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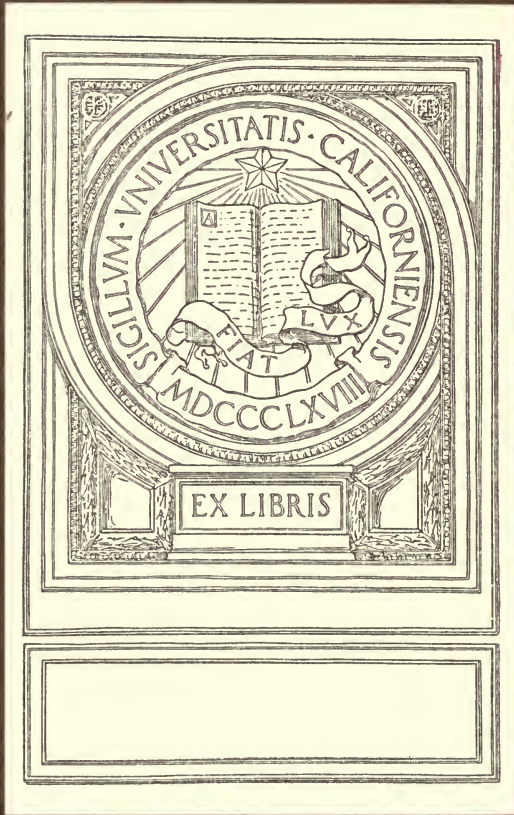
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The Flight of
American Loyalists
to the British Isles

by

Wilbur H. Siebert

COLUMBUS, OHIO:
NOVEMBER, 1911.

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UNIT OF
CALIFORNIA

THE FLIGHT OF AMERICAL LOYALISTS TO THE BRITISH ISLES.

It is well known that during the American Revolution thousands of Tories or loyalists withdrew from the scene of conflict and settled for longer or shorter periods in the British Isles, or in some of the British possessions. By the end of the war, these refugees were to be found in large numbers in Upper and Lower Canada and in the Maritime Provinces, in East Florida, the Bahama Islands and the West Indies, and in Great Britain. The general conditions of denunciation and persecution, and later of banishment and confiscation of property, under which this dispersion occurred are too familiar to warrant consideration here. It is the object of this paper to throw light on the local conditions under which the migration to Great Britain took place, to point out the chief centres of embarkation, and in veiw of the evidence to say what may be said of the magnitude of the movement.

Boston was of course the natural port of departure for the loyalists of Massachusetts. It was the headquarters of the provincial aristocracy, which supported the crown, and also of the British until the evacuation in March, 1776. For this brief time it was the sanctuary of numerous loyalists flocking in from all parts of the province.¹ Not a few of these embarked for Britain as opportunity afforded, among them Col. Richard Saltonstall, of Haverhill, who escaped to the city of refuge in the fall of 1774, and sailed soon after.² Governor Thomas Hutchinson made this voyage earlier in the same year, sailing June 1st in the ship "Minerva," Capt. Callahan, commander.³ In his *Diary* the governor tells of a letter from his provincial seat, written the following summer, in which it is said that the Boston people

¹Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, III., 190.

²Chase, *Hist. of Haverhill, Mass.*, 646.

³Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, I., 152.

delivered up 4,000 arms on condition that they and their families should have leave to depart from the town.⁴ This letter further reported that the Vassall families had gone to Halifax, that Callahan had 80 passengers, and that Coffin was "also coming [to England] with passengers, among them Mr. J. Green and lady".⁵ These constant flights are confirmed by the testimony of Curwen, who was then in London. Writing July 7, 1775, he remarked: "There is an army of New Englanders here," and about a month later in a letter to a friend at Halifax he declared: "A whole army * * are here lamenting their own and their country's unhappy fate".⁶ At almost the same time a lady writing from Boston to her friend in Chester said: "Everybody that can is quitting this place; many families are embarking for England to settle there."⁷ This rush to foreign shores is easily explained, for Boston had been under siege by Washington and his army ever since the early part of July, and during the three months previous the American patriots had been giving an account of themselves well suited to convince New England Tories of the dangers of their situation. From this time on London newspapers are full of items noting the arrival of numbers of refugee Americans at various British ports.

It cannot be supposed, however, that the embarkations ceased after the first flurries were over. Single individuals, and probably occasional groups, did not rest content until they saw the capital of Massachusetts Bay receding in the distance as they sped on their eastward course. Thus, to cite a few instances of more than ordinary interest, Richard Clarke, one of the consignees of the tea destroyed in Boston harbor and father-in-law of Copley, the artist and loyalist, took his departure, December 4, 1775, Curwen recording his arrival in London twenty-one days later.⁸ Toward the end of the following month, the Rev. John Wiswall, A. M., sailed in the "Preston", landing on

⁴Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, I, 470; cf. Frothingham, *Hist. of Siege of Boston*, 94, 95.

⁵Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, I, 470.

⁶Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 31, 34.

⁷Quoted in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Oct. 4, 1775.

⁸Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 43.

the 27th of February.⁹ The wife and children of one Fenton (probably John Fenton of New Hampshire, who was voted in provincial congress "an enemy to the liberties of America", then imprisoned, but later allowed to escape to England)¹⁰ arrived at their destination about November 1, 1776, along with others from Boston.¹¹ John Gray, one of the sons of Harrison Gray, the treasurer of Massachusetts, appears not to have sailed until May or June of '79,¹² while Robert Temple, the "high-flying Tory," was unable to take flight before the summer of 1780 on account of his confinement at Cambridge. He arrived at Bristol with his family in August of that year.¹³ Besides numerous other known instances, there must have been a great many that never were recorded.

It is of course well ascertained that the great body of the loyalists who left Boston at the evacuation were removed with Howe's army to Halifax.¹⁴ A fact often overlooked is that a few of them were permitted to go directly to England. On the day that the first division of the fleet sailed for Nova Scotia, the "Lord Hyde" packet, crowded with passengers, sailed for London carrying Thomas Hutchinson, eldest son of the governor, and Dr. Peter Oliver, with their families, besides Col. William Browne of Salem, who afterward became governor of the Bermudas.¹⁵

Other ports of Massachusetts became convenient places of departure for loyalists seeking refuge across the water. For example, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters, missionary at Hebron, Connecticut, appears to have sailed from Newburyport, which he reached by way of the Piscataqua River. He took ship in the latter part of 1774.¹⁶ From the same harbor embarked the Hon.

⁹*Collects. N. S. Hist. Soc.*, XIII, 22.

¹⁰Sabine, *Amer. Loyalists*, 283.

¹¹Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 111.

¹²*Ibid.*, 262.

¹³*Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, VII., 246-7; Sabine, *Amer. Loyalists*, 640-1.

¹⁴Frothingham, *Hist. of the Siege of Boston*, 311.

¹⁵Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, I., 370; II., 41-2, 48.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, I., 332.

Isaac Royall of Medford, a representative of the General Court and long a member of the Council of the colony.¹⁷ Col. Benjamin Pickman of Salem left that town in March, 1775, and arrived at Bristol five weeks later.¹⁸ Probably from Marblehead, which was the place of his residence, Joseph Hooper went to England in the same year.¹⁸ This list of Massachusetts ports of embarkation might easily be lengthened; and doubtless it might be supplemented with the names of ports of neighboring colonies similarly made use of. It must suffice to mention only one of the latter. It was at Newport, R. I., that Benjamin Thompson, afterwards famous as Count Rumford, was taken aboard the British frigate "Scarborough" about the middle of October, 1775. He had already fixed on England as his destination, but the frigate carried him round to Boston, whence he departed at the evacuation in the following March.¹⁹

As we have already seen, the evacuation of Boston did not result in a direct removal of many refugees to Great Britain. Indeed, its effect was chiefly indirect in this particular. On the 30th of March and 1st of April, 1776, Halifax received the concurrence of more than a thousand loyalists from Boston and four or five times as many soldiers in addition.²⁰ The disembarking multitude sadly overtaxed the capacity of the Nova Scotian capital, which was a primitive town with a population of several thousand only.²¹ Under such conditions scores and even hundreds of the loyalists, who only a few weeks before had expected to settle permanently in the country to which they were going, now hastened to re-embark for England, whither not a few of their friends and fellow-sufferers had preceded them.

The diaries kept by Samuel Curwen and Governor Hutchinson during their long exiles in the mother country contain frequent references to arrivals of these New England people from Halifax. On June 10, 1776, Curwen records the arrival of as

¹⁷Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 523; Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, I, 485.

¹⁸Stark, *Loyalists of Mass.*, 223.

¹⁹Ellis, *Life of Rumford*, 94; Stark, *Loyalists of Mass.*, 266.

²⁰*Collects. N. S. Hist. Soc.*, VIII., 76.

²¹Frothingham, *Hist. of the Siege of Boston*, 311.

many as six vessels laden with refugees from this harbor, and names a few of the passengers.²² Hutchinson refers to the same fleet, and supplies the names of additional passengers.²³ Another entry by Curwen, under date of June 26, tells that two or three companies of Bostonians have lately come from Halifax;²⁴ a few days later a newspaper reports that the "Unity," from Georgia and Halifax, landed several families at the port of London who had run away from the troubles in America;²⁵ and from various sources we learn that the ship "Aston Hall", which sailed from Halifax in July with the commissioners of the customs and a large contingent of refugees, landed at Dover towards the middle of August.²⁶ While the "Aston Hall" was still in mid-ocean, we hear, through Hutchinson (July 26), of another party of twelve or more passengers from the chief Nova Scotian port; and as their names are given, they are seen to be former residents of Boston.²⁷ Again, it was from Halifax that Dr. Stockbridge and a number of other refugees arrived off Marshfield about the middle of August.²⁸

The circumstances of this movement to England suggest that it was of brief duration. Only a fraction of the Tory host borne to Halifax by the 150 sail of Howe's fleet²⁹ were caught in the trans-Atlantic current. Most of those who remained behind became settlers in other parts of Nova Scotia. After August, 1776, our serviceable witnesses, Curwen and Hutchinson, have little to say about fresh parties from Halifax, although they often chronicle the arrival of individuals and families from other quarters through subsequent years. It cannot be supposed, however, that there was a complete cessation of arrivals from the Nova Scotian capital. In August, 1778, while Col. Daniel Leonard, afterward appointed chief justice of the Bermudas, lay sick

²²Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 59.

²³Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 61.

²⁴*Lloyd's Evening Post*, July 1-3, 1776, p. 15.

²⁵Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 62.

²⁶Sabine, *Amer. Loyalists*, 221, 343, 372, 511, 595, 675; Hutchinson. *Diary and Letters*, II., 89. Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 71.

²⁷Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 85.

²⁸*Lloyd's Evening Post*, Aug. 16, 1776.

²⁹*Collects. N. S. Hist. Soc.*, VIII., 76.

in London, he was joined by his wife and children from Halifax.³⁰ If our information were less fragmentary, other instances might readily be found no doubt. Nevertheless, we have sufficient data for estimating that several hundred New England refugees reached the British Isles by way of Halifax.

How numerous the departures from Philadelphia may have been, it is impossible to say. When Samuel Curwen arrived there from Beverly, Massachusetts, at the end of April, 1775, Philadelphia was already a city of refuge for New Englanders.³¹ Nevertheless, Curwen's friends advised him against remaining, and he sailed for Dover on May 12th.³² Early in the following October, a London paper³³ printed among its latest advices from the Quaker City the statement that numerous Scotch and Irish emigrants were returning to their native countries — presumably from this port — “being heartily tired of their expedition.” During the next two years we hear only of occasional over-sea flights from the city on the Delaware; for example, those of Dr. Alexander Stenhouse of Baltimore, in 1776, the Rev. Jacob Duche, Episcopal clergyman and one-time chaplain to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, in 1777, and Sir John Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire, in 1778.³⁴

The presence of General Howe and his army in Philadelphia during the winter of 1777-78 made the town a most agreeable centre for Tories for the time being. The circulation of the news in the following spring that Clinton, Howe's successor, was soon to move with the army to New York served to swell the already large number of loyalists in the city by attracting accessions from outside, and at the same time stimulated them to leave a place where they expected little or no mercy if they remained. Accordingly, about 3,000 boarded the British fleet and

³⁰Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters* II., 212; Sabine, *Amer. Loyalists*, 418, 419.

³¹Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 25, 28, 29; Dexter, *Lit. Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I., 540.

³²Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 30.

³³*Lloyd's Evening Post*, Oct. 4-6, 1775.

³⁴Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 55, 192; *Md. Hist. Magazine*, June, 1907, 135; Dexter, *Lit. Diary of Ezra Stiles*, II., 158.

sailed for New York, June 16, 1778.³⁵ Some of these fugitives subsequently left Staten Island for England. Thus, George Inman and his wife embarked almost immediately after their arrival in the metropolis, going with the Christmas fleet in 1779,³⁶ while the noted Quaker Tory, Samuel Shoemaker, and his son did not leave for England until November, 1783, a few days before the evacuation of New York.³⁷

The Southern ports were centres of other waves of loyalist dispersion, vigorous undulations of which reached the shores of the British Isles. Among these were Norfolk, Va., the mouth of the Potomac River, Charleston, S. C., and St. Augustine and Amelia harbor, Fla. The flights from Norfolk, Gwynn's Island, and the estuary of the Potomac took place in connection with the uprising of the Virginians against their royal governor, Lord Dunmore. On December 9, 1775, a force of the provincials repulsed a company of British grenadiers at Great Bridge, twenty miles from Dunmore's headquarters at Norfolk. There were numerous Tory inhabitants in the County of Norfolk and the neighboring counties of Virginia,³⁸ as also "in the Quaker and Mennonite communities of the interior"; and when the alarmed governor hastened on board his fleet he was accompanied by many families of the King's friends.³⁹ If we may trust the accounts which found their way to London in private letters from Virginia, and were printed in the newspapers, Governor Dunmore was put to his wits' ends to find shipping enough for both the Tories and the other provincial fugitives.⁴⁰ We are told that he was under the necessity of taking into government service every vessel in the fleet that was sea-worthy for the purpose of transporting the people and their properties to ports of safety; and that certificates and clearances were duly issued to the pas-

³⁵*Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XIII., 307; XXII., 143, 145; IX, 436; Van Tyne, *Amer. Rev.* 245.

³⁶*Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, VII., 237.

³⁷*Ibid.*, I., 35; XIII., 307. See also the diary of James Allen (*Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, IX., 440).

³⁸Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 25.

³⁹*The London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post*, Apr. 5-8, 1776.

⁴⁰*The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Sept. 13, 1776.

sengers according to their several destinations. The letter containing these particulars was written on board the ship "Logan" in the Potomac River, under date of July 31, 1776. It concluded with the words: "I, with many others, take passage in this ship for Glasgow; other vessels are bound for St. Augustine, Bermuda, Antiqua, London and Whitehaven. Adieu, as the signals are hove out for sailing."⁴¹ On September 18, Hutchinson noted in his *Diary* the reported arrival of a vessel from Virginia at Glasgow, doubtless one of Dunmore's fleet, if not the "Logan" herself.⁴² Two days later, the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* printed an extract of a letter from Whitehaven, dated September 12, as follows: "On Friday morning last arrived here the ship "Grace", Captain Donaldson, 28 days from Virginia, consisting of some genteel families, tradesmen, servants, and negroes, most of whom have been on Lord Dunmore's fleet since the 15th of December, and have suffered all the hardships which might be expected from a long confinement on board ships too much crowded with people, and a great scarcity of provisions."

Lord Dunmore himself was driven to flight early in July, by the attack of the Virginians on his camp at Gwynn's Island, on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay. He proceeded first to New York and thence to England in the "Fowey" man-of-war, and made his appearance in London on December 19.⁴³ A month after Dunmore's flight several other gentlemen sailed from Virginia, on board the "Levant" transport, in company with Robert Eden, lieutenant governor of Maryland, who had fled from Annapolis. After a passage of twenty-seven days, they landed at Portsmouth early in September.⁴⁴

From Charleston, S. C., the loyalist, Dr. William Charles Wells, embarked for London as early as 1775.⁴⁵ It was

⁴¹*The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Sept. 13, 1776.

⁴²Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 97

⁴³Cooke, *Virginia*, 437; Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 120.

⁴⁴*The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, Sept. 5, 6 and 11, 1776; Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 87.

⁴⁵Louisa S. Wells, *Journal of Voyage from Charleston to England*, 85, 98.

evidently from the same place that the Hon. William Wragg, a member of the Council of South Carolina, together with his son and his servant Tom, departed for England, by way of Amsterdam, early in July, 1777.⁴⁶ As Charleston was the chief sea-port of the South, a resort for numerous Tories from the surrounding country, and was held by the British during the two years immediately preceding its evacuation on December 14, 1782, it seems certain that many others must have followed their example during this interval, if not earlier. When the evacuation at length took place, twenty-five of the 120 sail which carried off the garrison, inhabitants, and negroes were bound for England. Among the passengers going over-seas was Lieutenant Governor William Bull and the other crown officers, many gentlemen and merchants and many "poor refugee loyalists", who, in Governor Bull's words, were "destitute of every resource and even hope of gaining maintenance." According to a return of December 13, 1782, this company consisted of 324 persons, of whom fifty or more were blacks.⁴⁷

The fact that East Florida remained in British hands when Georgia and South Carolina were abandoned led to the removal of thousands of refugees with their slaves from Savannah and Charleston to St. Augustine, during the latter half of the year, 1782. Patrick Tonyn, governor of East Florida, was ever hospitable to loyalist refugees from the neighboring provinces; and convenience caused the British generals to adopt an arrangement which they already knew could be only temporary for the mass of those shifted southward. The intended evacuation of East Florida had been officially communicated to Governor Tonyn before June 20, 1782, and by him reported forthwith to the general assembly of his province.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, a succession of fleets from up the coast unloaded throngs of whites and blacks at St. Augustine — one of them as many as 5,700 — during the

⁴⁶Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 667, 668.

⁴⁷*S. C. Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Jan., 1910, 14, 15, 26; McCrady, *Hist. of South Carolina in the Rev.*, 674. Of the 274 whites, 137 were men, 74 women and 63 children.

⁴⁸*Rep. Am. Mss. in Roy. Inst. G. Brit.*, II., 395, 530; IV., 42, 57, 147.

period intervening between the British abandonment of Savannah and of Charleston.⁴⁹

With the spread of the knowledge that Florida was soon to be surrendered to Spain, a new migration set in. The vanguard was under way by June 16, 1783, headed for the neighboring islands,⁵⁰ where most of the Southern loyalists promptly settled. But even with the Bahamas and West Indies at hand, England was not overlooked. About July 10, two ships filled with refugees sailed for that country.⁵¹ We learn also that two months later some forty of the North Carolina regiment, then waiting final disposition at St. Augustine, wished to go to Britain, but it does not appear whether or not their wish was fulfilled.⁵² In truth, our records are so incomplete that we are left quite in the dark about the probable numbers of those who deserted the coast of Florida for the British shores at this time.

With the progress of the evacuation of East Florida the great mass of loyalists followed Governor Tonyn's advice and emigrated. England's cession of this region to Spain was effected by the treaty of Versailles (Sept. 3, 1783), while the Bahama Islands, which England had recently recovered from the Spaniards, were now secured to her by treaty as well. Thus, the Bahamas were opportunely opened to the migrating loyalists. The British government supplied the ships necessary to transport those desiring it, and embarkations filled the interval from the early part of September, 1784, to March 1, 1785.⁵³ The exodus was effected from the harbor of Amelia at the mouth of St. Mary's River. Some of these emigrants went to England, larger numbers to Jamaica and the Bahamas, and some to Nova Scotia.⁵⁴ The presence in London of representatives of all grades of loyalist claimants from East Florida in the years 1786 and 1787, when

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, II., 530, 531; IV., 216, 276.

⁵⁰*Report on Am. Mss. in Roy. Inst. G. Brit.*, IV., 42, 57.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, IV., (Gen. McArthur to Sir Guy Carleton.)

⁵²*Ibid.*, IV., 351. (Same to same.)

⁵³Northcroft, *Sketches of Summerland*, 281; Wright, "History of the Bahama Islands" in Shattuck's *The Bahama Islands*, 424.

⁵⁴Fairbanks, *Hist. and Antiquities of St. Augustine, Fla.* 173; Fairbanks, *Hist. of Florida*, 239, 240.

they submitted their evidence before the commissioners of claims, suggests that the movement from St. Augustine and Amelia must have been of considerable magnitude.⁵⁵

There can be little doubt but that the majority of all the loyalists who sought refuge in Great Britain embarked from New York City. The place was overwhelmingly Tory throughout the revolutionary period; and as it was held by the British from the late summer of 1776 till the end of the war, it served as a haven of refuge for persecuted Tories from every colony.⁵⁶ While by far the larger number of these Tories awaited the outcome of the contest in New York, many seized the opportunity to cross the Atlantic on their way to England, Scotland and Ireland.⁵⁷ This went on during the decade from 1775 to 1785.⁵⁸ Among the first to leave for England were two members of the provincial council who sailed in the "Harriot" packet toward the close of April, 1775.⁵⁹ They were soon followed by the Rev. Thomas B. Chandler and Dr. Myles Cooper, president of King's College. These gentlemen departed in May in company with several other Episcopal clergymen, loyalists like themselves.⁶⁰ This group may have been among "the New Yorkers in Margaret St.," London, on whom Governor Hutchinson thought it worth while to call on August 1st, of the same year.⁶¹

Besides the constant stream of those departing privately from Sandy Hook in packets and merchant vessels, New York City suffered periodic drafts on her loyalist population upon the withdrawal of English fleets from these waters to the British Isles. Permission to make the voyage in the government transports was granted by the commanding officer at New York, and refugees without the means to secure transportation in the ordi-

⁵⁵Audit Office Claims, Vol. III., E. Fla. Evidence, Public Records Office, London.

⁵⁶Van Tyne, *Loyalists in the Amer. Rev.* 128, 243.

⁵⁷Flick, *Loyalism in N. Y.*, 148, 149; Jones, *Hist. of N. Y.*, II., Note xxxvi., 506.

⁵⁸Flick, *Loyalism in N. Y.*, 171.

⁵⁹Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I., 540.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 169; Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 539, 557; Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I., 547.

⁶¹Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, I., 506.

nary manner or in association with others were sent away with the fleets.⁶² At least five such fleets are known to have borne away loyalists, but in what numbers has not been ascertainable. These five were the fleet sailing on February 19, 1777; the fleet which weighed anchor eight months later (October 19, 1778); the Christmas fleet which left Sandy Hook on December 23, 1779; the fleet with which the defeated Cornwallis and his army retired in January, 1782; and the trans-Atlantic division of the evacuation fleet which sailed November 25, 1783. Jolly Allen, the Boston merchant, was one of the Tories given a passage by Lord Howe on the first fleet.⁶³

A multitude of refugees accompanied the second fleet, which consisted at the start of 120 sail. After crossing the ocean and meeting a severe gale in St. George's Channel, some of the vessels made a safe anchorage at Cork. Among the passengers who landed here were Peter Van Schaack of Kinderhook, N. Y.,⁶⁴ the Rev. Mr. Weekes, a missionary of Marblehead, Mass., and Mr. Combe, a clergyman recently banished from Philadelphia after a period of imprisonment.⁶⁵ The other ships were caught by the gale in the Chops of the English Channel, several were lost, and the remainder succeeded in reaching Dover, Deal, and Margate, where throngs of people disembarked. Miss Louisa S. Wells of Charleston, S. C., was among the passengers landing at Deal, and has left us a vivid account of her voyage.⁶⁶ Joseph Galloway, the famous Tory of Pennsylvania, and his daughter appear to have accompanied this fleet⁶⁷ and possibly also Judge Martin Howard of North Carolina.⁶⁸ Richard Silvester, a custom-house officer of Boston, is recorded as certainly one of the passengers.⁶⁹ Professor Flick doubtless refers to this fleet in his valuable monograph⁷⁰ when mentioning the many loyalists

⁶²Jones, *History of N. Y.* II., Note xxxvi., 506.

⁶³*Account of Sufferings and Losses of Jolly Allen*, 39.

⁶⁴*Life of Peter Van Schaack*, 132, 133.

⁶⁵Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 229, 230, 223.

⁶⁶*Journal of a Voyage from Charleston, S. C. to London*, 47-62.

⁶⁷*Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Dec., 1902, 437.

⁶⁸Curwen, *Journal and Letters*, 207; Sabine, *Amer. Loyalists*, 369.

⁶⁹Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 228.

⁷⁰*Loyalism in New York*, 201, 202.

who were sent to Great Britain with their wives and children in 1778.

The third fleet, which for convenience I have called the Christmas fleet, was much larger than the second, consisting of nearly 200 sail under convoy of several frigates. It was badly scattered by a violent storm that struck it on Christmas eve, and was completely demoralized by a second one four days later. The vessel bearing George Inman and wife of Philadelphia, whose *Narrative* briefly records his experiences, landed at Portsmouth in February, 1780.⁷¹ Dr. Peter Oliver of Salem, son of Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver of Massachusetts, was another passenger of this fleet on his second voyage to England,⁷² as was also General Prescott.⁷³

It can scarcely be supposed that the fourth fleet, that in which Cornwallis and his ill-fated army returned home, went unaccompanied by numbers of disheartened Tories. At any rate, the report was circulating in the London newspapers⁷⁴ in mid-January, 1782, to that effect. This report told that Lord Cornwallis had left New York on the fifteenth of December on board the "Robust" man-of-war, which, together with the "James," was the convoy to a large fleet of merchantmen, transports, etc., to the amount of 150 sail; that the fate suffered by several of the unfortunate loyalists who had fallen into the hands of the Americans on the capitulation of Yorktown had produced such an effect upon a large number of the refugees resident at New York that they were coming to England in shoals, and that a considerable body of them was actually on board the fleet then on its way home.

From this time on to the withdrawal of the British from New York, embarkations for Europe at this port must have been of frequent, not to say constant, occurrence. Writing from the Bowery on June 20th, about five months before the evacuation, Edward Winslow, Sr., informs his son of the departure of old

⁷¹*Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, VII., 245.

⁷²Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 337.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 339.

⁷⁴*The London Gazette* of Jan. 15-17 and *The Morning Herald* and *Daily Gazette* of Jan. 16.

friends for Great Britain;⁷⁵ and five days later than Mr. Winslow, also writing from the city, Ward Chipman tells of the embarkation of other friends for the same destination.⁷⁶ Further on in the same letter, Mr. Chipman refers to the not distant evacuation indicated by the arrival of several empty transports from England, remarking that this affords strong ground for suspecting that they will all be off in the fall.⁷⁷ On July 9th, Andrew Elliot, the lieutenant governor of New York, put his family aboard the frigate "Nonsuch" for Scotland, though he did not himself leave the city to join them until the following December.⁷⁸ Meantime, notices were printed in the New York newspapers in the latter part of August requesting all loyalists intending to go to Scotland or Ireland to meet at designated places. That associations of this sort actually sailed appears from a letter from Cork, written about thirty days later, mentioning the arrival of the "Neptune" from New York "with several families on board, loyalists, who did not choose to continue there after the city should be evacuated by the British forces".⁷⁹ During the same period applications were being received by government from numerous persons in the city who were unable to escape to Britain without financial aid,⁸⁰ while communications from others in the town revealed the intention of their writers likewise to go to England.⁸¹

When the evacuation was completed, and the trans-Atlantic division of the fleet was ready to sail on November 25, 1783, it was accompanied by a "numerous train of loyalists" sent by Gen. Guy Carleton, who was then in command at New York.⁸² Dr. John Connolly, the well-known Tory of Pittsburg, was one of this train, having been released from the Philadelphia jail

⁷⁵Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 90.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 92; Sabine, *Amer. Loyalists*, 564, 431-2.

⁷⁷Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 92.

⁷⁸*Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XI., 146, 148; *Manual, Corporation City of New York*, 1870, 797.

⁷⁹*Manual, Corporation City of New York*, 1870, 806, 807, 812.

⁸⁰*Rep. Am. Mss. in Roy. Inst. of G. Brit.*, II., 12, 340; IV., 33, 107, 143, 148, 451, 461, 467.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, IV., 279, 347, 424, 439, 446, 456, 459.

⁸²Jones, *Hist. of N. Y.*, II., 260; Flick, *Loyalism in N. Y.*, 172, n.

that he might go to New York and sail from there to Europe.⁸³ Ward Chipman, who later became chief justice of New Brunswick, was another passenger. A letter of his of November 29th, written aboard the "Tryal" one of the government transports, tells what had taken place among his wide circle of acquaintances at New York. "Scarce any of our friends", it relates, "or any man of respectability remains at New York, they are principally embarked for England." Relative to his own destination he adds, "I am now on board ship for the voyage."⁸⁴ Gen. Carleton was among the last to leave Staten Island, sailing in the frigate "Cares" in company with the frigate "Cyclops" on December 4. Both of these vessels carried a large number of gentlemen Tories, including James Jauncey and Hugh Wallace, well-known residents of the metropolis.⁸⁵ The "Grampus," which reached Portsmouth early in the following January, learned that upwards of fifty loyalist families had already arrived there "from different parts of America".⁸⁶ In what space of time is not indicated; but it is probable that many had come from the general rendezvous of American loyalists so lately deserted.

The patriots were jubilant of course over the recovery of this rendezvous, and all that it implied. A wag seized the occasion to make a last coarse thrust at the Tory aristocracy who were sailing away to the seat of that royalty for which they had sacrificed so much. He proposed making the carcass of Rivington, the loyalist printer of New York, "into portable soup for the use of the lady and gentlemen Tories bound for England."⁸⁷

As part of the wave of exiles from Boston was deflected by Halifax to England in 1776, so also some of the refugees from New York and the adjacent country were diverted by Shelburne, N. S., seven years later. Shelburne, then known as Port Roseway, was founded in the summer of 1783 by sev-

⁸³"Narrative of the Transactions [etc.] of John Connolly" in *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XIII., 285, 286; *Proceedings of the Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, Oct., 1890, 28.

⁸⁴Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 92.

⁸⁵*Manual, Corporation City of New York*, 1870, 837.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 840.

⁸⁷Van Tyne, *Loyalists of the Amer. Rev.*, 290.

eral thousand of these New York refugees. A few months later 8,000 more settlers sailed for Shelburne from New York, Long Island, and Staten Island in the famous September fleet. This caused so great a congestion of people in the new town that neither the assistance of government nor the efforts of the settlers themselves could supply adequate shelter for the approaching winter, and spring disclosed a sad dearth of land fit for farming. True, there was plenty of fish in the adjacent waters and an abundance of timber in the neighboring wilderness, but the male population was unsuited to make extensive use of these bounties, being for the most part merchants and military men. Under such discouragements the settlers began to abandon the place. By 1785 the exodus was well under way and by the winter of 1787, when the government distribution of food ceased, people were leaving in troops. Many of these joined the more flourishing communities of the Maritime Provinces, while others went to the Canadas and West Indies. But numbers also found their way to Great Britain,⁸⁸ impelled thither by their recent experiences, as they were also drawn by the prospect of compensation for their losses. James Robertson was one of these emigrants from Shelburne. Before the close of the war, he and his brother Alexander were publishing the *Royal American Gazette* in New York City. Thence they removed to Shelburne, where they continued to issue the *Gazette*. But subsequently, after the death of Alexander, James retired to Edinburgh with his nephew, James, Jr.⁸⁹ Another Shelburne man who crossed the water was the Rev. William Walter, D. D., at one time rector of Trinity Church, Boston, but later — according to Sabine — in charge of an Episcopal church at Shelburne. In a letter of March 5, 1784, Chief Justice Peter Oliver notes that Mr. Walter was then in London, "having left his family at Port Roseway".⁹⁰

Of course other Canadian ports besides Shelburne and Halifax witnessed embarkations of loyalists to England. Many such became centres of settlements for invading multitudes of these

⁸⁸*Collects. N. S. Hist. Soc.*, 1887-88, 65, 66, 80, 81, 84, 85, 88.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 121; Sabine, *Amer. Loyalists*, 561-2.

⁹⁰Sabine, *Amer. Loyalists*, 670-1; Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 404.

people, and therefore presented conditions not so dissimilar from those already described as to contribute to different results. In regard to numbers, however, the two Nova Scotian towns probably led all competitors. While Quebec received its share of these fugitives, its inland location and western connections gave rise to a westward rather than an eastward dispersion. Still, it is known to have furnished at least a few members to the contingent of exiles in London. On July 3, 1776, the "Hope" from Quebec brought to the British metropolis several families who had been obliged to leave America "on account of the disturbances".⁹¹ Six months later Brook Watson also arrived from the city on the St. Lawrence.⁹² After returning and participating in the war in America this man made a notable career in London, as did others of the American contingent.

It would be interesting no doubt to know the total number of refugees contributed both permanently and temporarily by the loyalist ports of exit of the United States and Canada to the population of Great Britain. But the problem is full of unknown factors. At best one must be content with hazarding one's own inadequately supported judgment. Professor Flick is convinced that not more than 2,000 refugees went from New York to England before 1783.⁹³ But if one takes into account the facilities afforded this class—the impecunious and impoverished as well as the affluent—by homeward-bound fleets, and the extent to which these facilities were made use of, one feels that Professor Flick's estimate falls far short of the probabilities. One can readily believe that these fleets alone transported more than 2,000 exiles. If now—still confining ourselves to New York—we add those who went singly or in small parties during a dozen years, then include the "numerous train" sent at the evacuation, and finally complete the tale by the "countless number"⁹⁴ who hastened to London after the peace to secure compensation, we find ourselves ready to suppose that first and last the British Isles received scarcely less than five or six thousand Americans

⁹¹Lloyd's *Evening Post*, July 1-3, p. 15.

⁹²Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II., 120.

⁹³Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, 171, 172.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 204.

from the metropolis of loyalism. Smaller, but nevertheless considerable contributions came from the Canadian ports, especially from Halifax, Shelburne, Quebec, and probably St. John, N. B.; also from the New England ports, of which the most important was of course Boston; while the contingents sent forth by the chief Southern ports were likewise large. Without going beyond our meagre data, one might estimate a minimum number of from two to three thousand loyalists and neutrals received by Great Britain from these places of embarkation.

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