GENERAL WASHINGTON AND THE LOYALISTS

BY WILBUR H. SIEBERT

GEORGE WASHINGTON attended the Second Continental Congress in his blue and buff uniform and was nominated for Commander in Chief after Lexington and Concord by Thomas Johnson of Maryland. John Adams had previously moved that a general be appointed and in his speech had shown that he had Washington in mind as the proper person for that office by characterizing him as "a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the union." On June 15, 1775, Washington was unanimously elected. Four days later he was commissioned, and on the 25th reached New York City on his way to the army at Cambridge. As he left the Hoboken ferry, two bodies of troops were waiting, one to do him honor and the other to perform the same office for Governor Tryon, who was expected at any moment. The situation was embarrassing for those in command, but passed without leading to an awkward meeting. Before continuing his journey, Washington wrote to General Schuyler, at Albany, to "keep a watchful eye" on Tryon and use every means in his power to frustrate his inimical designs, and also to watch the movements of the Indian agent, Colonel Guy Johnson.[1]

[1] W. C. Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 2, pp. 493–498; *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June, 1930, p. 145; Capt. T. G. Frothingham, *Washington, Commander in Chief*, 68–69.

Soon after beginning the blockade of Boston, Washington received as intelligence a copy of the articles of association drafted by Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles, a mandamus councillor from Worcester County, for the embodiment of Loyalists within the town to aid Gage's force in resisting, as these articles stated, "the pretended authority of any Congress, Committee of Correspondence, or any other unconstitutional assemblies of men." Four companies of Loyal Associated Volunteers and two other organizations were formed, but had to content themselves with performing patrol and guard duty until the evacuation. Then they and their wretched fellows—to the number of more than eleven hundred—sailed with the British for Halifax. Washington thought that their objective was New York City, by taking which they would surround themselves with a friendly populace and secure communication with Canada. Of the mandamus councillors—"those new fangled counsellors" as he called them—who had fled, with many other Tories to Boston, Washington entertained a poor opinion, believing that they would have aided in overturning the constitution and introducing arbitrary government for the sake of honors and pecuniary gratifications. Now that they and their followers were miserably crowded aboard the British transports, off Nantasket, he wrote, "Not the last trump could have struck them with greater consternation."[1]

Already in the autumn of 1775 Lord Dunmore was trying to promote the royal cause in Virginia. He was a refugee on the *Fowey* ship of war, and was making but little progress in gaining adherents, most of whom were runaway slaves. After a slight military success, near Kempsville, he erected the king's standard and administered the oath of allegiance to some three thousand men. About mid-November he wrecked his cause by proclaiming martial law and freedom to the black and the indentured servants of rebels. The

[1]W. H. Siebert, "Loyalist Troops of New England," in *New England Quarterly*, Jan., 1931, pp. 5–15, 21; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 3, p. 194.

prospect of seeing the negroes in arms alienated most of the Loyalists, only a fraction of whom joined the governor. Washington had sent General Charles Lee to oppose Dunmore and hoped that Virginia would put forth its strength to crush him and his motley following. When some American troops marched into Norfolk, they found Dunmore and his people on board the British ships.[1]

Meantime the armed vessel *Betsy* had been dispatched by Dunmore to convey the Loyalist, Colonel Moses Kirkland, lately from St. Augustine, to deliver letters from Dunmore himself, Governor Tonyn, Superintendent Stuart, and other officials to General Gage. These letters related to the conditions in Virginia and East Florida and the employment of the Indians in hostilities. Fortunately the *Betsey* was captured by the armed schooner *Lee* and sent to Beverley, Massachusetts, whence Kirkland and his missives were taken before Washington, who sent them on to the Congress. That body committed the prisoner to the Philadelphia jail, from which he escaped at the end of a year to Baltimore and so to the British. Washington had been so impressed with the weak state of St. Augustine as revealed in the letters that he had suggested to Congress the "vast consequence" of taking the place. Accordingly, the Carolinas and Georgia were urged to co-operate in its reduction at the expense of the united colonies. Several expeditions were attempted, but were so badly managed that the British garrison, aided by three Tory regiments, a few provincial galleys, and some Indians had little difficulty in preventing a serious invasion.[2] If St. Augustine had been secured and retained East Florida would have become the fourteenth of our states.

Washington learned conclusively from Superintendent Stuart's letters that the British ministry intended to put the Indians on the war path. He wrote

[1]H. J. Eckenrode, *The Revolution in Virginia*, 54, 59, 65, 67, 74, 77, 80–83; I. S. Harrell, *Loyalism in Virginia*, 32, 39, 43.

[2]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 3, pp. 285–286 and *n.*; W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774–1785*, I, 33–71.

to that effect to General Schyler, who had gained the same information from the Northern Indians. The Commander in Chief therefore tried to attach the Northern, Penobscot, and Six Nation tribes to the Americans rather than see them join the Loyalists in descents upon the outlying settlements. But he failed.[1]

Dunmore hoped to maintain himself in Virginia until he could co-operate with a formidable force from Maryland, Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Detroit in separating the Northern from the Southern colonies. To raise, combine, and conduct this expedition of British regulars, Tories, and Indians, Dunmore commissioned Dr. John Connolly, Allen Cameron, and Dr. John F. D. Smythe and sent them northwestward. They and their subordinates seem to have enlisted some seventy-five hundred Tories, but the three leaders were apprehended at Hagerstown, Maryland, with incriminating papers in their possession. As those of Connolly, which would have shown the magnitude of the enterprise, could not be found, Washington directed the president of the Continental Congress where to look for them; but Connolly's servant had destroyed the important ones, saving only his master's commission. However, investigations by the Maryland authorities brought to light the recruiting agents, a number of whom were tried and several hanged.[2]

On January 1, 1776, Dunmore's fleet bombarded Norfolk and started the conflagration that destroyed most of that town. At Gwynn's Island it disembarked its many pest-stricken refugees, white and black, was cannonaded from the mainland, and sailed away. Later it joined the British, at Staten Island, with its surviving Loyalists and slaves, numbering about a thousand. Informed of this, Washington wrote merely that they "added but little" to the enemy's strength.[3]

Another source of concern to General Washington was the activities of Loyalists in Rhode Island and

[1]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 3, pp. 293–294 and *n*.

[2]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 3, pp. 294 and *n*., 390–391; Harrell, *Loyalism in Virginia*, 37–8, 40–43.

[3]Eckenrode, *The Revolution in Virginia*, 87–94; Thos. Jones, *Hist. of New York during the Revolutionary War*, I, 103, 110; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 4, p. 354.

Connecticut, where they were very numerous, in supplying provisions and intelligence to the king's ships. In Rhode Island the authorities had sanctioned the conveyance of provisions to the vessels, because the latter intercepted the ferry, fish and market boats, and threatened to fire a broadside when they remained unsupplied. Washington wholly disapproved of this arrangement, and sent General Lee to deal with the obnoxious persons and advise the well-affected how to strengthen their defenses. Most of the Loyalists took a solemn oath to withold the provisions and intelligence from the enemy and inform on disobedient persons.

In Connecticut an act was passed imposing forfeiture of one's estate and imprisonment for not more than three years upon those who furnished provisions to the British army or navy, enlisted men for them, or aided them in any other way. Persons speaking, writing, or acting against the proceedings of the Assembly or the Congress, were to be disarmed, disqualified from holding office, and imprisoned. Washington wished that other colonies would adopt similar drastic measures, and recommended them to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island.[1]

The situation in the province of New York was much more difficult on account of its great number of Loyalists. During the latter part of 1775 the Whig committees had been disarming the disaffected militia and sending Tories from Albany, Dutchess and Westchester counties to prison in the Highlands. Washington ordered Lee to New York with a body of volunteers to put the city and fortifications in a posture of defense and disarm the Loyalists of Long Island and elsewhere. Lee showed his eagerness for action by writing that the failure "to crush these serpents before their rattles are grown, would be ruinous." Nevertheless, in the spring Washington seriously considered the wisdom of granting a generous amnesty to these people in order to win them over by forgiveness.[2]

[1]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 3, pp. 322–323.

[2]Div. of Archives and History, Univ. of the State of N. Y., *The American Revolution in New York*, 207–217; Frothingham, *Washington, Commander in Chief*, 102–103; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 3, 475 *ff.*

With the approach of the Howes from Halifax with their fleet, army and New England refugees, the intelligence was brought to headquarters that the Long Island Tories had taken up their arms, and that gentlemen there and other persons in New York, including Mayor David Matthews, were involved in a plot, concocted by Governor Tryon. This plot was nothing less than a scheme to seize the American commander and deliver him over to the British. It was discovered that members of his own bodyguard were parties to it. Most of the plotters were apprehended and imprisoned, and one of them was tried by court martial and hanged. Washington is singularly silent concerning the nature of the plot.[1]

With the arrival of the British in New York harbor, the Committees of Safety of Westchester and Dutchess counties resorted to drastic measures, which were reinforced by mob violence against the local Tories. The Provincial Congress tardily authorized Washington to make all the arrests necessary for the protection of the province and "the liberty of America." Tryon, attended by many leading Loyalists, visited the fleet and gave General Howe "the fullest information of the state of the rebels" and great reason to expect a numerous accession of inhabitants from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, all eager to prove their loyalty. Already sixty men bearing a few arms had come from Shrewsbury, and five hundred more were ready to follow from that quarter.[2]

Expecting the immediate occupation of Long Island by the British, Washington was solicitous that its large number of adherents to the crown should be rendered as harmless as might be. He had received information that a multitude of the colonists would join the enemy. In substance he wrote that as the force from overseas would be numerous enough, it was highly desirable to have as few internal enemies as possible. He saw a

[1]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 4, pp. 187 and *n.*, 198, 206; *Orderly Book*, 27; *Minutes of a Conspiracy against the Liberty of America*, Phila., 1865. (A reprint of a pamphlet printed in London in 1776.)

[2]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 4, pp. 189 and *n.*, 215–216.

difficulty in disarming these persons in that they might be keeping their arms on the king's ships until the time should come for using them.[1]

When Washington took up his headquarters in New York, he found that the Provincial Committee of Safety was permitting the British shipping in the lower bay to receive supplies regularly from shore, lest the city should be bombarded. However, he convinced the committee that such intercourse enabled the enemy to regulate their plans by the information obtained of the number and extent of the American works and the strength and movements of their forces. He also issued a proclamation requiring his officers and soldiers, and entreating the well-affected citizens, to diligence in preventing the intercourse and securing those guilty of it.[2]

In the summer of 1776 Major Robert Rogers was found at South Amboy, New Jersey, a Tory centre, taken before the American commander, and represented that he was on his way to offer his services to the Congress. Washington sent him on under a guard, who carried a message calling attention to the danger of accepting the proffered services. Rogers was ordered back to New Hampshire, where he had been living, but spent the rest of the summer and fall on Staten and Long islands and the mainland organizing the Queen's Rangers. He also planned a night attack on Norwalk, Connecticut, to seize some Continental supplies and lay waste the town.[3]

New Jersey was full of Loyalists and people who were indifferent to the Revolutionary cause. Through it lay the road of communication with the Congress and the provinces to the west and south. It was supplying intelligence, live stock and armed refugees to the British. All these considerations impelled Washington to fix his Flying Camp under General Hugh Mercer

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[1]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 3, pp. 325–327 and *n.*, 328–329 and *n.*, 364–365, 391–392.

[2]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 4, p. 6; Div. of Archives and History, Univ. of the State of New York, *The American Revolution*, 211.

[3]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 4, pp.183 *n.*, 460; Siebert, "Loyalist Troops of New England," in *New England Quarterly*, Jan., 1931, p. 24.

near Perth Amboy with outposts at half a dozen other exposed or strategic places. He also had the live stock and notorious Loyalists removed from shore regions, ferries and passing boats scrutinized for suspicious characters, and inimical inhabitants apprehended. Washington expressly admonished the captain of the guard entrusted with the removal of Governor William Franklin to Connecticut not to let him escape and later called Governor Trumbull's attention to the fact that Franklin was corresponding with certain gentlemen in New York City and issuing protections to persons in Connecticut.[1]

Before the British occupied the metropolis, Washington had Mayor Matthews and other prominent Loyalists removed from the jail to Litchfield, and when the enemy were preparing to take Long Island he directed General Greene and his Continentals to assist the committee, sent thither by the Convention, in disarming and securing the inhabitants of King's County, getting rid of their grain, and if necessary laying waste the country. Washington also had the suspects of Queens County removed from the island, but forbade the injury or appropriation of their property except by order of the Convention.[2]

After the battle near Brooklyn Heights and the skilful evacuation of Long Island by Washington and his army, the western part of it became the rendezvous for British and Tory regiments throughout the war. New corps were organized and old ones were recruited there. In fact, wherever the British troops appeared in the Northern and Southern colonies, they were joined by provincial regiments and militia. The State of New York alone had some fifteen thousand men in its twenty-five or thirty Tory corps and eighty-five hundred in its Tory militia. They garrisoned outposts, went on plundering and incendiary raids, and accompanied British expeditions. Many refugees from the

[1]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 4, pp. 199, 200, 206–212, 214, 296; W. H. Richardson, "Washington and the New Jersey Campaign of 1776," in *Proceedings* of the N. J. Historical Soc., Apr., 1832, pp. 121–161.

[2]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 4, pp. 244 and *n.*, 246 *n.*, 341–342 and *n.*

mainland and adjacent islands resorted to Long Island, were housed in the deserted homes of Patriots who had fled, and found occupation in cutting and hauling wood and supplying provisions and forage to the troops. Washington's spy system linked New York City with Oyster Bay and other places on Long Island and so across the sound to the Connecticut shore, whence Major Benjamin Tallmadge sent the messages he received to the Commander in Chief.[1]

Writing from Morristown, New Jersey, late in April, 1777, Washington ordered the posting of a body of the New York militia on the west side of North River at a point convenient for intercepting Brigadier-General Cortlandt Skinner's corps of New Jersey Volunteers, numbering about one thousand, and some regular troops, which he had been informed would proceed from Bergen through Sussex to the back part of the Jerseys, "a part of the country most notoriously disaffected."[2]

General Schuyler and his subordinates of the Northern Army had been suppressing the Loyalists of Tryon County, New York. By order of the Continental Congress Schuyler had moved up and put Sir John Johnson under parole to obey Congress and not abet its enemies. Nevertheless, after Bunker Hill, Sir John and the Butlers had fled with hundreds of other Tories to Canada, while Colonel Dayton had occupied Johnson Hall and brought away Lady Johnson and Mrs. Butler and her children as hostages. Obnoxious persons were sent by the Albany Committee of Safety to the Simsbury mines, in Connecticut.[3] Num-

[1]Thos. Jones, *Hist. of New York during the Revolutionary War*, I, 103, 110; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 4, pp. 354, 362, 374, 398, 461, Vol. 5, p. 121 *n.*, 331, 482–483; *Colls.* of New Jersey Hist. Soc., X, 193; L. M. Sears, *George Washington*, 146; notes from the Muster Rolls of the Provincial Regiments; H. E. Egerton, ed., *Roy. Commission on Loyalist Claims*, 1783–85; p. 156; W. H. Siebert, *The Loyalists of Pennsylvania*, 15, 19, 35, 38, 40–42; Siebert, "East Florida as a Refuge for Southern Loyalists," in *Proceedings* (Oct., 1927) of Am. Antiquarian Soc.; Div. of Archives and History, Univ. of the State of New York, *The American Revolution in New York*, 218; *New York Times Magazine*, Feb. 1, 1931.

[2]*Public Paper of George Clinton, First Governor of New York. War of the Revolution Series*, I, 730.

[3]H. Swiggett, *War out of Niagara, Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers* (1933), pp. 61, 66, 68, 80.

bers of others soon escaped to the Canadian border, where they helped to organize ten corps which joined Burgoyne's force of British and Indians. When St. Leger beseiged Fort Stanwix in the late summer of 1777, he had with him Joseph Brant and his Indians, Sir John Johnson's regiment of Royal Greens and Butler's Rangers. They were routed with appalling losses among the redmen and retired to Oswego. A large part of Burgoyne's Tories were captured or killed as he advanced, and the night before his surrender at Saratoga, in mid-October, he sent back the remnant of them, numbering seven hundred, to keep them out of the hands of their Whig neighbors. Washington's appeal to the upper country for defense against the savages had been rendered the more effective by Burgoyne's stupid proclamation threatening to unleash thousands of Indians upon "the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America." Writing a few days after the surrender from the vicinity of Philadelphia, Washington said that the twelve thousand militia who had joined the Northern Army had "shut the only doors by which Burgoyne could retreat." In contrast, while moving through New Jersey, he himself had experienced the disaffection of a large part of the inhabitants, the lethargy of others, and the distraction of the whole. However, Washington soon won those victories at Trenton and Princeton which Field Marshall von Moltke called his supreme achievements in strategy. Then followed his proclamation offering pardon to those who would transfer their allegiance to the United States. The others were to withdraw to the British lines within the next thirty days.[1]

The failure of the Burgoyne-St. Leger campaign left the operations to John Butler and his son Walter, Mason Bolton, the commander at Niagara, and Joseph

[1]Wm. L. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign and St. Leger's Expedition*, 139–140, 153–154, 169, 177–195; Swiggett, *War out of Niagara*, 82, 85–87, 90, 97, 102; Div. of Archives and History, Univ. of the State of New York, *The American Revolution in New York*, 218; Frothingham, *Washington, Commander in Chief*, 197–198, 208; Jones, *Hist. of New York during Revolutionary War*, I, 198, 682–689; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 5, pp. 79, 87 *n.*, 110, 111, 133, 201, Vol. 6, pp. 149–150.

Brant, the Mohawk chief. Their operations were intended to break up the back settlements, rescue the hundreds of Loyalist families—women, old people and children—and take them to Niagara to join their husbands, sons and fathers who were in arms. Walter Butler has been depicted many times as a fiend incarnate, who incited the Indians to atrocities and surpassed them in barbarity. At last the documents relating to him have been brought together and his career has been historically presented by Mr. Howard Swiggett in a volume just off the Columbia University Press, entitled *War out of Niagara, Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers*. Early in July, 1778, four hundred and fifty defenders of Wyoming, in the heart of Pennsylvania, were killed, and the country round was laid waste by the Indians, but the women, children and prisoners were spared. In September the enemy destroyed the German Flats, houses, barns, mills and grain, and took away the live stock. Then Albany acted, and the well-built Indian towns, near Unadilla, were wiped out in October. In November Walter Butler and Joseph Brant with fifty regulars, one hundred and fifty Rangers and perhaps three times as many Indians as whites attacked Cherry Valley, an advanced outpost of Albany. Here Butler was unable to restrain his red contingent from murdering some of the women and children.[1]

This destructive warfare on the frontier greatly stirred Washington, who planned an expedition to stop it in 1779. He feared that Niagara could not be taken without command of the lakes and assistance from Pittsburgh, because it would be reinforced from Detroit. Early in this year, however, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, and his force were captured at Vincennes by George Rogers Clarke, who sent Hamilton a prisoner to Virginia. There the latter would have suffered severely as an inciter of Indians to commit barbarities on white prisoners and bring in their scalps had not Washington advised Governor

[1]Swiggett, *War out of Niagara*, 103, 114–115, 116, 124, 127–129, 133, 136–162.

Jefferson that uncommon severity was not applicable in this case, because Hamilton had capitulated.[1]

Late in the spring of 1779 Washington transmitted explicit instructions to General Sullivan for a ruthless expedition against the Six Nations and their Loyalist allies. They were to be attacked with impetuosity, war-whoops and fixed bayonets; their villages and country destroyed; as many prisoners as possible of all ages and both sexes taken; and a definite peace made and enforced under the guarantee of hostages. This campaign and that of George Rogers Clarke farther west were intended to assure to the United States the immense territory reaching to the Mississippi when peace should be made. Such was the scope of Washington's vast strategy. The territory to be invaded was not only the base of the hostilities against the American frontiers, but also a huge granary for the British "Upper Posts."

Colonel Van Schaick laid waste the Onondaga country from Fort Stanwix westward. Generals Sullivan and Clinton overwhelmed the Loyalists and Indians near Newtown, burned the Indian towns, devastated their fields, and rendered their country uninhabitable. From this ruin the Six Nations never recovered. Colonel Clarke took possession of the Illinois country and later defeated the Shawnees on the Great Miami River. Colonel Brodhead made his expedition from Fort Pitt up the Alleghany River, subduing the savages in that region, and subsequently worked havoc on the Muskingum tribe in southeastern Ohio. Neither Brodhead nor Sullivan pushed on to Fort Niagara, which would almost certainly have fallen had they done so. Nevertheless, the campaign was a victorious one on a magnificent scale. Washington showed marked elation over Sullivan's success in his letter to Henry Laurens late in September, telling of the flight of the distressed Indians, men, women and

[1]Siebert, "The Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula," *Transactions* of R. Academy of Canada, IX, 80–87; Cruikshank, *Butler's Rangers*; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 7, pp. 249–253, 259, 273–274, 322, Vol. 8, pp. 4, 5, and *n.*, 153.

children, to Niagara, more than a hundred miles distant, with "the Butlers, Brant, and others in the lead." However, with that post unscathed there was to be a continuation of attacks and scalpings in western New York.[1]

The treason of Arnold at West Point was bad enough in itself, but was made worse by the plot to seize Washington even as his guest, put him in charge of the Tory, Colonel Beverley Robinson, and his picked men on board the *Vulture* and deliver him to the British at New York. Instead, by the miscarriage of the treason it was Arnold himself who was taken away in the *Vulture*. Nearly a month later Washington wrote that it did not appear "by an indubitable evidence" how far Arnold had meant to involve him in the catastrophe, but the doubt did not exist in the mind of the president of Congress and other high officials.[2]

After the capture of Charleston, South Carolina, in May, 1780, by Sir Henry Clinton with his army of British and Loyalists, Burgoyne was left to subdue the South. However, the defeat of Ferguson's Tory force at King's Mountain wrecked his whole plan of campaign. In the following December Arnold was sent with sixteen hundred men, including several Tory regiments, to arm the Loyalists in Virginia and co-operate with Cornwallis. Later Washington noted with pleasure that few Virginians had joined Arnold instead of the two-thirds predicted, and added that in case the prediction had been realized Lafayette and the other third must have abandoned the state.[3]

At length Cornwallis withdrew his army to Williamsburg, where he received orders from Clinton to establish himself either there or at Yorktown. Once more Washington displayed his masterly strategy by

[1]Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, 183–202, 212.

[2]Sabine, *Loyalists in the Am. Revolution*, 1, 222; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 8, pp. 449, 451–455 and *n.*, 457–459, 460*n.*, 472, 493, 499; Elias Boudinot, *Journal of Events in the Revolution*, 84.

[3]Frothingham, *Washington, Commander in Chief*, 275, 281–282, 292, 299, 324, 326, 329, 344; L. C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes;* D. Schenck, *North Carolina*, 1780–81, pp. 156–174; Eckenrode, *The Revolution in Virginia*, 268; Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 8, pp. 85–87, 317.

meeting de Grasse on the Chesapeake. By October 6 he had his French and Continentals from up the Hudson at work on the first parallel before Yorktown. On the 19th Cornwallis surrended, several Tory corps being among the troops that laid down their arms.[1]

At the end of April, 1782, the victor showed his magnanimity to the seventy-five or more Loyalist regiments in the British service by recommending to Congress their pardon under proper restrictions as a measure that might have happy consequences for the American cause and "be equally productive of ruin, and confusion to the British interests in America."[2] Even if Congress had adopted this proposal a large proportion of the Loyalists would not have remained in the United States, preferring to settle in some part of the British Dominions, where their descendants are as proud to belong to the United Empire Loyalist Association as are the descendants of our Revolutionary soldiers to enroll themselves as Sons and Daughters of the Amercian Revolution.

In view of the evidence I have presented, what conclusions may be justly drawn in regard to the relations of Washington to the Loyalists. (1) He constantly kept close watch of them in all sections and worked with the Congress and other Revolutionary bodies and officers to suppress them, deprive them of arms, and stop their dangerous activities. (2) In the course of the war he dealt directly or indirectly with an armed Tory force which outnumbered the Continentals in service at any one time. That force would probably have been much more effective if it had been given the organization and status in the British army it deserved. Instead, for the most part it was denied the performance of important functions. There were able officers among the Tories, but the incompetent British high command did not utilize them to the best advantage. (3) Washington was the object of at least two serious Tory plots

[1]Frothingham, *Washington, Commander in Chief*, 343–345, 348–349, 351, 353.

[2]Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 9, pp. 488–490; *Bulletin* of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Jan., 1932, pp. 170–291.

intended to make him a prisoner of war. Fortunately these plots were promptly discovered and came to naught, leaving the great commander unperturbed. (4) His measures to win the West were adequately planned, officered and executed to the undoing of the Tories and Indians in that section. (5 and finally). Before the peace Washington alone among his contemporaries of high station stood ready to forgive the past for the benefit of the multitude of Loyalists who had borne arms against the American cause. He doubtless recognized in them men who had suffered and sacrificed their property in support of their principles. Many of the less active Loyalists of Long Island did not emigrate at all, while some of the inhabitants of Connecticut, New Jersey and North Carolina in particular who did, returned to those states after a brief sojourn in the Maritime Provinces or elsewhere.

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