PART ONE

AMERICAN TORIES LOOK AT THE WORLD

"In numbers the Tories were a very small minority"; wrote Vernon L. Parrington in Main Currents in American Thought, "unendowed with wealth and position they would have been negligible . . . Their most cherished dream was the institution of an American nobility, with the seal of royal favor set upon their social pretensions." Parrington admittedly wrote from a liberal-radical perspective. His essays on Thomas Paine or Thomas Jefferson bordered on the poetic. But he could scarcely appreciate, let alone understand, the Tory mentality. After all, if one believes in the sanctification of some humans, one must create devils of others. Parrington's interpretation is not only biased, but erroneous.

Who can tell how many Tories there were? Or how many rebels? A substantial number, some 75,000 to 100,000, left for Canada, Britain, and the West Indies during and immediately after the revolution. Several times that number remained in the states, some vigorously fighting for the crown, some quietly masking their sentiments for fear of rebel vilification and vengeance. Joseph Galloway, a Tory, claimed that four out of five Americans were, or wished to be, loyal to Britain. His estimate is too high, but so were rebel assertions of virtual colonial unanimity in the cause of independence. Certainly the Tories were not "a very small minority."

To be sure, many Tories were men of wealth and social position—so were many rebels—and one can readily understand why the "royal governor's set" remained loyal to the crown. But there were other causes—personal, local, special—operating to turn men to one side or the other. The subject of Tory motivations is a complex, tangled skein to be unraveled, finally, by considering the case of each individual loyalist. Taken as a group, however, "their most cherished dream" was not, as Parrington says, "the institution of an American nobility." Almost a century ago the ancestor of a Tory, Edward
PART ONE

Floyd De Lancey, tried to correct the popular image of Tories as a set of snide aristocrats interested solely in their own welfare:

There can be no greater error than to suppose that the loyalists as a whole were willing to submit quietly to the exactions of the mother country, and her invasions of their rights and liberties as English subjects. As Americans they felt these grievances, and were as indignant at the treatment they were subjected to, as those of their countrymen who took up arms. But they wished to fight the battle for those rights and liberties and the redress of those grievances, with the powerful weapons which the Constitution of England gave to them as to other Englishmen—weapons which had proved successful before, as they have proved successful since, in similar emergencies... They desired by political agitation to force the home Government to a change of policy, or to drive it from power and place in office the foes of the oppression of the colonies. Their enemy was the ministry of Lord North, not the King of England to whom they owed, and had sworn, allegiance.

If some acted from selfish, narrow motives, there were countless others, conservative men of the utmost integrity, who suffered enormous personal sacrifices in behalf of their political philosophy.

1

Tory Arguments Upholding Law and Order

LETTER FROM A VIRGINIAN, 1774

That no political society can subsist unless there be an absolute supreme power lodged somewhere in the society, has been universally held as an uncontrollable maxim in theory by all writers on government, from Aristotle down to Sidney and Locke, and has been as universally adopted in practice... As long as government subsists, subjects owe an implicit obedience to the laws of the supreme power, from which there can be no appeal but to Heaven. We for some years past have been multiplying ineffectual resolves, petitions and remonstrances, and advancing claims of rights, etc. Our Petitions have at last been neglected, or rejected, or censored; the principles on which we found our claims have been formally denied. To what, or to whom, shall we have recourse? Shall we appeal to the King of Massachusetts Bay, to the King of Connecticut, to the King of Rhode Island, against the King of Great Britain, to rescind the acts of Parliament of Great Britain, to dispense with the Laws, to which as a necessary and efficient part of that body, he has recently given his assent? The Colonies are constitutionally independent of each other; they formally acknowledge themselves loyal and dutiful subjects of his Majesty George III. But several claim an exemption from the authority of the British Parliament...

What part then, Gentlemen, have you left to act, but to propose... some practical plan of accommodation, and to obey? Shall the time of so respectable an assembly be squandered, in advancing the claims of right, that have been urged and rejected a thousand times; that have been heard, considered, solemnly debated, and decided by the only power on earth who has a right to decide them? Shall the opinions and desires of a small part of the community prevail against the opinions and desires of the Majority of the community? What new species of eloquence can be invented to persuade? What new logic to convince the understandings of our fellow subjects? Shall the British senate be governed by the pernicious maxims of a Polish Diet, and the veto of a single member, or a few members, however distinguished by extraordinary wisdom, and virtue, obstruct or suspend or annul the legislation of a great Nation?

On the subject of taxation, the authority of Mr. Locke is generally quoted... as paramount to all other authority whatever. His treatise on government, as far as his ideas are practicable, with the corrupt materials of all governments, is undoubtedly a most beautiful theory. Let us respect it as the opinions of a wise, and virtuous philosopher and patriot, but let us likewise, as good subjects, revere the laws of the land, the collected wisdom of ages, and make them the rule of our political conduct. Let not Mr. Locke be quoted partially, by those who have read him, to mislead thousands who never read him. When he is brought as an authority, that no subject can be justly taxed without his consent; why don't they add his own
explanation of that consent? i.e. "The consent of the majority, giving it either by themselves, or their representatives chosen by them." Do we compose the majority of the British community? Are we, or are we not, of that community? If we are of that community, but are not represented, are we not in the same situation with the numerous body of copyholders, with the inhabitants of many wealthy and populous towns, in short, with a very great number of our fellow subjects, who have no votes in elections? Shall we affirm that these are so; and at the same time, be too proud to solicit a representation? ... Shall we plunge at once into anarchy, and reject all accommodation with a government because there are imperfections in it, as there are in all things, and in all men?

SAMUEL SEABURY'S ADDRESS, 1774

I shall make no apology for addressing myself to you, the Merchants of the city of New York, upon the present unhappy and distressed state of our country. My subject will necessarily lead me to make some remarks on your past and present conduct, in this unnatural contention between our parent country and us. I am duly sensible of what importance you are to the community, and of the weight and influence you must have in the conduct of all our public affairs. I know that the characters of many of you are truly respectable and I shall endeavor to express what I have to say to you, consistently, with that decency and good manner which are due, not only to you, but to all mankind. ...

Nor, upon the other hand, ought you to be displeased with the man who shall point out your errors; supposing you have acted wrong. To err is common,—I wish it was uncommon to persist in error. But such is the pride of the human heart, that when we have once taken a wrong step, we think it an impeachment of our wisdom and prudence to retreat. A kind of sullen, sulky obstinacy takes possession of us; and though, in the hour of calm reflection our hearts should condemn us, we had rather run the risk of being condemned by the world too, than own the possibility of our having been mistaken. ...

Look at the Suffolk Resolves, from Massachusetts, which they adopted, "approved and recommended." Look into their addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the inhabitants of the colonies in general, and to those of Quebec in particular. They all tend, under cover of strong and lamentable cries about liberty, and the rights of Englishmen, to degrade and contravene the authority of the British parliament over the British dominions; on which authority the rights of Englishmen are, in a great measure, founded; and on the due support of which authority, the liberty and property of the inhabitants, even of this country, must ultimately depend. They all tend to raise jealousies, to excite animosities, to ferment discords between us and our mother country. Not a word of peace and reconciliation—not even a soothing expression. No concessions are offered on our part, nor even a possibility of their treating with us left. The parliament must give up their whole authority—repeal all the acts, in a lump, which the Continental Congress have found fault with, and trust, for the future, to our honor to pay them just so much submission as we shall think convenient. ...

Consider now, and tell me, what right or power has any assembly on the continent to appoint delegates, to represent their province in such a congress as that which lately met at Philadelphia? The assemblies have but a delegated authority themselves. They are but the representatives of the people; they cannot therefore have even the shadow of right, to delegate that authority to three or four persons, even should these persons be of their own number, which were delegated by the people to their whole body conjunctively. Delegates, so appointed, are, at best, but delegates of delegates, but representatives of representatives. ...

The people are not bound by any act of their representatives, till it hath received the approbation of the other branches of the legislature. No delegates, therefore, can in any true sense be called the representation of a province, unless they be appointed by the joint act of the whole legislature of the province. When, therefore, the delegates at Philadelphia, in the preamble to their Bill of Rights, and in their letter to his Excellency General Gage, styled their body "a full and free representation of ... all the colonies from Nova Scotia to Georgia," they were guilty of a piece of impudence which was never equalled since the world began. ...

The legislative authority of any province cannot extend farther than the province extends. None of its acts are binding an inch beyond its limits. How then can it give authority to a few persons to meet other persons, from other provinces, to make rules and laws for the whole continent? In such a case, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and the four New England colonies, might make laws to bind Philadelphia, New Jersey and New York; that is—they might
make laws whose operation should extend farther than the authority by which they were enacted, extended. Before such a mode of legislation can take place, the constitution of our colonies must be subverted, and their present independency on each other must be annihilated. And after it was accomplished, we should be in a situation a thousand times worse, than our present dependence on Great Britain, should all the difficulties we complain of be real, and all the grievances some people affect to fear, fall upon us.

Jabez Fisher of Pennsylvania, 1774

The Americans have now acquired a considerable share of property, though it must be confessed, by no means so much as the folly and extravagance of a few have taught our superiors to believe. In proportion to this property, the most plain and evident principle of justice, pronounces the equity of their being taxed in order to defray the expense which their own safety requires. If more than the colonies can bear is necessary, their mother country holds herself ready, to lend her assistance, to secure them from foreign invasion, oppression and misery. This she ever has done, and as long as she is actuated by the principles of sound policy, she will and must continue to do so.

The power of making war, of protecting and defending British subjects, in every part of the world, and of forming, directing, and executing that protection, is constitutionally vested in the crown alone. The subject has a right to demand it whenever he is in danger. This right is purchased by his allegiance, which is the reciprocal consideration duly paid for it. America, consisting of a number of colonies in their infant state, and independent of each other, is in a particular manner dependent on this power and has a right to demand an exertion of it to insure its safety. And accordingly, during the late war, she received the full advantages of it, without which, in her disunited state, she, in all probability, must have fallen before the most cruel and barbarous of all countries. The preservation of America is of the utmost importance to Great Britain. A loss of it to the British crown would greatly diminish its strength, and the possession of it to another nation, would give an increase of wealth and power, totally inconsistent with the safety of Britons. If then the power of protection is rightfully and solely vested in the crown; if America is of so much importance to her mother country; and if it is just and reasonable that she should contribute towards her own defense, so essential to her own and the happiness of Great Britain; will any be so absurd as to deny the reasonableness, the necessity, of the crown's having some certainty that she will pay her proportion of aids when requisite and demanded?

If then it is reasonable that America should be taxed, towards her own safety, and her safety depends on her enabling the crown to secure it; if without this, she may be lost to her mother country and deprived of her civil as well as religious rights; if she has been thus negligent of her duty, and perversely obstinate, when those rights and her own preservation required a contrary behavior; if she has, notwithstanding, been preserved, in a great measure at the expense of her mother country, and if, under her present circumstances and disunion, it appears from experience, that the crown can have no dependence, that she will act differently on future occasions, does it not then become the indispensable duty of a British parliament to interfere, and compel her to do what is so reasonable and necessary for her preservation? Shall the colonies be lost to the British dominions through their own obstinacy, caprice and folly; and shall not Great Britain whose interest is inseparably united with theirs, endeavor to prevent it? Shall she stand by, an inactive spectator, indifferent to her own and their welfare, and not make the least essay towards avoiding the consequent mischiefs?

A Tory Pasquinade of the New York Rebels, 1774

At a meeting of the TRUE Sons of Liberty, in the City of New York, July 27, 1774, properly convened;

Present: John Calvin, John Knox, Roger Rumpus, etc.

1. Resolved, That in this general Time of resolving, we have as good a right to resolve as the most resolute.
2. Resolved, That we have the whole Sense of the City, County, Province, and all the Colonies, concentrated in our own Persons.
3. Resolved, Therefore, that a general Congress (saving Appearances) would be unnecessary and useless.
4. Resolved, That the Distresses of our Brethren — in — the

Lord of Boston, are unprecedented, illegal, [and diab]ojical; the People of Massachusetts Bay being thereby required to make Reparation for Damages [and trespasses] by them done and committed, only in Support of their own proper and avowed Purposes to [establish] one GRAND REPUBLIC throughout this ill-governed CONTINENT: of which, and for the sole [use] and Benefit of the whole, the MASSACHUSETES only propose themselves as the Heads and Directors; in [order that] the said Continent, for the future, may be more justly and equitably ruled, directed, and protected.

5. Resolved, Therefore, that WE will concur with them in every measure for effectuating the [said] salutary purpose; being convinced, as were their and our Forefathers, that this is the only [way] whereby an effectual stop may be put to the alarming growth of PRELACY, QUAKERISM, and LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE: to all of which, by the most obliging Methods of prosecuting, persecuting, [and] hanging, or drowning, both they and we have ever been sworn Enemies; so will continue, till the End of Time—be it ever so endless.

6. Resolved, That the fittest Persons to carry on this great, good, necessary and godly Work, are [those whom] the Freetholders, in their respective Counties and Colonies, have elected to be their Representatives. [They are] supposed to be Men of Conscience and Understanding—but such only as OURSELVES; who have [no claim] to Speculation and Refinement; but simply fitted, by our lives and Conversation, for right[ful doings]; which are the only Doings, in these distressful times, that ought to go right forward.

7. Resolved, with our brethren of this city, that these Resolves, and any we may afterwards see [fit] to promulgate, shall be approved by all sensible and good men in our parent country; and that they shall even make that ungracious varlet LORD NORTH shake in his shoes, (when he sees them) and [split] his breeches.

8. Resolved, with our brethren of South Carolina, that we will pay the expense of printing these [resolves].

9. Resolved, according to the third resolve of our brethren of New Brunswick that any Act or [acts] of Parliament which prevent the colonies from triumphing over the liberties, sporting with the [goods] or at will claiming the properties of the Ministry, is a cruel oppression in which all the Colonies [are] intimately concerned.

10. Resolved, with our brethren of Annapolis that the non-payment of debt contracted with [England] is the only way to save the credit of those, who have got no money to pay their debts with.

11. Resolved, that a strict adherence to a non-importation and non-exportation agreement, which was so easily effected, and so faithfully observed, in the time of the Stamp Act, is the only certain [way] of coming at the naked truth; without which we shall never be able to unveil the covert, and close, [and wicked] designs of the d——d Ministry, to ruin us.

12. Resolved, that because Boston is undeservedly chastised, all the other colonies ought to be deservedly.

13. Resolved, that it is a general mark of patriotism, to eat the King's bread, and abuse him for [it].

14. Resolved, that the best way of approving our loyalty, is to spit in the said King's face; as the means of opening his eyes.

15. Resolved, lastly, that every man, woman, or child, who doth not agree with our sentiments, whether he, she, or they, understand them or not, is an enemy to his country, wheresoeuer he was born, and a Jacobite in principle, whatever he may think of it; and that he ought at least to be tarred and feathered, if not hanged, drawn and quartered; all statutes, laws, and ordinances whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

By Order of the Meeting.
Ebenezer Snuffle, Secretary

WILLIAM EDDIS OF MARYLAND, 1775

The present unhappy contention between the mother country and her colonies is a matter of the deepest concern to every honest, every feeling mind; it is, therefore, the indispensable duty of every friend of society, to study and to pursue those methods, which may lead to a perfect reconciliation, and the establishment of a permanent union between Great Britain and America.

The principle of parliamentary taxation over this extensive part of the empire, is generally denied by all ranks, and denominations of men; the grand subject of controversy, therefore, that prevails at present, respects the most eligible method to obtain redress. On this point, there appears a division of sentiment, which has given rise to heart-burnings and discontent; and, in some degree, struck at the root of that harmony which, at this important period, ought to guide and influence every action.

Letter of William Eddis, Maryland Gazette, February 14, 1775.
In opposition to measures dictated by calmness and moderation (a steady adherence to which, it was generally supposed, would be attended with the most happy effects), a military appearance is assumed—subscriptions are industriously making for the purchase of arms, ammunition, etc. and the severest censure is indiscriminately passed on those persons who happen to dissent from the popular opinion, and prefer more conciliating methods of accommodation.

It is certain that there are many in this, and other provinces, who object to the spirit of violence, which seems at this time to predominate. Convinced of the propriety of their sentiments, and in the integrity of their hearts, they conceive the cause of America may be totally injured by a precipitate, and unnecessary defiance of the power of Great Britain; they firmly believe, that a respectful behavior to their sovereign and their mother country—a dutiful and constitutional application to the throne—and a firm perseverance in virtuous, though pacific principles, will, in the issue, be productive of the most felicitous consequences. Actuated by such considerations, they cannot be reconciled to those violent extremes which have been too rashly adopted by many; and which they are anxious to establish, as the only feasible plan of terminating the present disensions.

On deliberate reflection, it can hardly be imagined, that the mother country has formed the least intention of reducing these provinces to a state of abject servility, by the force of arms; the natural connection—the close ties—and nice dependencies, which exist between the different parts of the empire, forbid indulging any conclusions of so melancholy a nature. She will be more just—more tender to her offspring—the voice of reason will prevail—our grievances will be redressed—and she will be found, to the end of time, a kind—a fostering parent! But admitting that Great Britain were determined to enforce a submission to all her mandates; even in that case, we have little cause to apprehend that she will unsheathe the sword, and establish her decrees in the blood of thousands. A more safe and certain method is obvious; a small proportion of her naval power would entirely shut up our harbors—suspend trade—impoisch the inhabitants—promote intestine divisions—and involve us in all the horrors of anarchy and confusion. To avoid evils, even great as these, we are not mealy to bend the neck, and submit to every innovation. But when there is no prospect of such calamities, why are we to form ideas of battles and of slaughter? Why are our coasts to resound with hostile preparations? The
demon of discord to stalk at large? And friends and kindred forget the peaceful bonds of amity and love?

GOVERNOR WILLIAM FRANKLIN'S LETTER TO THE NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE, 1776 *

Let me exhort you to avoid, above all things, the traps of Independency and Republicanism now set for you, however temptingly they may be baited. Depend upon it, you can never place yourselves in a happier situation than in your ancient constitutional dependency on Great-Britain. No independent state ever was or ever can be so happy as we have been, and might still be, under that government. I have early and often warned you of the pernicious designs of many pretended patriots; who, under the mask of zeal for reconciliation, have been from the first insidiously promoting a system of measures, purposely calculated for widening the breach between the two countries, so far as to let in an Independent Republican Tyranny—the worst and most debasing of all possible tyrannies. They well know that this has not even a chance of being accomplished, but at the expense of the lives and properties of many thousands of the honest people of this country—yet these, it seems, are as nothing in the eyes of such desperate gamblers! But remember, Gentlemen, that I now tell you, that should they (contrary to all probability) accomplish their baseful purpose, yet their government will not be lasting. It will never suit a people who have once tasted the sweets of British liberty under a British constitution. When the present high fever shall abate of its warmth, and the people are once more able coolly to survey and compare their past with their then situation, they will, as naturally as the sparks fly upards, wreak their vengeance on the heads of those who, taking advantage of their delirium, had plunged them into such difficulties and distress.

This, Gentlemen, I well know, is not language to the times. But it is better, it is honest truth flowing from a heart that is ready to shed its best blood for this country. A real patriot can seldom or ever speak popular language. A false one will never suffer himself to speak anything else. The last will often be popular because he will always conform himself to the present humor and passions of the people, that he may the better gratify his private ambition,

and promote his own sinister designs. The first will most generally be unpopular, because his conscience will not permit him to be guilty of such base compliances, and because he will even serve the people, if in his power, against their own inclinations, though he be sure that he thereby risks his ruin or destruction. I am not insensible of the dangers I am likely to incur, but I do not regard them. It is the part of an ignoble mind to decline doing good for fear of evil that might follow. I bear no enmity to any man who means well, however we may differ in political sentiments. I most heartily wish you, Gentlemen, and the people of this once happy province may again enjoy peace and prosperity, and I shall ever particularly honor and esteem such of you and them as have dared, with an honest and manly firmness, in these worst of times, to avow their loyalty to the best of sovereigns, and manifest their attachment to their legal Constitution. As to my own part, I have no scruple to repeat at this time what I formerly declared to the Assembly—That no Office or Honor in the Power of the Crown to bestow, will ever influence me to forget or neglect the Duty I owe my Country, nor the most furious Rage of the most intemperate Zealots induce me to swerve from the Duty I owe His Majesty.

PETER OLIVER’S ACCOUNT, 1776

The revolt of North America, from their Allegiance to and Connection with the Parent State, seems to be as striking a phenomenon, in the political world, as hath appeared for many ages past; and perhaps it is a singular one. For, by advertising to the historic page, we shall find no revolt of colonies, whether under the Roman or any other state, but what originated from severe oppressions, derived from the supreme head of the state, or from those whom he had entrusted as his substitutes to be governors of his provinces. In such cases, the elasticity of human nature has been exerted, to throw off the burdens which the subjects have groaned under; and in most of the instances which are recorded in history, human nature will still justify those efforts.

But for a colony, which had been nursed, in its infancy, with the most tender care and attention; which had been indulged with every gratification that the most forward child could wish for;


which had even bestowed upon it such liberality, which its infancy and youth could not think to ask for; which had been repeatedly saved from impending destruction, sometimes by an aid unsought—at other times by assistance granted to them from their own repeated humble supplications; for such colonies to plunge into an unnatural rebellion, and in the reign of a sovereign, too, whose public virtues had distinguished him as an ornament of the human species—this surely, to an attentive mind, must strike with some degree of astonishment; and such a mind would anxiously wish for a veil to throw over the nakedness of human nature.

REVEREND CHARLES INGLIS, 1777

Never, I will boldly and without hesitation pronounce it, never was a more just, more honorable, or necessary cause for taking up arms than that which now calls you into the field. It is the cause of truth against falsehood, of loyalty against rebellion, of legal government against usurpation, of Constitutional Freedom against Tyranny—in short it is the cause of human happiness of millions against outrage and oppression. Your generous efforts are required to assert the rights of your amiable, injured sovereign—they are required to restore your civil constitution which was formed by the wisdom of the ages, and was the admiration and envy of mankind—under which we and our ancestors enjoy liberty, happiness and security—but is now subverted to make room for a motley fabric, that is perfectly adapted to popular tyranny. Your bleeding country, through which destitution and ruin are driving in full career, from which peace, order, commerce, and useful industry are banished—your loyal friends and relations groaning in bondage under the iron scourge of persecution and oppression—all these now call upon you for succor and redress.

It is not wild, insatiable ambition which sports with lives and fortunes of mankind that leads you forth, driven from your peaceful habitations for no other cause than honoring your King, as God has commanded; you have taken up the sword to vindicate his just authority, to support your excellent constitution, to defend your families, your liberty, and property, to secure to yourselves and your posterity that inheritance of constitutional freedom to which you were born; and all this against the violence of usurped power, which

would deny you even the right of judgment or of choice, which
would rend from you the protection of your parent state, and even-
tually place you—astonishing infatuation and madness—place you
under the despotic rule of our inveterate Popish enemies, the in-
veterate enemies of our religion, our country and liberties.

2

Tory Experiences in Revolutionary America

LETTER OF REVEREND SAMUEL PETERS, HAVING FLED
FROM CONNECTICUT TO BOSTON, 1774

REVEREND SIR: The riots and mobs that have attended
me and my house, set on by the Governor of Connecticut, have
compelled me to take up my abode here; and the clergy of Connect-
icut must fall a sacrifice, with the several churches, very soon to the
rage of the puritan nobility, if the old serpent, that dragon, is not
bound. . . .

Spiritual iniquity rides in high places, with halberts, pistols, and
swords. See the Proclamation I send you by my nephew, and their
pious Sabbath day, the 4th of last month, when the preachers and
magistrates left the pulpits, etc., for the gun and drum, and set off
for Boston, cursing the King and Lord North, General Gage, of
England. And for my telling the church people not to take up arms,
etc., it being high treason, etc., the Sons of Liberty have almost
killed one of my church, tarred and feathered two, abused others;
and on the sixth day destroying my windows, and rent my clothes,
even my gown, etc., crying out, down with the church, the rage of
Popery; their rebellion is obvious; treason is common and robbery
is their daily diversion; the Lord deliver us from anarchy.

LETTER OF ANN HULTON FROM BOSTON, 1774

The most shocking cruelty was exercised a few nights ago,
upon a poor old man, a tidesman, one Malcolm. . . . A quarrel

1 Peter Force, ed., American Archives (Washington, D.C., 1837–1859), Series

2 Ann Hulton, Letters of a Loyalist Lady, with an Introduction by Harold
with the permission of the publisher.
was picked with him. He was afterward taken, and tarred and feathered. There's no law that knows a punishment for the greatest crimes beyond what this is, of cruel torture. And this instance exceeds any other before it. He was stripped stark naked, one of the severest cold nights this winter, his body covered all over with tar, then with feathers, his arm dislocated in tearing off his clothes. He was dragged in a cart, with thousands attending, some beating him with clubs and knocking him out of the cart, then in again. They gave him several severe whippings, at different parts of the town. This spectacle of horror and sportive cruelty was exhibited for about five hours.

The unhappy wretch they say behaved with the greatest intrepidity and fortitude. All the while before he was taken, he defended himself a long time against numbers; and afterwards, when under torture they demanded of him to curse his masters, the king, governors, etc. which they could not make him do, but he still cried, Curse all Traitors. They brought him to the gallows and put a rope about his neck saying they would hang him; he said he wished they would, but that they could not for God was above the Devil. The doctors say that it is impossible that this poor creature can live. They say his flesh comes off his back in stakes.

It is the second time he has been tarred and feathered and this is looked upon more to intimidate the judges and others than a spite to the unhappy victim, though they owe him a grudge for some things, particularly, he was with Governor Tryon in the Battle with the Regulators. . . . The Governor has declared that he was of great service to him in that affair, by his undaunted spirit encountering the greatest dangers.

Governor Tryon had sent him a gift of ten guineas just before this inhuman treatment. He has a wife and family and an aged father and mother who, they say, saw the spectacle which no indifferent person can mention without horror.

These few instances among many serve to show the abject state of government and the licentiousness and barbarism of the times. There's no magistrate that dare or will act to suppress the outrages. No person is secure. There are many objects pointed at, at this time, and when once marked out for vengeance, their ruin is certain.

INTIMIDATING AN OLD TORY, 1775

This morning Mr. John Case, an old man of near sixty years of age, from Long Island, was entertained by an acquaintance of his to go to the house of Jasper Drake, tavern-keeper . . . where he was told Captain McD—l, Captain S—s, and others wanted to converse with him on politics. He went, and soon entered into conversation with Captain McD—I, who attempted to convince him that he was in an error, but not being able to effect it, politely left him. Captain S—s, with several other persons, then attacked him with the force of their eloquence and noise, but Case said he was an unlearned man, and but of few words—that he could not reply to above one. That he judged, however, the fairest way to come at the truth would be to recur to the origin of the present contest between Great Britain and the Colonies, and to trace from the time of the stamp act, the encroachments of ministerial power, and the increasing demands for provincial privileges. This was objected to by Captain S—s, as it would require too much time and attention to discuss. He said that he would question him a little, and asked Case whether the king had not violated his coronation oath? Mr. Case replied, that he thought he had not, and reasoned on this and other matters in as cool a manner as possible, in order not to irritate Captain S—s, who, however, soon grew warm, and branded Case with the appellation of Tory, and told him that if he was in Connecticut . . . he would be put to death. S—s then demanded of Case whether, if the Bostonians were to take up arms, he would fight for the king? Case answered, that if he fought on either side, he would certainly fight for no one else, as he conceived King George to be his lawful sovereign, for the minister a few days before prayed for our rightful sovereign Lord King George the Third, on which S—s replied he was sorry that he had turned churchman, where such prayers were used; Case replied, these expressions were delivered the preceding Sunday by Dr. Rodgers at the Presbyterian meeting, for he himself was a Presbyterian. After a few more queries and replies of a similar nature, S—s told him that he would not suffer a Tory to sit in company with gentlemen, placed a chair in the chimney corner, caught Case by the arm, and forced him into it. He then called for a negro boy, who belonged to the house, and ordered him to sit along with him; for that he (Case) was only fit

to sit in company with slaves; but the negro had too much understanding to reply. Mr. Case then called for some wine, and offered it to the company, but $—s refused to accept it, pushed him down in the chair where he had before placed him, and ordered the rest not to drink with a Tory; and further, that whoever spoke to Case, should forfeit a bowl of toddy, which was exacted by him from two persons who happened to disobey his mandates. $—s then told Case that his age protected him, for if he was a young man, he would have placed him on a red-hot gridiron; and after he had detained this old man as long as he thought proper, he dismissed him.

THE PROSELYTIZATION OF A RHODE ISLAND TORY, 1775 4

In the Upper House
Providence, April 25, 1775

We, the subscribers, professing true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third, beg leave to dissent from the vote of the House of Magistrates, for enlisting, raising and embarking an array of observation, of fifteen hundred men, to repel any insult or violence that may be offered to the inhabitants; and also, if it be necessary for the safety and preservation of any of the colonies, to march them out of this colony, to join and co-operate with the forces of the neighboring colonies.

Because we are of opinion that such a measure will be attended with the most fatal consequences to our charter privileges; involve the country in all the horrors of a civil war; and, as we conceive, is an open violation of the oath of allegiance which we have severally taken, upon our admission into the respective offices we now hold in the colony.

Joseph Wanton    Thomas Wiches
Darius Sessions    William Potter

To the Honorable General Assembly of the colony of Rhode Island, to be holden at Providence, the 51st day of October, A.D. 1775: The Memorial of Darius Sessions, of said Providence, humbly showeth: That at a session of the General Assembly, in April last, an act passed for raising and embodying fifteen hundred men, for the defence of the colony, etc.; against which, your memorialist en-


tered a protest, expressed in terms which greatly displeased the General Assembly and the good people of the colony, for which he is very sorry, and now craves their forgiveness; and as he is in principle a friend to the liberties of America, it is his determination to unite and co-operate with his countrymen in defending all our invaluable rights and privileges.

DANIEL COXE TO CORTLAND SKINNER, ATTORNEY GENERAL
OF NEW JERSEY, 1775 5

Such is the present infatuated temper of the times, and the minds of men daily increasing in madness and phrensy, that they are ready to enter upon the most daring and desperate attempts. A prostration of law and government naturally opens the door for the licentious and abandoned to exercise every malevolent inclination—what then have men of property not to fear and apprehend, and particularly those who happen and are known to differ in sentiment from the generality? They become a mark at once for popular fury, and those who are esteemed friends to government devoted for destruction. They are not even allowed to preserve a neutrality, and passiveness becomes a crime. Those who are not for us are against us, is the cry, and public necessity calls for and will justify their destruction, both life and property. In short, those deemed Tories have everything to fear from the political persecuting spirit now prevailing: The Lex Talionis is talked of should General Gage exercise any severity on those prisoners lately taken in forcing the entrenchments on Bunker's Hill and every man who may be deemed disaffected to the present measures of America must make atone-ment for their sufferings. This I can assure you is mentioned as a matter determined upon, and I doubt not in the least of its being put in execution should the General proceed against those unhappy people as is expected he will, in Terrorem.

ACCOUNT OF THE REV. JONATHAN BOUCHER, 1775 6

The principles and ways of thinking of Whigs and Tories, or of Republicans and Loyalists, are hardly more different than are

their tempers. The latter have a foolish good-nature and improvidence about them which leads them often to hurt their own interests by promoting those of their adversaries, when the objects for which they contended are removed; but the former never forgives, never ceases to effect his purposes of being revenged on those he has once called his enemies. Mr. Sprigg was a thorough Whig, and I perhaps as thorough a Loyalist; as appeared on the least fracas of the kind in which I was involved, and which now soon took place.

A public fast was ordained. In America, as in the Grand Rebellion in England, much execution was done by sermons. Those persons who have read any out of the great number of Puritan sermons that were then printed as well as preached, will cease to wonder that so many people were worked up into such a state of frenzy; and I who either heard, or heard of, many similar discourses from the pulpits in America, felt the effects of them no less than they had before been felt here. My curate was but a weak brother, yet a strong Republican, i.e., as far as he knew how. The sermon he had preached on a former fast, though very silly, was still more exceptionable as contributing to blow the coals of sedition. Its silliness perhaps made it even more mischievous; for to be very popular, it is, I believe, necessary to be very like the bulk of the people, that is, wrong-headed, ignorant, and prone to resist authority. And I am persuaded, whenever it happens that a really sensible man becomes the idol of the people, it must be owing to his possessing a talent of letting himself down to their level. It remains to be proved, however, that ever a really sensible person did take this part; I think the contrary may be proved. As, however, Mr. Harrison's practice as well as preaching were now beginning to be exceptionable, that is, by his setting about and promoting factious associations and subscriptions, it was thought necessary that on the approaching fast-day, which was a day of great expectation, I should make a point of appearing in my own pulpit.

When the fast-day came I set off, accompanied by Mr. Walter Dulany, since made a major in a Provincial Loyal Regiment, and was at my church at least a quarter of an hour before the usual time of beginning service. But behold, Mr. Harrison was in the desk, and was expected also, as I was soon told, to preach. This was not agreeable: but of how little significance was this compared to what I next saw, viz. my church filled with not less than 200 armed men, under the command of Mr. Osborne Sprigg, who soon let me know

I was not to preach. I returned for answer that the pulpit was my own, and as such I would use it; and that there was but one way by which they could keep me out of it, and that was by taking away my life. In church I managed to place myself so as to have the command of the pulpit, and told my curate at his peril not to attempt to dispossess me. Sundie messages were sent, and applications made to me, to relinquish my purpose; but as I knew it was my duty, and thought also that it was my interest, not to relinquish it, I persisted. And so at the proper time, with my sermon in one hand and a loaded pistol in the other, like Nehemiah, I prepared to ascend the steps of the pulpit, when behold, one of my friends (Mr. David Crawford of Upper Marlborough) having got behind me, threw his arms around mine and held me fast. He assured me on his honor he had both seen and heard the most positive orders given to twenty men picked out for the purpose to fire on me the moment I got into the pulpit, which therefore he never would permit me to do, unless I was stronger than he and two or three others who stood close to him. I entreated him and them to go with me into the pulpit, as my life seemed to myself to depend on my not suffering these outrageous people to carry their point; and I suppose we should all be safe while we were all together, for Mr. Crawford and those with him were rather against than for me in politics. In all these cases I argued that once to flinch was forever to invite danger; and that as I could never be out of the reach of such men till I was out of the country, my only policy was, if possible, to intimidate them, as in some degree I had hitherto done. My well-wishers however prevailed—by force rather than by persuasion; and when I was down it is horrid to recollect what a scene of confusion ensued. A large party insisted I was right in claiming and using my own pulpit; but Sprigg and his company were now grown more violent, and soon managed so as to surround me, and to exclude every moderate man. Seeing myself thus circumstanced, it occurred to me that things seemed now indeed to be growing alarming, and that there was but one way to save my life. This was by seizing Sprigg, as I immediately did, by the collar, and with my cocked pistol in the other hand, assuring him that if any violence was offered to me I would instantly blow his brains out, as I most certainly would have done. I then told him that if he pleased he might conduct me to my horse, and I would leave them. This he did, and we marched together upwards of a hundred yards, I with one hand fastened in his collar and a pistol in the other, guarded by his whole company.
whom he had the meanness to order to play on their drums the
Rogues' March all the way we went, which they did. All farther
that I could then do was to declare, as loud as I could speak, that
he had now proved himself to be a complete coward and scoundrel.

Thus ended this dreadful day, which was a Thursday. On the
Sunday following I again went to the same church, was again op-
posed, though more feebly than before, owing to an idea that I never
would think of making another attempt. I preached the same ser-
mon I should have preached on the Thursday, with some comments
on the transactions of that day. After sermon, notice having been
spread of my being at Church, a larger body assembled, and I found
myself again surrounded and hustled. But placing my back against
a pillar of the church, and being a little raised, I again began to
bawl and to harangue, and again got off; so that this affray ended
in a war of words.

These attacks, however, now became so frequent and so furious,
and the time, moreover, was coming on fast when if I did not asso-
ciate, and take the oaths against legal government, I should cer-
tainly be proscribed, and, what seemed still worse, not have it
in my power to get out of their clutches; for on the 10th of Septem-
ber all farther intercourse with Great Britain was to be stopped; so
that I now began to have serious thoughts of making my retreat to
England. It was far too plain that such a step could not but be in
a manner ruinous to all my interests in America, which were then all
the interests I had in the world; but it was alas! still plainer that to
stay would too probably be equally fatal to my property and my
life. . . .

SAMUEL CURWEN OF SALEM FLEES TO PHILADELPHIA, 1775

Since the late unhappy affairs at Concord and Lexington,
finding the spirit of the people to rise on every fresh alarm (which
has been almost hourly) and their tempers to get more and more
soured and malevolent against all moderate men, whom they see fit
to reproach as enemies of their country by the name of Tories,
among whom I am unhappily (though unjustly) ranked, and un-
able longer to bear their undeserved reproaches and menaces
hourly denounced against myself and others, I think it a duty I owe

7 George Akinson Ward, ed., Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen
A PHILADELPHIA TORY SUGGESTS THAT ENGLAND USE MORE MILITARY FORCE, 1776

You would hardly conceive, without seeing it, to what a height the political fury of this country is arrived. I most heartily wish myself at home among freeborn Englishmen, not among this tyrannical and arbitrary rabble of America. They have made many protestations of respect for England, and of their desire of union with the Mother Country; but you may take my word for it, my dear friend, it is the meanest and basest hypocrisy that ever was assumed. I have had occasion to spend, for a few years past, much of my time in this province; and you may depend upon it, (and I am sure I have neither interest nor wish to deceive you) that the present breach with England is not the device of a day, and has not risen with the question about taxation, (though that has been a favorable plea) but is part of a system which has been forming here, even before the late war. You would feel the indignation I do every day, when I hear my King and country vilified and abused by a parcel of wretches, who owe their very existence to it. I am amazed at the stupor and supineness of your Admiralty. For God’s sake what are you doing in England? Are the friends of Great Britain and their property to be left exposed at this rate, to the dictates of an inhuman rabble? I expect, with many others, if I do not join in the seditious and traitorous acts in vogue, to be hauled away and confined in a prison with the confiscation of all I have in the world. Words cannot paint the distress of sober people who have property, and wish for peace and quietness.

Where is the boasted Navy of our country, that only one poor sloop is stationed here? Whereas if we had but three ships of war, one of fifty and two of forty guns each, this place would not only be kept in awe, and the friends of Government secured, but a sufficient quantity of provisions might be had at all times for your fleet and army, which, we are informed, are half starved at Boston. As to the sloop we have here, the Nautilus, I fear she will soon go to the shades; for our friends are building above fifty row boats of large dimensions, which are to have a twenty-four pounder in the stern sheets, several swivels in the sides, and plenty of muskets for the people on board, and for all the purposes of attacking the

King’s ships that may arrive here. But if Government would order the Navy to sink all these vessels to the bottom whenever they met with them, a few examples of such timely severity would keep them on shore. I must not forget to tell you, that they are smuggling from the French West Indies in pilot boats all the ammunition they can get; but two or three cruisers off the Capes would soon put an end to that business.

Constant news arrives here, daily almost, which keeps up the mad enthusiasm of the people; namely, that an insurrection of thousands has begun in England; that Lord North is fled for his life to France or Italy; that Wilkes, Burke, Governor Johnstone, Lord Elvingham, Arthur Lee, and others, at the head of an armed multitude, had destroyed the Parliament House, and several members of the Administration. You would be amazed at the present rejoicing here upon this account. We are told likewise, that the Dutch have about fifty millions in our funds, and that they are about to demand them immediately, which will occasion a total bankruptcy to Great Britain. Everybody here believes this, and a hundred times as much more, for Gospel; which, I am well informed, is sent them by a set of people among you, whom humanity should teach not to sport thus with the lives and fortunes of these poor people here. All this increases the arrogance and ferment; and nobody dares to doubt it, unless he chooses to risk his life and substance; at least he must keep his doubts to himself. If this be liberty, Good Lord deliver me from all such liberty!

If government mean to do anything, they must do it quickly, or the contest will be the stronger. I am surprised you do not take and stop all the ships going in or coming out of these ports. Conceal my name; or I should run a great risk of my life and property, were it discovered here that I had sent you any account of these proceedings. Indeed, I incur some danger in writing at all; nor should I, if I could not confide in my conveyance.

GOVERNOR JAMES WRIGHT OF GEORGIA ASKS FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE, 1776

[The Rebels] say that now they have gone so far, that neither fortune nor lives are to be regarded, and that they will go every length. But still if we had proper support and assistance, I think

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numbers would join the king's standard; but no troops, no money, no orders or instructions, and a wild multitude gathering fast, what can any man do in such a situation? No arms, no ammunition, not so much as a ship of war of any kind, and the neighboring Province at the same time threatening vengeance against the friends of government, and to send 1,000 men to assist the liberty people if they want assistance, all these things my Lord are really too much. They have also publicly declared that every man shall sign the association or leave the Province; that is, private persons, but that no King's officer shall be suffered to go: they will take care to prevent any of them from stirring. Surely my Lord, His Majesty's officers and dutiful and loyal subjects will not be suffered to remain under such cruel tyranny and oppression.

Your Lordship will judge of the cruel state and situation we are reduced to; the rebels encouraged and exulting; their numbers in and about town increased, according to the best information I can get, to about 800 men in arms; about 200 of their regiment or battalion already enlisted and daily increasing; a considerable part of my property seized upon, and the negroes employed in throwing up and making military works in and about the town; the King's officers and friends to government, some seized upon and kept prisoners, and others hiding and obliged to desert their families and property to save their lives and liberties, and some threatened to be shot whenever met with: which distresses my Lord I humbly conceive would not have happened, had no King's ships or troops come here, until there was sufficient to reduce the rebels at once.

THE BRAVERY OF A MARYLAND TORY, DESCRIBED IN A LETTER TO ENGLAND, 1776

I could wish to speak more favorably of this colony, but a disposition to the full as repugnant to the rights of Great Britain, has been manifested here, as in the province of Massachusetts, only with less abilities to defend it, and less enthusiasm to carry it into execution. The first men, with respect to capacity and fortune, are on the side of government; but the rabble, which in this country as in every other, form by far the major part, often oblige them to be cautious and secret. Our Governor, notwithstanding his amiable qualities had secured to him the affections of the whole colony, is almost entirelly deserted, and lives at Annapolis with his Secretary, and a very few of his European friends. The mob have not done much mischief either on Patuxent or Potomac rivers, but they have showed a brutality which proves the cause which they have unhappily espoused to be both desperate and unjust.

Our old and valuable friend Mr. Lee, at Cedar Point, in the next county, in a conversation relative to the Bostonians, inadvertently damned them for destroying the tea. This was immediately made public, and a mob of near 1500 or 2000 men assembled, and marched to within three miles of his elegant house, from whence they sent deputies to him; who, pretending to be his friends, and that through their influence they had prevailed upon the mob to stop, or they would have proceeded and laid his house level with the ground, desired him, in order to appease their resentment, to accompany them to where they were assembled, and sign a paper retracting what he had said. His wife and daughters were by this time apprised of the storm, and in fits. Yet, in this situation he left his family, as the only means by which he could hope to save their lives and his house, and accompanied by the rebel chiefs set out for their associates. When he arrived, they gave him an instrument to sign, and insisted on his going on his bare knees—when, to the astonishment as well as confusion of them all, he manfully disdained the slavish imposition.

"Take" (said our hoary and venerable friend) "the poor remains of a life almost exhausted in your service. I have lived among you upwards of seventy years, and with reputation; but if at this advanced age the malice of my enemies can drag me at their pleasure from the peaceable enjoyments of domestic felicity; or if the blind and uninformed rage of party, which contends for liberty and the rights of humanity, at the very instant it is imposing the greatest and most disgraceful of all slavery, a restraint upon the mind, can with impunity triumph over natural justice, and force me to a concurrence in measures against the conviction of my conscience; it is time to take an eternal farewell of the world. You may indeed kill me, but you shall not force me to make an ignominious denial of the truth, or to retract one syllable I have asserted."

"I have hitherto maintained through a variety of stations the rights of my fellow-citizens; and acquainted as you all are with my disposition, it can hardly be expected I would submit to a disgraceful surrender of my own. Act as you please; I have lived a free man, and it is my unalterable resolution to die one." Upon which he turned around, and left them in a profound silence, while he pur-

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sued his journey home, uninterrupted by the Sons of Liberty, as they call themselves.

These outrages have not prevailed much among us, but this shows to what cruelty and injustice they are capable of proceeding; and it also proves how far a manly fortitude will embarrass and confound them. Mr. Lee has remained unmolested, and the rioters have been universally condemned, even by their associates, for their brutality.

TORY SUFFERING IN NEW YORK, 1776

"The persecution of the loyalists continues unremitting. Donald McLean, Theophilus Hardenbrook, young Fueter, the silversmith, and Rem Rapelje of Brooklyn, have been cruelly rode on rails, a practice most painful, dangerous, and till now, peculiar to the humane republicans of New England."

THE NARRATIVE OF JOEL STONE OF CONNECTICUT, 1776–1778

In the year 1776 I discovered that it was perfectly impracticable any longer to conceal my sentiments from the violent public. The agents of Congress acted with all the cunning and cruelty of inquisitors and peremptorily urged me to declare without further hesitation whether I would immediately take up arms against the British Government or procure a substitute to serve in the general insurrection.

I could no longer withhold any positive reply and unalterable resolution of declining to fulfil their request by joining in an act which I actually detested and which had been repeatedly deemed a rebellion by the public proclamation of General Howe. The leader of the faction then informed me that my conduct in consequence of such refusal would undergo the strictest scrutiny and that I might expect to meet the utmost severity to my person from those in authority and an incensed public.

Thus perpetually perplexed and harassed, I determined in my own mind to withdraw as soon as possible to the City of New York and thereby joining his Majesty's forces cast what weight I was able into the opposite scale. But before I could carry my design into execution a warrant by order of the agents of Congress was issued out in order to seize my person. Being apprized of this and hearing that a party of men were actually on their way to my house, I packed up my books and bills, which I delivered to a careful friend to secrete, and left the care of my effects in the house to one of my sisters who had lived with me some time. Before the tumultuous mob which attended the party surrounded the premises, I had the good fortune to get away on horseback and, being in the dark night, happily eluded their search. But my sister, as I was afterwards given to understand, met the resentment of the mob, who from language the most opprobrious proceeded to actual violence, breaking open every lock in the house and seizing all the property they could discover. My goods and chattels thus confiscated they exposed to sale as soon as possible in opposition to the repeated remonstrances of my partner, declaring that the whole estate, real and personal, was become the property of the States.

But I soon found that my person was one principal object of their aim. Being informed to what place I had fled, a party of about twelve armed men with a constable came up and, seizing my horse, were proceeding into the house when I found an opportunity to slip from their hands. [It] was full fourteen days before I was perfectly secure, during which time several parties were detached after me, whom they were taught to consider as a traitor to the United States and unworthy to live. An invincible frenzy appeared to pervade the minds of the country people, and those very men who so recently had held one in the highest esteem became the most implacable enemies. I could not help considering my fate as peculiarly hard in thus being hunted as a common criminal and proscribed without cause in the very country that gave me birth, merely for performing my duty and asserting the rights of the British Constitution.

However, I had the unspeakable happiness to escape the utmost vigilance of my pursuers and at length reached Long Island. There I soon joined the King's army as a volunteer, in company with several gentlemen in the same persecuted situation, who also like myself had missed no opportunity of serving the royal cause but whose execution had been greatly curbed by the popular party. I remained thus until the 15th April, 1778, when, finding my money just expended amidst so many enormous calls and dreading that the patience of my best friends would not hold out much longer however willing they had been to assist me, I accepted a warrant to raise a
company (as stated in my memorial presented to the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury), with a view to be in pay, especially as but little prospect was presented of a speedy termination being put to the unhappy war.

On the night of the 12th of May, 1778, as I was lying at Huntington on Long Island in order to carry my purpose of recruiting further into execution, I was surprised while asleep by a company of whales boatmen who took me prisoner and carried [me] over to Norwalk in Connecticut.

The magistrate before whom I was taken refused to consider me as a prisoner of war, which I claimed as a right, but charging me with the enormous crime of high treason against the States I was committed a close prisoner to Fairfield jail. I was there indicted, threatened with the vengeance of the law and warned solemnly for that death which most certainly would be inflicted upon me.

In a situation so perfectly horrible, perpetually exposed to the most barbarous insults of the populace and even some of the magistrates of the place, it may easily be supposed I would meditate a recovery from captivity so much to be dreaded. For a purpose so truly desirable I resolved to exert every effort of ingenuity that my mind could suggest. By the aid of my brother and other friends in that country I sent a flag to the commander of the king's army at or nigh King's Bridge in New York, soliciting immediate relief. This not producing the desired effect, I petitioned the Governor . . . that I might, agreeable to justice, be deemed a prisoner of war, treated as such and be permitted to appear before himself and Council in person to remove every objection to the late request. I freely offered to defray all the incidental expenses occasioned by my removal across the country. However, he hesitated some time but at last agreed to my proposal. I paid for the strong guard which attended me by the way and entertained some hope of my meeting a favorable reception from the Governor.

The result turned out quite contrary to my wish. My petition was rejected with the utmost disdain and I was reminded to prepare for that approaching fate which was irrevocably fixed, as I was afterwards informed by a decree which could not be thwarted. On my return the captain and guard buoyed me up by the way with a distant view of clemency, which in a great measure prevented me from an attempt which by the aid of pecuniary means must have freed me from so dreadful a situation, as I discovered that these mercenaries were far from being invulnerable in the respect alluded to. But as that must have cost me a considerable sum, the notion that

I should one day be exchanged soothed for the present my perturbed mind and prevented my immediate attempt to escape. But on my return to prison all my sanguine hopes vanished and left my mind in the utmost agitation. I began to renew my contrivances and intrigues in conjunction with my friends and resolved to spare no expense in my power to regain my liberty. Many of my schemes, though they cost large sums, proved unsuccessful, yet I did not despair of gaining my point. The dungeon was truly dismal, the walls strong and the place perpetually guarded, yet being in the prime of life my spirits were warm and my passions violent. I therefore firmly determined to effect an escape if I even should be obliged to sink the last shilling and go out naked into the world.

Communicating my final resolution to . . . a fellow prisoner, he readily approved of my plan and embraced the offered opportunity of being again free. By the generous aid of my friends and a judicious application of almost all the money I could raise we happily emerged from that place of horror July 23, 1778, and with quick despatch pursued our way into the wilderness of that country to wait the further assistance of our friends.

PETER VAN SCHAACK OF NEW YORK TO THE PROVINCIAL CONVENTION, 1777

I am now about setting out, conformably to the sentence of your Committee, to make the town of Boston my prison, to which I am condemned by them unheard, upon a charge of maintaining an equivocal neutrality in the present struggles. How far the punishment of banishment for this can be justified, either by the practice of other nations, or upon those principles on which alone legitimate governments are founded, and how far it answers those ends, which alone make punishments a lawful exercise of power, I shall not at present inquire; but as it implies, that your committee considers me as a subject of your State, it behooves me, gentlemen, "to address you with that freedom which can never give offense to the representatives of a free people."

When I appeared before the Albany committee, I refused to answer the question, whether I considered myself as a subject of Great Britain, or of the State of New York, because I perceived the dilemma in which it would involve me, of either bringing punishment on myself, in consequence of my own declaration, or of taking an

oath, which, if I had been never so clear respecting the propositions it contains, under the circumstances it was offered to me, and in my present situation, I should not have taken.

The reasons peculiar to myself, I shall not urge; but, supposing the independency of this State to be clearly established, I conceive it is premature, to tender an oath of allegiance before the government to which it imposes subjection, the time it is to take place of the present exceptionable one, and who are to be the rulers, as well as the mode of their appointment in future, are known; for with every favorable allowance to those arguments which suppose it improbable that those who are contending for the rights of mankind will ever invade them, and that those who have vindicated liberty against one tyranny, will establish or countenance another; I say, admitting these arguments to have weight, both history and experience have, however, convinced me that they are by no means conclusive.

In the resolutions of the Provincial Congress of the 31st May last, I find it declared, that “many and great inconveniences attend the mode of government by congress and committees, as of necessity, in many instances, legislative, executive and judiciary powers have been vested in them.” Now, gentlemen, the union of these powers in the same body of men, according to him whom the continental congress call the “immortal Montesquieu,” “puts an end to liberty;” and is there not cause, therefore, (reasoning entirely from the fallibility of mankind without respect to persons,) to be very jealous of a government, established by a body of men with such a plentitude of power, especially when they have not given the public the common security of an oath for the fair and impartial exercise of it? Have not the people a right to expect that the intended constitution should be published for their approbation, before they are compelled, under so severe a penalty as banishment, to swear fidelity to it?

The declaration of independency proceeded upon a supposition, that the constitution under which we before lived was actually dissolved, and the British government, as such, totally annihilated here. Upon this principle, I conceive that we were reduced to a state of nature, in which the powers of government reverted to the people, who had undoubted right to establish any new form they thought proper; that portion of his natural liberty which each individual had before surrendered to the government, being now resumed, and to which no one in society could make any claim until he incorporated himself in it.

But, gentlemen, admitting there was never SO clear a majority in favor of independency, and who were convinced that they were absolved from their allegiance, and admitting that you are now vested with powers to form a new government, by the suffrages of a majority of the people of this State; permit me to observe that those who are of different sentiments, be they ever so few, are not absolutely concluded, in point of right thereby. The question whether a government is dissolved and the people released from their allegiance, is, in my opinion, a question of morality as well as religion, in which every man must judge, as he must answer for himself; and this idea is fairly held up to the public in your late address, wherein you declare, “that every individual must one day answer for the part he now acts.” If he must answer for the part he acts, which certainly presupposes the right of private judgment, he can never be justifiable in the sight of God or man, if he acts against the light of his own conviction. In such a case no majority, however respectable, can decide for him.

But, admitting that a man is never so clear about the dissolution of the old government, I hold it that every individual has still a right to choose the State of which he will become a member; for before he surrenders any part of his natural liberty, he has a right to know what security he will have for the enjoyment of the residue, and “men being by nature free, equal and independent,” the subjection of any one to the political power of a State, can arise only from “his own consent.” I speak of the formation of society and of a man’s initiating himself therein, so as to make himself a member of it; for I admit, that when once the society is formed, the majority of its members undoubtedly conclude the rest.

Upon these principles, I hold it that you cannot justly put me to the alternative of choosing to be a subject of Great Britain, or of this State, because should I deny subjection to Great Britain, it would not follow that I must necessarily be a member of the State of New York; on the contrary, I should still hold that I had a right, by the “immutable laws of nature,” to choose any other State of which I would become a member. And, gentlemen, if you think me so dangerous a man, as that my liberty at home is incompatible with the public safety, I now claim it at your hands as my right, that you permit me to remove from your State into any other I may prefer, in which case, I reserve to myself the power of disposing of my property by sale or otherwise.

I would not be so far misunderstood, as if I supposed that no person is amenable to the authority of a State, unless he has expressly
recognized and consented to. I am aware, that there may be an implied consent arising from a temporary residence in a community and “deriving protection from the laws of the same.” But, to make a man a member of any society, and a subject of its government, in that sense which would restrain him from quitting it, and removing to another he may like better, I conceive that a positive, express, unequivocal engagement is necessary. I am constrained, therefore, to deny, in its full latitude, the assertion in your resolution of the 16th July, “that persons abiding in the State and deriving protection from the laws of the same, are members of the state,” for I hold it, that they are from those circumstances merely, no otherwise members of it than in a sense so qualified as to make the position immaterial in the present case. These, as far as I understand them, are the sentiments of Mr. Locke and those other advocates for the rights of mankind, whose principles have been avowed and in some instances carried into practice, by the Congress.

According to these principles I have endeavored to conduct myself during the present calamities of this country. Whatever my private opinions may have been of their rectitude, wisdom, or policy, I have acquiesced in the proceedings of the Congress, and expected whenever I transgressed their ordinances, to undergo the penalty, whether of fine, imprisonment, or otherwise; and this, I conceived entitled me to protection. Between protection and reward in society, I conceived there was a wide difference, and that the man who took no active part against you, was entitled to the former, but that a claim to the latter could only be founded on some positive merit; and as I never solicited favors, I never expected to suffer for wanting the qualifications necessary to entitle me to them.

Disposed, however, to make allowances for the exigencies of the times, I would cheerfully have submitted to an abridgment of my liberty, if those in authority really thought it incompatible with the public safety; but then, in determining this, I expected regard should have been paid to the principles of judicial equity, and that those who gave an opinion respecting my principles, should have been compelled to assign the facts on which it was founded, and that I should have had an opportunity of controverting them, and of impeaching the credibility, or proving the infamy of the informers against me. But if I was to be condemned on suspicion, I expected at least that my informers and judges should have been under oath; and if a test was necessary, I expected it would be in consequence of some general law, putting all men who are in the same class in the same situation, and not that it should be left at

the discretion of particular men to tender it to such individuals as malevolence, or party, family, or personal resentment should point out.

I have been several times apprised, that my brothers and myself have been represented to you as dangerous persons, whose influence has disseminated a general dissatisfaction through the district, upon which charge I shall be silent, as I well know the invictous light in which declarations tending to remove suspicions of this nature are received. I cannot, however, avoid sending you a detail of the proceedings relative to this district, in which perhaps you will be able to trace a cause for its general dissatisfaction, (if it be so,) more efficacious than any influence we can be supposed to have. An inquiry into this cannot be unworthy of your attention, and if you find an adequate cause in them, I hope all conjectures about a supposed one will vanish. With this detail you would sooner have been furnished, but that complaints of the abuses of power, are supposed in these cases to be levelled at the power itself, and imputed to an insidious view of exciting disunion.

I have now, gentlemen, concluded the business of this application, which, as I had not the honor of a personal hearing, I am obliged to offer by way of letter. My request is for leave to quit your State, and my reasons I have explained at large.

If my principles are ill-founded, or misapplied, I shall readily retract my errors when pointed out; but if they are founded on the immutable laws of nature, and the sacred rights of mankind, if they are such as are generally acknowledged by writers of the greatest eminence, and if they are necessarily connected with the same principles on which the American opposition is justified, I trust they will readily be admitted by you, though urged by an individual; nor do I conceive they now come before you in an extra-judicial way, but are clearly connected with my defense, on a charge which has been thought of importance enough to subject me to banishment from my native place.

THE DIARY OF JAMES ALLEN OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1777

My particular situation has been of late very uneasy, owing to the battalion of militia of this district, assembling in the town of Northampton, to the number of 600 men . . . They are generally disorderly, being under no discipline; and I was particularly ob-

noxious, on account of my political opinions, and the conduct of my brothers, but particularly for the late assault I made on the Lieutenant Colonel when my chariot was attacked and which the whole battalion highly resented. Eight or nine parties of 15 or 20 men each came to demand blankets, one party of which, was very uncivil. But by prudence I escaped without any insult, having parted with 10 blankets. The principal officers behaved with great civility and the Colonel Boehm whom I had the encounter with, came to my house, to assure me he was innocent of the attack on my chariot and we buried the affair in oblivion. He assured me, that the soldiers were ripe for doing some violence to my house, which he with difficulty prevented, and upon the whole I had great good fortune to escape without some injury from a riotous incensed soldiery, and am at present pretty easy on that head. Notwithstanding this I am uneasy and wish to be in Philadelphia. My wife is often alarmed; I am afraid to converse with persons here, or write to my friends in Philadelphia, and a small matter, such as a letter intercepted or unguarded word, would plunge me into troubles. I never knew, how painful it is to be secluded from the free conversation of one's friends, the loss of which cannot be made up by any other expedients. I am considering whether I shall not leave this place in May and adjourn to Philadelphia...

Oppressions multiply and it seems determined to make this country intolerable to all who are not actively its friends. The most discreet, passive, and respectable characters are dragged forth and though no charge can be made, yet a new idea is started, (which like all other beginnings of oppressive schemes soon become general) of securing such men as hostages. This circumstance makes me think my brothers happily out of the way. I daily expect, notwithstanding my present parole, to be further harassed, as I am extremely obnoxious. . . . These oppressions on men who have never given offence are justified by the Whigs as necessary for the security of all government; while the Tories think, that few cases can happen, where men of virtue ought innocently to [be] persecuted.

LOYALISTS PETITION THE KING OF ENGLAND, 1782 15

The humble and dutiful declaration and address of his majesty's American loyalists, to the king's most excellent majesty, to both houses of parliament and the people of Great Britain.


We, his majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the loyal inhabitants of America, who have happily got within the protection of the British forces, as well as those who, though too wise not to have foreseen the fatal tendency of the present wanton and causeless rebellion, yet, from numberless obstacles, the unexampled severities, have hitherto been compelled to remain under the tyranny of the rebels, and submit to the measures of congressional usurpation...

The penalty under which any American subject enlists into his majesty's service, is no less than the immediate forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, lands and tenements; and if apprehended, and convicted by the rebels, of having enlisted, or prevailed on any other person to enlist into his majesty's service, it is considered as treason, and punished with death. Whereas, no forfeiture is incurred, or penalty annexed, to his entering into the service of congress; but, on the contrary, his property is secured, and himself rewarded.

The desultory manner also in which the war has been carried on, by first taking possession of Boston, Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Portsmouth, Norfolk in Virginia, Wilmington in North Carolina, etc., and then evacuating them, whereby many thousand inhabitants have been involved in the greatest wretchedness, is another substantial reason why more loyalists have not enlisted into his majesty's service, or openly espoused and attached themselves to the royal cause; yet, notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, there are many more men in his majesty's provincial regiments than there are in the continental service. Hence it cannot be doubted but that there are more loyalists in America than there are rebels; and also, that their zeal must be greater, or so many would not have enlisted into the provincial service, under such very unequal circumstances...

Relying with the fullest confidence upon national justice and compassion to our fidelity and distresses, we can entertain no doubts but that Great Britain will prevent the ruin of her American friends, at every risk short of certain destruction to herself. But if compelled, by adversity of misfortune, from the wicked and perilous combinations and designs of numerous and powerful enemies abroad, and more criminal and dangerous enemies at home, an idea should be formed by Great Britain of relinquishing her American colonies to the usurpation of congress, we thus solemnly call God to witness that we think the colonies can never be so happy or so free as in a constitutional connection with, and dependence on Great Britain; convinced, as we are, that to be a British subject,
with all its consequences, is to be the happiest and freest member of any civil society in the known world—we, therefore in justice to our members, in duty to ourselves, and in fidelity to our posterity, must not, cannot refrain from making this public declaration and appeal to the faithful subjects of every government, and the compassionate sovereign of every people, in every nation and kingdom of the world, that our principles are the principles of the virtuous and free; that our sufferings are the sufferings of unprotected loyalty, and persecuted fidelity; that our cause is the cause of legal and constitutional government, throughout the world; that, opposed by principals of republicanism, and convinced, from recent observations, that brutal violence, merciless severity, relentless cruelty, and discretionary outrages are the distinguished traits and ruling principles of the present system of congressional republicanism, our aversion is unconquerable, irreconcilable; that we are attached to monarchical government, from past and happy experience—by duty, and by choice; that, to oppose insurrections, and to listen to the requests of people so circumstanced as we are, is the common interest of all mankind in civil society; that to support our rights, is to support the rights of every subject of legal government; and that to afford us relief, is at once the duty and security of every prince and sovereign on earth. . . .

THE COST OF REMAINING LOYAL: LOYALIST CLAIMS MADE AND ALLOWED BY GREAT BRITAIN, 1765–82 16

First General Statement of Claims made by, and Losses liquidated of American loyalists:

**Losses of Property**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Claims under the Acts of 1783 and 1785</th>
<th>Number of Claims</th>
<th>Amount of Claims (£ s. d.)</th>
<th>Losses Allowed (£ s. d.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Loyalists who have rendered Services</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>1,904,632 4 0</td>
<td>640,690 19 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Loyalists who bore Arms in the service of Great Britain</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>1,040,506 6 0</td>
<td>263,135 6 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Loyalists zealous and Uniform</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>1,744,492 18 0</td>
<td>551,616 4 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Loyal British subjects resident in Great Britain</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>342,139 4 0</td>
<td>140,927 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Losses of Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Claims</th>
<th>Amount of Claims per annum</th>
<th>Loss of Income per annum found</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Claims presented]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claims for loss of income allowed</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>£92,388 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto of a person now a subject or settled inhabitant of the United States</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£600 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto where the parties have died since their claims were examined</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>£4,683 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto which have been disallowed</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>£9,865 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto for loss of income allowed (referred by the Act of 1788)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£894 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>£108,430 0 0</td>
<td>£80,372 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3

Tory Assessments of John Adams, George Washington, and the Rebel Forces

LETTER OF A LOYALIST SURGEON, MAY, 1775

This [rebel] army, of which you will hear so much said, and see so much written, is truly nothing but a drunken, canting, lying, praying, hypocritical rabble, without order, subjection, discipline, or cleanliness; and must fall to pieces of itself in the course of three months, notwithstanding every endeavor of their leaders, teachers, and preachers, though the last are the most canting, hypocritical, lying scoundrels that this or any other country ever afforded. You are mistaken, if you think they are Presbyterian; they are Congregationalists, divided and subdivided into a variety of distinctions, the descendants of Oliver Cromwell's army, who truly inherit the spirit which was the occasion of so much bloodshed in your country from the year 1642 till the Restoration, but these people are happily placed at a distance from you, and though they may occasion a little expense of men and money before they are reduced to order, yet they cannot extend the calamities of war to your island. They have not been hitherto the least molested since the affair at Lexington. Time has been given for their passions to subside, but I do not suppose that the General's patience will continue much longer; he is at present confined to the town of Boston, and all supplies from the country stopped, and both the navy and the army live upon salt provisions of that sort; I am well informed, there are nine months provisions in the town.

1Margaret W. Willard, ed., Letters on the American Revolution (Boston, 1925), pp. 120–21.