The King's Rangers, Carolina; The South Carolina Royalists; The North Carolina Highland Regiment; The King's American Dragoons; The Loyal American Regiment; The American Legion; The New Jersey Volunteers; The British Legion; The Loyal Foresters; The Orange Rangers; The Pennsylvania Loyalists; The Guides and Pioneers; The North Carolina Volunteers; The Georgia Loyalists; The West Chester Volunteers; The Loyal New Englanders; The Associated Loyalists; and Wentworth's Volunteers." Several of the foregoing corps consisted of three battalions, which made a total of thirty-one separate organizations, all commanded either by colonels or lieutenant-colonels. It is on record that Col. Archibald Hamilton, of New York, at one period, commanded seventeen companies of loyal militia. The officers of twenty-one

² Hildreth, Vol. 3, p. 56.

³ Hildreth, Vol. 3, p. 102.

⁴ Hildreth, pp. 56, 102, 182.

corps were on the pay-roll of the British army as late as June 27, 1783, as on that day Lord North rose in the House of Commons and asked for £15,000 on account of half pay of the officers in command of these troops. The money was voted without debate.

PROMINENT PENNSYLVANIA LOYALISTS.

Among the loyalists of our own state, William Allen, Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, was one of the most noted. He was very rich, noted for his love of literature, and was a patron of Benjamin West. He died in England in 1780. His son, William Allen, left the Continental service and in 1778 raised the corps known as the "Pennsylvania Loyalists." He was attainted of treason and his estate was confiscated. Another son, John, was an open loyalist from the beginning and joined General Howe at Trenton. He, too, was attainted of treason. The third son of Chief Justice Allen was James. He was the only one who did not join the British, but he was suspected of being loyal.

Matthias Apsden was a prosperous merchant of Philadelphia who was making a profit of £2,000 annually. He left the state in 1776. He was among those summoned to be tried for treason. Of course, he did not appear, and his house, warehouse and wharf, renting for £1,000, were given to the University of Pennsylvania. He received a pardon in 1786, and at his death his estate was worth \$500,000.

Henry Hugh Ferguson, of Pennsylvania, was made a commissary of prisoners. His wife was the granddaughter of Sir William Keith, one of the Proprietary Governors. In 1778, he was attainted and proscribed. His wife made an appeal for him. In it, she said: "As to my little estate, it is patrimonial, and left me in fee simple by my father," and she appealed that the Council should not allow the sale of it in consequence of her husband's right by marriage. It was confiscated all the same, although a part was subsequently restored to her.

The two Hamiltons, James and William, were, after the Allens and Joseph Galloway, the most noted Loyalists in this state. James was put in jail in 1777. He asked the Executive Council to allow him to remain in his own house, because of his age, a severe disease, and because his extensive affairs required his presence. In case of a removal elsewhere, he asked that his nephew, William, might be allowed to manage his affairs. In March, 1778, he was under restraint at Northampton, and asked to return to his family. The boon was granted. In April, he was allowed liberty to act as he pleased.

William Hamilton was once the proprietor of much of the land on which this City of Lancaster is built. Witham Marshe, in his journal, says he was here in 1744 with the commissioners of various colonies to form a treaty with the Six Nations, and the same diarist says of him that he "made a ball, and opened it, by dancing minuets with two of the ladies here, which last danced wilder time than any Indians." He raised a Whig regiment in the neighborhood of the Schuylkill, but resigned the command at the issuing of the Declaration of Independence. Isaac Ogden wrote to Joseph Galloway in 1778: "Billy Hamilton had a narrow escape; his trial for treason against the

states lasted twelve hours. I have seen a gentleman who attended his trial; he informed me that his acquittal was owing to a defect of proof of a paper from Lord Cornwallis, his direction being torn off." He was in jail in the fall of 1780, at which time he wrote to the President of the Council asking to be released. The Hamiltons were men of wealth and influence. William owned a fine country seat called the Woodlands.

Richard Hovenden joined the English army and was made a captain in the British Legion. He was for a time connected with the Queen's Rangers and operated in the vicinity of Philadelphia, managing to secure considerable clothing. His company was finally incorporated with Tarleton's famous Legion. He was attainted of treason and his estate was confiscated.

Christian Huch, a lawyer of Philadelphia, went to New York and united his fortunes with the King's forces. He was a captain of dragoons in Tarleton's Legion. Sabine says he was killed in an affray with a "party of rebels" he was about to disperse. At the moment of the attack in which he was slain, several women were on their knees before him imploring him to spare their families and property. He was exceedingly profane and had said God Almighty had turned rebel, but, if there were twenty Gods on their side, they would all be conquered. He was one of our worst Loyalists. He was attainted of treason and his estate confiscated.

Dr. John Kearsley was a zealous friend of the royal cause. He was arrested in the summer of 1775 at his own house and carted through the streets of Philadelphia to the tune of the "Rogue's March." During this violent proceeding, he received a bayonet wound. After he had been placed in the cart, the mob gave a wild huzza, at which the doctor, to show his contempt for "the people," took his wig in his injured hand, swung it around his head and huzzaed louder and longer than his persecutors, for the King. The mob was indignant, and then proposed to tar and feather him, but that part of the programme was omitted. Instead, they broke the doors of his house, and his windows with stones. He was attainted of treason and his property confiscated. This is the same Dr. Kearsley who was consigned to a committee of the citizens of this city, put into jail here, and later imprisoned at York. His treatment and sufferings resulted in his insanity, which continued until his death.

Robert Proud, the well-known historian of Pennsylvania, was strongly attached to the crown. He was firmly persuaded that the Revolution would prove "the cause and also the decline of national virtue in America." He took no active part in the struggle, however, and was not molested.

Thomas Wharton, the elder, was a Quaker merchant of great influence and wealth. Washington records that he dined at his house. In 1777, he was arrested and sent as a prisoner into Virginia. Subsequently, he was proscribed as an enemy to his country, and his estate was confiscated. His son, Thomas Wharton, Jr., was a Whig and Governor of Pennsylvania.

William Rankin was a Colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia. "Ten proclamations were issued for his apprehension." He was attainted and his estate confiscated.

No mention is made in this article of Colonel John Connelly, although

he was born and raised in our County of Lancaster, and proved to be one of the most subservient, intriguing and detestable of all the adherents of the crown in the State of Pennsylvania. A lengthy sketch of him appeared in volume 7 of the Proceedings of this Society.

CONFISCATION NOT THOUGHT OF AT FIRST.

The confiscation and sale of the property of Loyalists was not resolved upon at the beginning of the struggle. It appears to have been a matter of gradual growth. As their strength and power to do harm became more manifest, with them came also the conviction that the most repressive measures were necessary. It was more a blow at individuals than at Loyalists as a party. Even at the beginning of proceedings against them no thought of taking their property was entertained. When they were disarmed their arms were marked and appraised so that their value might be restored to the owners at the close of the war. It was Britain that set the example of confiscation originally. In 1775 Parliament ordered all American ships and their cargoes seized on the high seas to be confiscated. When General Howe reached New York the confiscation of the property of Whigs was commenced in Manhattan, Staten and Long Islands. Loyalists were promised the property of their rebel neighbors when the war should be over. At first only personal property was seized, but later real estate also. These steps naturally led the several Colonies to retaliate, and they individually as well as Congress soon took up the plan which the mother country had already begun. At first the confiscations were of a mild order, but in the end every shred of property owned by a Loyalist that could be come at was seized and sold. Commissioners of sequestration and agents for the sale of confiscated estates were appointed in all the States, and these kept a sharp eye on all suspected parties and their estates, and made reports of what they had discovered. The amount of money paid into the Treasury of New York out of personal property alone between 1778 and 1783 was £260,595, or about \$400,000 in gold or silver. By 1782 Loyalist lands had been confiscated and sold in New York amounting to \$2,500,000 in hard money.⁵

New York kept on selling the estates of Loyalists long after peace was declared, and this continued actively until 1808 and at less frequent intervals for some years longer. Lecky, the historian asserts that "Two thirds of the property of New York was supposed to belong to the Tories."⁶

John Adams thought New York would have joined the British had not the example of New England deterred her.⁷ Judge Thomas McKean believed that one third of all the Colonists were Loyalists.⁸ Alexander Hamilton declared that not half the people were Whigs in 1775, and that one third still sympathized with the British in 1782.⁹ Gouverneur Morris thought it was doubtful whether more than one half the people of New York "were even in really

⁵ Lecky's History of England in Eighteenth Century, Vol. 3, p. 479.

⁶ Flick's Loyalists in N. Y., p. 150.

⁷ Works of John Adams, Vol. 10, pp. 63-110.

⁸ Works of John Adams, Vol. 10, p. 87.

⁹ Winson's North America, Vol. 7, pp. 185-187.

hearty and active sympathy with the patriots.”¹⁰ In 1782 it was reported that more were for the King than for Congress.¹¹ Sabine concludes that in New York the Whigs were far weaker than their opponents.

Of the three hundred and ten that were banished from Massachusetts, upwards of sixty were graduates of Harvard College, and of the five judges of the Supreme Court of that Colony at the commencement of the troubles, four were Loyalists.

The more pronounced Loyalists while residing in England were granted allowances from the British Government. I quote the following: “This day I went to the Treasury to inquire about my allowance, and to my comfort found it stood as at first. A few are raised, some struck off, more lessened. Of those that have come to my knowledge, Gov. Oliver’s is lessened £110 out of £300. Mr. Williams, who has married a fortune here, is struck off; Harrison Gray, with a wife and two children struck off; his brother Lewis lessened to £50; D. Ingersoll reduced from £200 to £100. . . . Many names and sums totally forgotten. On the whole, it is said the sum paid last year to Refugees, amounting to near £80,000, is now shrunk by the late reform to £38,000.”¹²

When the British forces evacuated Boston in March, 1776, 926 persons went to Halifax with the army.¹³

Even the loyalty of John Dickinson when he was elected President of the Executive Council 1782 was questioned.¹⁴ On September 23, 1777, Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated at Pottsgrove (Pottstown), in speaking of the difficulty he had in getting information of the enemy’s movements, said, the people of the neighborhood “being to a man disaffected.”¹⁵ A month later, October 27, 1777, in a letter to Landon Carle, from near Philadelphia, he speaks of “the disaffection of a greater part of the inhabitants of this State.”¹⁶

Bancroft says that as late as October, 1775, “The Americas had not designed to establish an independent government; of their leading statesmen it was the desire of Samuel Adams alone; the rest had all been educated in the line and admiration of constitutional monarchy, and even John Adams and Thomas Jefferson so sincerely shrunk back from the attempt at creating another government in its stead, that, to the last moment, they were anxious to avert a separation if it could be avoided without a loss of their liberties.¹⁷ One half the inhabitants of South Carolina were ready to take sides with the King.¹⁸ Washington declared, “When I first took command of the army, I abhorred the idea of independence.”¹⁹ In the assembly of Pennsylvania in

¹⁰ Roosevelt’s *Gov. Morris*, p. 36.

¹¹ *Canadian Arch.*, 1880, p. 925.

¹² *Curwen’s Journal*, p. 404.

¹³ *Curwen’s Journal*, pp. 685–688.

¹⁴ *Rupp*, p. 422.

¹⁵ *Itinerary of George Washington*, p. 92.

¹⁶ *Itinerary of George Washington*, p. 102.

¹⁷ *Bancroft*, Vol. 8, p. 161.

¹⁸ *Bancroft*, Vol. 8, p. 350.

¹⁹ *Bancroft*, Vol. 8, p. 384.

June, 1776, only Clymer was in favor of independence. In 1777 the militia of Staten Island, 400 in number, swore allegiance to the King.²⁰

The fight at Oriskany has been described as a battle between brothers, fathers, sons and neighbors. To political differences were added hatred, spite and a thirst for revenge. It is said that in that "fratricidal butchery" most of the male inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley perished.²¹

Flick in his admirable work on Loyalism in New York states that "judging from the inadequate records, it appears that there must have been at least 15,000 New York Loyalists in the British army and navy, and at least 8,500 Loyalist militia, making a total in that state of 23,500 troops. That was more than any other colony furnished, and perhaps as many as were raised by all the others combined. The Revolutionary troops in New York numbered only 17,781 regulars, and 41,633 including the militia. New York Loyalists fought in every battle on New York soil, and in most of the other battles of the war, and were repeatedly commended for their gallantry."²² Under an act of attainder and felony passed by New York on October 22, 1779, fifty-nine persons were named whose property should be forfeited to the State. The list included two Governors, seven Councillors, two Supreme Court Justices, one attorney general, twenty-four esquires and two of their sons, one mayor of New York City, two knights, four gentlemen, nine merchants, one minister.

In South Carolina the following officers refused to sign the articles of association when requested by the general committee of the Revolution: Thos. K. Garm, Chief Justice; Edward Souage, Charles M. Costell, John Fewtrell and William Gregory, Associate Judges. Besides these the Secretary of the Province, the Attorney General, Deputy Postmaster General, Governor's Secretary, Deputy Auditor General, and others also refused. They were allowed to take their property and retire peaceably. Some went to England and others to the West Indies.²³

The illustrious John Jay said the Revolution was a subject upon which men might honestly differ.²⁴ Robert, Lord Fairfax, claimed from the British Government £90,000 for the value of his property confiscated. He was allowed £60,000.²⁵

The Loyalists were continually ill treated by the English commanders. They were of great service to General Burgoyne in his campaign, but he spoke not a single word for them in his articles of capitulation. He even went so far as to blame them for his defeat, and after his surrender several thousands were compelled to flee to Canada.²⁶ The 300-acre farm given by the Act of the New York legislature to Thomas Paine, was confiscated as the property of one Frederick Devoe, a convicted traitor. Whig mobs went

²⁰ Bancroft, Vol. 8, p. 33.

²¹ Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, p. 217.

²² Flick's Loyalism in New York, pp. 112-113.

²³ Curwen's Letters, p. 491.

²⁴ Curwen's Letters, p. 540.

²⁵ Curwen's Letters, p. 541.

²⁶ Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, pp. 681-686.

through the streets of New York searching for Loyalists, and many were dragged from places where they had hidden to escape the undeserved vengeance of the ungovernable rabble. "These unhappy victims were put upon sharp rails, with one leg on each side; each rail was carried upon the shoulders of two tall men, with a man on each side to keep the poor wretch straight and fixed in his seat." Numbers were treated in this way; they were paraded through the streets and in front of the building in which the Provincial Convention was sitting, and before General Washington's own door, who so far approved of "this inhuman, barbarous proceeding that he gave a very severe reprimand to General Putnam, who accidentally meeting one of these processions on the street, and shocked by its barbarity, attempted to put a stop to it, Washington declaring that to discourage such proceeding was injuring the cause of liberty in which they were engaged, and that no one would attempt it but an enemy to his country."²⁷ That was not the only time that "The Father of his Country" showed his bitter enmity to Loyalism, although there was a time when he had no thought that affairs would ultimately result in a declaration of independence by the Colonies.

All persons known to be disaffected to the cause of America were ordered to be disarmed. The purpose of this was twofold, to make them harmless and provide arms for the Continental armies. Whole communities in New York where Loyalists were numerous were thus disarmed. A refusal to give up arms was followed by a fine. Influential Loyalists were generally remanded to neighboring colonies and put on parole of honor. If they refused this they were imprisoned. The arrival of General Howe at New York was the signal for the uprising of the Loyalist element in that state, where it had always been stronger than anywhere else. Half a dozen prominent Loyalists began recruiting and soon thousands had taken service under the standard of the King. Howe would not bombard the city of New York because of the large amount of Tory property in it, and Washington was urged to burn it "because two-thirds of the city and suburbs belongs to the Tories."²⁸ Captain John Dunsan wrote to the Provincial Congress from Dutchess County, N. Y., that his whole militia company was Tory except the lieutenant and himself, and Col. Morris complained that out of his entire regiment not more than a colonel's command was true to the American cause.²⁹ Maj. Wertz writes to Prest. Whalebleat, that there are 19 tons of powder in Lancaster and a new powder house needed.³⁰ In October, 1776, New York advised the Pennsylvania Council of Safety about 33 persons for safety, mostly charged with treasonable practices.³¹ On October 26, 1776, Lieut. Col. Wm. Baxter wrote to the Council of Safety as follows: Neshaminy, Bucks County: "No doubt you have heard of an election yesterday by the Tory party at Nicetown, this county, etc."³² In July, 1783, fifty-five prominent Loyalists, most of whom had either served

²⁷ Jones' History of New York, Vol. 1, pp. 101-103.

²⁸ Flick's Loyalism in New York, pp. 107-108.

²⁹ Journal of Provincial Congress, Vol. 1, p. 654.

³⁰ Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 5, p. 210.

³¹ Av. 5-40.

³² Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 5, p. 54.

the British in civil or military capacities petitioned General Sir Guy Carleton for grants of land in Nova Scotia. They declared their standing in society prior to the Revolution had been good and that they had much influence, which had been exerted in the royal cause. They declared their intention of migrating to Nova Scotia, and asked that as much land might be given to each of them as were granted to freed officers, free from quit rents and other incumbrances. Their desire was ultimately granted.

As an example of a "dyed in the wool" Loyalist, the case of Cadwallader Colden of New York may be cited. When he was arrested in June, 1776, he was examined and committed to the Ulster County jail. The examining committee reported that he had said "he should ever oppose independency with all his might, and wished to the Lord that his name might be entered on record as opposed to that matter, and handed down to latest posterity."

In Pennsylvania, however, the success of the British in enlisting men into their service was not great. During Howe's occupancy of Philadelphia, "The Pennsylvania Loyalists," who had William Allen, Jr., as Colonel, and the "Queen's Rangers," commanded by Lieut. Col. Suncoie, were the most important military organizations.³³

ROUGH TREATMENT OF LOYALISTS.

There was an intense feeling against the Tories after the British evacuation of Philadelphia, and this culminated in the hanging of Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts for treason.³⁴ Dr. Adams of New York was hoisted to a tavern sign post along with a dead wild cat. General Oliver De Lancey was one of the most influential Loyalists in the State of New York. He commanded three battalions. Once when away from home his place was raided by the Whigs, who burned his house and barns and rudely treated the ladies of his household. His wife who was very deaf, hid herself in a dog kennel where she was nearly burned; her daughter and a companion wandered about the woods for hours in their night clothes. Rev. John Stuart, D.D., born at Harrisburg, Pa., was the last Episcopal Missionary to the Mohawk Indians, sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia. He constantly refused to omit the prayers for the King in his church services. He remained unmolested until after the Declaration of Independence. His relations with the Six Nations and the Johnsons of New York rendered him an object of suspicion. His house was attacked, his property plundered, and every possible indignity offered to his person. His church was also raided, then turned into a tavern, and in ridicule and contempt a barrel of rum was placed on the reading desk. Afterwards the Church was turned into a stable and later into a fort. He was allowed to retire to Canada, where he prospered and his family became eminent.

The fact is there was doubt and confusion in the minds of thousands of men. Sometimes they were inclined to this side and then again to that. They were inclined for the most part to do what they thought best for the country, as well as for their individual interests.

³³ Pennsylvania Prin., 183.

³⁴ Pennsylvania Prin., 84.

Colonel Boyd of South Carolina, in command of a body of Tories, fell in a skirmish with a force under General Pickens. In that engagement neighbor fought against neighbor. In the exasperation of the moment, the Whigs doomed seventy of their prisoners to death, but relented at the last moment and killed only five. Thomas Braun of Georgia ridiculed the Whigs in a toast at dinner. He was threatened and fled, but was pursued, captured and brought back, tried and sentenced to be tarred and feathered; to be publicly exposed in a cart; to be hauled three miles or until he recanted and swore fealty to the Whig cause. As he refused to comply with these terms he was punished as had been decreed, and, in addition, denounced as "no gentleman." Later he became a Tory colonel and in that capacity defeated a party of patriots under Colonel Clark, taking a number of wounded and other prisoners. Thirteen of the wounded were hung in his presence. In 1780, he ordered five persons to be hung; when nearly dead they were cut down and turned over to the Indians, who scalped and otherwise mutilated one of them. Later in a published defense of himself, he charged General Pickens with permitting the murder of Loyalist prisoners under his own eyes.

WHO WERE THE LOYALISTS?

It may be asked who comprised the rank and file of the Loyalists. It is not too much to say that in almost every community, they were among the most wealthy and influential men. The governors of all the Colonies were Loyalists, as were also the Lieutenant-Governors; so were the councilors, many assemblymen, most of the judges, the military and naval officers, and most other officials, down to the magistrates. The large landed proprietors were also adherents to the crown, like the De Lancys, the De Puysters, and Van Cortlands. The professions were strongly represented in the Loyalist ranks. The physicians, teachers and ministers were also in this class. The wealthy commercial class in the cities also mainly adhered to the King's party; their interests were the first to be affected and naturally they went with the party they believed would win. They were prosperous, and they saw that war could only mean ruin to them. Lastly, the conservative masses almost everywhere regarded a severance of the old ties with the mother country as an evil for which there was no visible compensation. It deserves to be mentioned that while that side of the issue was largely dominated by the Anglican church, men of all other creeds were found in the Loyalist ranks, such as Lutherans, Methodists, Quakers, Presbyterians and Catholics. The majority of them were, of course, Englishmen; but many Germans, Irish, Dutch and French rallied under the banners of King George. Sir John Johnson's Royal Regiment, numbering 800 men, were mostly Lutherans and Presbyterians.³⁵

THE CHURCHLY ELEMENT.

In Pennsylvania, the Sect people and the Quakers were in the majority. The former opposed wars on principle. The Quakers did likewise, and were very generally Loyalists. In New York and throughout the southern colonies,

³⁵ Flick's *Loyalism during the American Revolution*, p. 36.

the Church of England largely held sway. Wherever established, Anglicanism was on the side of the crown. Its clergymen were nurtured in sentiments of loyalty and valiantly upheld its prerogatives. Its prayers were regularly offered up for the King and his officers. At the time, it constituted the most influential element of the population. With scarcely an exception, the Anglican ministers were ardent Loyalists. The leading Loyalists almost everywhere who were active in a military or civil capacity were members of that church.

PAMPHLETEERS.

In the beginning of these troubles, along in 1774, 1775 and 1776, pamphleteers on both sides were busily writing and publishing articles which were widely read and distributed. These form, perhaps, the most interesting literature of the times, and coming as they did from Whig and Loyalist alike, they afford a very excellent opportunity to gauge the sentiments and sincerity of the two parties. As the Whigs grew stronger and the resolutions of the Continental Congress against non-associators and Loyalists became more and more enforced, the Loyalist writers, either joined the British wherever they happened to be in possession, or else remained silent.

LOYALISM IN THE VARIOUS COLONIES.

Although Massachusetts is regarded as having been the hot-bed of patriotism at the outbreak of the Revolution, when the royal army evacuated Boston in 1776, upwards of eleven hundred Loyalists went with it. Nor were these British office-holders chiefly, but many men of distinguished rank and importance in the colony; eighteen were clergymen, two hundred and thirteen were merchants and other residents of the city, while of farmers, mechanics and traders, there were three hundred and eighty-two. Others had gone previously and some went later, making in all at least two thousand persons. Sabine is authority for the statement that in Connecticut, the proportion of Loyalists to the population was even greater than in Massachusetts.³⁶

In all the northern colonies, New York was most thoroughly saturated with loyalism. She put, as has been before stated, only 17,781 regular soldiers and 23,852 militia into the War, while Massachusetts furnished 67,907. As an example of the preponderance of the Loyalists in that state, it may be mentioned that, not long after the close of the Revolutionary War, a bill was put through the State Assembly, prohibiting all persons from holding office who had allied themselves to the enemy. When this bill went to the upper branch of the Legislature, it was rejected, because it was stated, if it became a law, it would be impossible to hold elections in some portions of the state, because there were not enough Whigs in some localities to conduct the elections.³⁷

(Continued.)

³⁶ Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. 1, p. 27.

³⁷ Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. 1, pp. 28-29.

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