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LOYALIST TROOPS OF NEW ENGLAND

WILBUR H. SIEBERT

THE first loyalist corps raised in the American colonies was a body of three hundred men enrolled and commanded by Colonel Thomas Gilbert in the autumn of 1774 at Freetown, Bristol County, Massachusetts, at the request of General Thomas Gage,¹ who had arrived at Boston on May 13 of the year named to supersede Thomas Hutchinson as governor. Gilbert had been a captain in the siege of Louisburg in 1745, and a lieutenant-colonel in the Massachusetts forces under Timothy Ruggles in the battle at Lake George ten years later, when he succeeded to the command of his regiment. The Boston tea party had occurred in December, 1773, and had caused the British government to decide that its rebellious subjects must be dealt with by force of arms. Besides being a colonel in the militia, Gilbert, as a member of the House of Representatives, had prevailed on his town to adopt resolutions against the destruction of the tea. He was also a justice of the *quorum*, and it was understood that he had been made high sheriff of his county. Accordingly, in 1774, a large body of Taunton Sons of Liberty went to Freetown to warn him that if he accepted the new office, he must "abide by the consequences." As a staunch loyalist, he disregarded this re-

¹ E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions, and Claims* (London, 1930), 144-145; Ralph Davol, *Two Men of Taunton* (Taunton, Mass.), 269, 296.

monstrance, and when he was in Dartmouth a little later, the house in which he lodged was assaulted by a mob of about a hundred men. In the autumn of the same year Colonel Gilbert applied to Governor Gage for assistance, and was supplied with three hundred stand of arms. These he used in arming a body of loyalists, with which he maintained order in Freetown from January to April, 1775. Anticipating that a superior force would be raised against him, Colonel Gilbert wrote in March, 1775, to James Wallace, the commander of the royal ship *Rose* at Newport, Rhode Island, that on the following Monday, when the captains were to muster their men in the south part of the town, they expected to be attacked by "thousands of the Rebels." Colonel Gilbert therefore asked that a tender, or some other armed vessel, be sent and stationed "near Bowers" in order that the soldiers might be taken on board in case they "should be obliged to retreat." He also applied once more to General Gage for assistance, and was promised that three hundred men should be sent to Newport to aid him.

As Gilbert's letter to the commander of the *Rose* was intercepted, it aroused great indignation, and in April, 1775, the Congress of Massachusetts unanimously denounced Gilbert as "an inveterate enemy to his country, to reason, to justice, and the common rights of mankind" and declared that those associated with him—"his banditti"—deserved to be "instantly cut off from the benefit of commerce with, or countenance of, any friend of virtue, America, or the human race." A few days after the adoption of these resolutions Colonel Gilbert went to Newport to forward the troops to Freetown. During his absence the Whigs attacked his body of loyal-

ists on April 9, took them prisoners, and plundered his house. Gilbert found refuge on the ship *Rose*, and remained there until April 27. He then took passage on the packet sloop for Boston, and arrived there on May 1. Three days later he wrote to his sons that he expected to stay in Boston until the "Rebels" were subdued, and wished them and all the friends of the British government there. He reminded his sons that the revolutionists had by proclamation given permission to the loyalists to take refuge in Boston.²

Another prominent loyalist who fled to Boston was Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, in Worcester County. Graduating from Harvard in 1732, he served in the war of 1755, and was appointed two years later associate justice of the common pleas. In 1765, at the time of the commotion over the Stamp Act, he was a delegate to the congress of the nine colonies in New York, and was made its president; but he refused to sign an address denying the power of Parliament to bind the colonies. On his return to Boston he was reprimanded by the House of Representatives for "his unfaithful discharge of his duty." However, he was returned to the house, and continued to serve until he was appointed a *mandamus* councillor in 1774. This so enraged the populace of the county that they assailed his house at night and ordered him to leave. Although he promised to do so next morning, they painted his horse, cropped its mane and tail, and poisoned and maimed his cattle. On his way to join Governor Gage he was as-

² Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864), I, 468-471; *Second Report*, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1904, Pt. I, 589-590; Davol, *Two Men of Taunton*, 269 and *n.*

saulted by a mob about August 10, but succeeded in reaching Boston and never returned to Hardwick.³

Late in the same year he drew up a plan of association for the Tories, consisting of a preamble and six articles. The first advocated mutual assistance "in the defence of life, liberty, and property, whenever the same shall be attacked or endangered by any bodies of men, riotously assembled upon any pretense, or under any authority not warranted by the laws of the land." The third article declared that the associators "would not acknowledge or submit to the pretended authority of any Congress, Committee of Correspondence, or any other unconstitutional assembles of men"; but would at the risk of their lives "oppose the forcible exercise of all such authority." In a letter of December 22, 1774, to the "Printers of the Boston Newspapers" he stated that since it had become known that independence was the object sought by the revolutionists, many people had associated in different parts of Massachusetts "to preserve their freedom and support Government."⁴

Boston had a good many Tory residents, and the number was largely increased during the latter half of 1774 and the early months of 1775 by refugees who were driven from their communities in various parts of the Province. A few came in also from New Hampshire. Immediately after the battle of Lexington companies of Loyal Associated Volunteers, or Loyal American Associators, began to be formed for the defense of the town.

³ Samuel Curwen, *Journal and Letters* (New York, 1845), 508-510; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLVIII, 15-35.

⁴ Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 242-245; *Second Report*, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1904, Pt. II, 738-740.

One of the first men to sign the association was Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., a graduate of Harvard of 1766. He continued in the council under the royal *mandamus* of 1774, and his residence at Jamaica Plain was sequestered. On November 16 the people of York County adopted a resolution declaring that he "hath forfeited the confidence and friendship of all true friends of American liberty, and, with other pretended counsellors now holding their seats in like manner, ought to be detested by all good men." Any persons who should remain or become his tenants were to be cut off from "all connection and commercial intercourse." Soon after this denunciation the baronet retired to Boston, and thence to England in 1775.⁵

Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Leonard of Taunton was also among the earliest associators, although not listed as an officer. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1760, a member of the general court during a term of years, an addresser of Hutchinson, a *mandamus* councillor, and king's attorney. In August, 1774, a mob fired into his house at night, and hundreds of people gathered in the day time to demand his resignation. Having abandoned his home on the twenty-first, he was absent and went to Boston. He was followed a month later by his wife and new-born son. His name was in the list of *mandamus* councillors ordered to be printed repeatedly by the provincial assembly's resolution of December 6. Between that time and April, 1775, Colonel Leonard wrote a series of well-informed and witty articles under the name of "Massachusettsensis" which had some effect in quieting

⁵ Usher Parsons, *Life of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.* (Boston, 1855), 337-338.

the Province and keeping up the spirits of the Tory faction. In appreciation of his efforts he was appointed solicitor to the board of customs about February, 1775. He assisted the crown counsel in all prosecutions, thereby rendering himself more obnoxious to the Whigs.⁶

Colonel Abijah Willard of Lancaster, in Worcester County, figured prominently in the association. He had served with distinction in the war of 1745, had commanded a regiment in the French and Indian war, and had become one of the most eminent men in his part of Massachusetts. After taking the oath as a *mandamus* councillor, he had gone to Union, Connecticut, on business in August, 1774. There he was kept a prisoner over night, and then taken to Brimfield, where a mob of four hundred people compelled him to sign a humiliating apology in which he promised to "maintain the Charter Rights and Liberties of this Province." On April 19, 1775, Colonel Willard left his house to visit his farm at Salem. When he heard of the battle of Lexington, his fears prevented him from returning to Lancaster, and he took refuge in Boston. After the affray at Bunker Hill he was placed by Governor Gage at the head of one hundred refugees for the purpose of supplying the royal troops with provisions. Under date of September 22, 1775, Governor Hutchinson wrote of Colonel Willard as an enterprising man who had brought in one hundred fat oxen and sheep for the unhappy people besieged in Boston. When Sir William Howe assumed command,

⁶ J. H. Stark, *Loyalists of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1907), 123-127, 132-136; H. E. Egerton, *Royal Commission on Loyalist Claims, 1783-1785* (Oxford, 1915), 152-153, 186-187; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 168-169, 10-11; Davol, *Two Men of Taunton*, 101, 102, 129, 131, 201, 209-210, 230, 235, 262-264, 272, 277-293;

he commissioned him to head a company of the Loyal Associated Volunteers. After Colonel Willard's return from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to New York with the British army in October, 1776, he was again placed in charge of a company of loyalists, but was very soon appointed assistant commissary and served in that capacity throughout the war.⁷

Another man who was given command of a company of the associators in Boston was James Putnam of Worcester, a Harvard graduate of 1746. He began to practice law in Worcester in 1749, speedily became a leader in his profession, and was appointed attorney-general of the Province in 1773. In June, 1774, according to his own statement, he was a lawyer and magistrate for Worcester County, and protested against the measures of the people, who were then beginning to assemble in mobs. His protest was in written form, and was signed by fifty-two loyalists. In September a large mob carried some of these signers through the streets with such demonstrations of disapproval that they fled to Boston. At Boston Putnam heard that the court intended to require recantations from the persons who had made such protests, and would not go back to Worcester. In July, 1775, by Gage's appointment, he assumed command of a company of Loyal Associated Volunteers, and did duty with it until that governor's departure. In August Gage had commissioned him attorney-general of the Province. In the following October General Howe renewed his appointment as captain. In March,

⁷ Egerton, *Royal Commission on Loyalist Claims, 1783-1785*, 137-138; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 429; Jones, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 297.

1776, he accompanied the troops to Halifax and seven months later to New York. There he served in a military capacity until he went to Long Island in 1778. In December of the following year he departed to England. Among the signers of James Putnam's protest was Colonel John Chandler, a Harvard graduate of 1760 and judge of probate for Worcester County. He had held a number of other county and town offices. He had long been colonel of the Worcester Regiment, and in 1757 had seen active duty in that capacity. He had met with no reverses until 1774, and then his manifestation of loyalist sentiments brought him into opprobrium. Denounced as "Tory John," he was forced to leave his home and family and flee to Boston. On the formation of the association, he did patrol duty with some of its members. When the Continental army was ready to march into the town, he departed with the swarm of refugees to Halifax, and thence with a few of his fellows to London.⁸ He had the distinction of being called "The Honest Refugee."

By October, 1775, two or three companies of the Loyal Associated Volunteers were patrolling the streets of Boston, largely through the initiative and efforts of Brigadier-General Ruggles. In that month, if not earlier, General Howe appointed him commandant of the corps, the appointment being gazetted in the general orders of the commander-in-chief on November 17. The number of companies specified was three. Among the men who received commissions as lieutenants in the

⁸ Egerton, *Royal Commission on Loyalist Claims, 1783-1785*, 175; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLVIII, 33; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 204; I, 303; *Proc. American Antiquarian Society*, XXIII, 241.

corps were Elisha Jones, Samuel Paine, Thomas Alexander, and Thomas Danforth. Mr. Danforth seems to have been commissioned in June, 1775. He was a graduate of Harvard College and the only lawyer of Charlestown, and was appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver register *pro tempore* of the vice-admiralty court of appeals for four New England colonies. Thomas Alexander's appointment to a lieutenancy came in July. At the evacuation of Boston he went first to Halifax and then to New York. There he again entered military service, went with Howe's expedition to Philadelphia, and was wounded in the battle of the Brandywine on September 10, 1777. Samuel Paine of Worcester took refuge in Boston in June, 1775, and was made a second lieutenant in Ruggles's corps on October 3. Mr. Paine had graduated from Harvard in 1771, and three years later succeeded his father as clerk of the common pleas and clerk of the quarter sessions of the peace for Worcester County. According to his own statement, Governor Gage employed him to promote the establishment of a "supreme court independent of the province." His service in forwarding this project, and the performance of his duty in issuing *venires* to constables rendered him obnoxious to the Whigs. On September 7, he was summoned before the Worcester County convention, but neither his explanation at that time nor his written reply a fortnight later was considered satisfactory, and the convention voted that he "be treated with all neglect." A few months later he was sent under guard by the committee of Worcester "to Watertown or Cambridge, to be dealt with as the honorable Congress or Commander-in-

Chief shall, upon examination, think proper." Not long after Samuel Paine was a refugee in Boston.⁹

Elisha Jones of Weston was the colonel of the Middlesex County militia, and in 1774 called out his troops "to oppose the violent measures of the insurgents" and kept a guard around his house to prevent attack. At length he fled to Boston with three of his sons, and after the battle of Lexington joined the volunteers with two of them, Josiah and Stephen. The father was assigned the rank of lieutenant. Isaac Winslow, Esq., of Boston may also have been a lieutenant. All he says on the point is that he commanded a patrol party. He was an addresser of Hutchinson and Gage, had qualified as a *mandamus* councillor and opposed the committee of correspondence, and in the spring of 1775 had drafted a paper in which the subscribers pledged themselves to support the British government. Other Boston men who served in Ruggles's corps, were John Barnard, Walter Barrell, inspector general of customs, Robert Hallowell, comptroller of the customs, Peter Johonnot, Benjamin Gridley, barrister and magistrate, John Lovell, Peter Rose, and Samuel Sparhawk. Some of them were Harvard graduates. Josiah Stephen of New Hampshire left home on April 19, 1775, with his father, and went to Boston in order to escape from further persecution for his loyalty. Early in 1776 he was serving in the Loyal Associated Volunteers. All of this shows clearly that Lorenzo Sabine was mistaken when he wrote that Briga-

⁹ *Second Report*, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1904, Pt. II, 738-739, 751-754, 762-763; Pt. I, 32-33; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 242-245; I, 358-359, 143-144; Egerton, *Royal Commission on Loyalist Claims*, 20, 21-22, 65-66, 72-73, 231-232, 232-233, 238, 251-252.

dier-General Ruggles "did not succeed" in his attempt to raise a corps of loyalists.¹⁰

In fact, Ruggles's corps consisted of three companies, or, to speak more accurately, of four companies, there being two third companies so-called, one formed early in July, 1775, and the other about four months later. The members of the corps were distinguished by a white sash worn on the left arm. The officers of the companies were as follows: First Company—Abijah Willard, captain; Thomas Beaman and George Leonard, first lieutenants; Samuel Paine and James Putnam, second lieutenants. Thomas Danforth and James Paine are also mentioned as second lieutenants. Second Company—James Putnam, captain; John Sargent (or Sergeant) and Daniel Oliver, first lieutenants; Jeremiah Dummer Rogers, John Ruggles, and Stephen Jones, second lieutenants. Third Company—Adino Paddock, captain (appointed July 5, 1775); Edward Lutwyche, first lieutenant; James Anderson, second lieutenant; William Campbell, Hopestill Capen, Benjamin Davis, and Samuel Fitch, sergeants. Second Third Company—Francis Green, captain (appointed November 1, 1775); Josiah Jones and Ebenezer Spooner, first lieutenants; Nathaniel Coffin, William Chandler, and Abraham Savage, second lieutenants.¹¹

The third loyalist corps formed in Boston was the Loyal North British Volunteers, which has been erroneously said to have been "the first Company raised in America" in defense of the British constitution. It was

¹⁰ *Second Report*, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 1904, Pt. I, 623; Pt. II, 1139, 1154; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 29-30, 209, 211, 446, 500, 508, 592-593; II, 323.

¹¹ Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 311-312, 153.

organized in 1775, but the precise date of its authorization is not known, or the number of men who entered its ranks. James Anderson, an addresser of Governor Hutchinson in 1774 and of Major-General Thomas Gage in the following year, was its captain and David Black its lieutenant. Among its members, who were mostly Scotch residents of the town, were Andrew Barclay, George Beattie, William Black, Archibald Cunningham, Charles Geddes, William McAlpine, Patrick McMaster, Andrew Ritchie, and John Semple. According to Governor Hutchinson, the Scotchmen in Boston were loyal subjects "almost without exception." Archibald Cunningham, whose business was that of a general merchant, was treasurer of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, which had existed since 1657, and took its records with him to New York. Probably the most prominent merchants among the Loyal North British Volunteers were Patrick and James McMaster, who were importers of British goods and maintained a branch of their establishment at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Their importations during the years from 1769 to 1774 amounted to more than £15,000 in value. Despite pressing invitations to join the revolutionists, they steadfastly opposed their efforts, refused to sign the non-importation agreement, were proscribed, and "were many times in danger of their lives." Threats of being treated to a coat of tar and feathers drove Patrick to take refuge at Castle William in Boston harbor, where he continued to attend to his business as an importer. When the brothers returned to the town in October, 1770, they were welcomed by the inhabitants, who generally gave them credit for the abandonment by many of the people of

the non-importation policy. In 1775 Patrick enrolled in the Loyal North British Volunteers, and in March, 1776, accompanied the British troops to Halifax. James left Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the royal ship *Rainbow*, and settled with other New England loyalists at Shelburne, Nova Scotia. Another of the Boston merchants who served in the volunteers was Andrew Ritchie. He was one of the men who made known their allegiance to the king in writing at the council chamber on the eve of the battle of Lexington. Besides rendering military service, he imported provisions from Nova Scotia in his own vessel, the *North Britain*, which was under the command of his son, John Ritchie. Both father and son were on board when it was captured on November 3, 1775, by an armed boat, and carried into Salem. Six days later they were incarcerated in the jail of that town, and kept there for seven months and a half.

Another of the volunteers was William McAlpine, who employed ten or twelve workmen to operate his two printing presses and bookbindery, in connection with which he had a stationer's shop. He asserted that the spirit of rebellion was fiercer in Boston than in any other part of America. A Briton was under the surveillance of spies and informers. As associations of loyalists were organized to resist persecution and lawless authority McAlpine joined the Loyal North British Volunteers, and served with them until the king's troops evacuated the town. On his departure for Halifax he left behind property worth £1,800. In 1777 he sailed for Greenock, Scotland, whither his wife had preceded him and where he again followed the printer's trade. The service and bravery of the volunteers during the blockade of Bos-

ton elicited repeated thanks from General Gage, both public and private. However, the revolutionary party regarded them in a very different light. When Lieutenant David Black returned to the town in May, 1783, for the purpose of recovering the debts owed to him, he was roughly treated by the committee of safety, threatened with prosecution as a proscribed traitor, and kept in jail for eleven months. He was held accountable for alleged plundering by his corps and asked for a fair trial under the charge, offering to give bond for the payment of all damages that could be proved. The case seems to have been dropped, and it was fortunate for the defendant that it was. He had sustained such losses and misfortunes during the early part of the Revolution that in December, 1779, he had been constrained to compound with such of his creditors as were then in New York at one-fifth of his obligations to them.¹²

In January, 1776, Crean Brush, a refugee from Cumberland County of the "New Hampshire Grants," proposed to Sir William Howe in Boston to raise a force of not less than three hundred volunteers. He was evidently authorized to form his corps, for on March 10, Sir William ordered him to seize the goods of certain designated persons and place them on board of the ship *Minerva* and the brigantine *Elizabeth*. Brush and his troops raided stores and houses, and carried their plunder to the vessels. Their example was promptly followed by lawless parties of men from the army and fleet, and Boston suffered pillage and violence during the closing days of the siege. Just after the evacuation of the town

¹² Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 313, 34, 35, 19, 27, 105-106, 206-207, 209, 243.

Brush was captured on board the brigantine, and was kept a prisoner in the Boston jail for more than nineteen months. The *Elizabeth* was found to contain confiscated property worth fully one hundred thousand dollars.

Mrs. Brush had joined her husband early in 1777. In the following autumn she provided him with money, and had a horse ready for his flight. He disguised himself in her clothing on the night of November 5, passed the turnkey without detection, and made his escape to New York. He then went to Vermont to look after his lands there, but his estate was soon sequestered. He applied to the British commander-in-chief to compensate his losses and redress his personal wrongs, but was told that his "conduct merited them, and more." Becoming despondent, he committed suicide in May, 1778, by putting a pistol bullet through his head.¹³

Edward Winslow, Jr., of Plymouth, was the organizer and maintainer of an armed Tory group in that town. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1765, and in 1774 held the offices of registrar of probate, clerk of the court of common pleas, and collector of the port there, in conjunction with his father. When the port of Boston was closed, his duties as collector were discontinued by order of the commissioners of the customs, the officers of the Boston customs house being transferred to Plymouth early in June, 1774. Mr. Winslow provided them with an office, fuel, and candles. In the following September, Joseph Harrison, the Boston collector, sailed for England with his wife and daughter. His father had been stoned in 1768 after the seizure of John Hancock's

¹³ Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 270-272.

sloop, *Liberty*, and the son evidently feared the rising tide of indignation among the Whigs of Plymouth County. He left the business of his office in the hands of Edward Winslow, who sought to stem the tide of opposition by writing and promoting the Plymouth protest against Whig policies, as also by organizing and largely supporting a Tory company. By means of this force he kept Plymouth quiet long after the neighboring towns were "in extreme confusion." Such, at any rate, was his claim.¹⁴

At length, a county congress at Plymouth voted Mr. Winslow incapable of retaining his offices, and sent a committee to demand his public records. Instead of surrendering his books and papers, he fled with them to Boston. On April 19, 1775, in company with Thomas Beaman of Petersham and Samuel Murray of Brookfield he attended Lord Percy as guide on his expedition to relieve Major Pitcairn at Lexington. Murray was taken prisoner. General Gage commended Winslow's conduct, and soon appointed him collector of the port of Boston and registrar of probate for Suffolk County. These offices he filled until the evacuation of the town, when he sailed with the army and loyalists for Halifax, carrying with him both the Boston and Plymouth records and the royal coat-of-arms from the council chamber.¹⁵ Doubtless his example in fleeing to Boston was followed by the men of his Tory company. After his

¹⁴ Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 445; Rev. W. O. Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 1776-1826 (St. John, N. B., 1901), 65; S. F. Batchelder, "Peter Harrison," *Bulletin* Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, January, 1916, 14.

¹⁵ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 8, 136, 144, 503; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 520.

arrival at New York Mr. Winslow was to play an important role in connection with the provincial troops that soon began to be organized there.

In January, 1775, the town of Marshfield was in a fair way to have a corps of two hundred armed loyalists. That number had declared themselves in favor of the British government, with the result that the Whigs of Plymouth threatened to attack and reduce them to subservience. However, the Marshfield Tories appealed to the commander-in-chief at Boston for troops and a supply of arms and ammunition for themselves. In the afternoon of January 23, Captain Nesbitt Balfour and a detachment of more than one hundred men embarked on board of two vessels for Marshfield, carrying with them an extra quantity of ammunition and guns. A week later an order was issued at Boston for the shipment of enough salt provisions to subsist the detachment for another fortnight, but it remained at Marshfield more than a month longer. It was not until a few days after the battle of Lexington that Captain Balfour and the Queen's Guards returned to Boston. Their vessels brought them off most opportunely, otherwise they would have been intercepted and overwhelmed by a force of several thousand men that had been sent against them.¹⁶ This procedure doubtless terminated the Tory corps at Marshfield, and drove its members within the lines.

The last of the loyalist military organizations formed on Massachusetts soil was a company known as the

¹⁶ Elizabeth Ellery Dana, *The British in Boston* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 22-23, 24, 42-43; S. Deane, *History of Scituate, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1831), 135.

Loyal Irish Volunteers, which was gazetted under the command of Captain James Forrest on December 7, 1775. It appears to have been organized as early as the preceding September, when Edward Dougherty, who had previously been a member of the Associated Loyalists of Boston, joined the new corps. Mr. Forrest was a merchant of Boston, who had been an addresser of Hutchinson in the previous year. His company wore a white cockade as its distinguishing mark, and was assigned the duty of mounting guard every evening.¹⁷ It numbered ninety-seven men and was officered by Mr. Forrest as captain, William Granville Hoar, a Philadelphia wine merchant, and John Brandon as first lieutenants; and John Ramage, a miniature painter, Jonathan Stearns, and Ralph Cunningham as second lieutenants. William Murray, who had been a tidewaiter at the customs house in Boston whence he was transferred to Marble Head in 1774, was a member of the company. It was raised by Captain Forrest at his own expense, his income at the beginning of the Revolution being from £800 to £1,000 a year. Captain Forrest did not confine his services to performing guard duty in Boston. While returning from the West Indies with supplies for the British army in 1776, he was captured and imprisoned in Philadelphia. A little later the members of his family were rescued from the *Beverly* transport, which foundered at sea between New York and Halifax, Nova Scotia. Mr. Forrest invested the residue of his fortune in tea, which one of his sons took in the schooner *Resolution* to Philadelphia under convoy. In the Delaware

¹⁷ Stark, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 134; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 431; Jones, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 120, XX, 136-137, 218, 313.

River he was ordered to return to New York with his vessel by Lord Howe, who was on board the royal ship *Eagle*. On this voyage the *Resolution* was driven ashore and seized by the Americans in 1777. This misfortune left Captain Forrest completely ruined.

Edward Winslow, Jr., returned from Halifax to Staten Island early in July, 1776. On the thirtieth of that month the deputy-adjutant-general issued an order appointing him muster-master-general to "the Provincial Troops taken into his Majesty's pay within the colonies lying on the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to Florida inclusive." The new officer was given an allowance of ten shillings a day, and was made secretary to a board of general officers for which he received an additional *per diem* of ten shillings. He also had a "bare allowance" for travelling expenses. At the time of his appointment there were only two companies of provincials in the royal service, but before the end of the year warrants had been issued for raising a number of brigades and regiments at various places remote from one another. As all these Tory troops were to be mustered once in two months, the muster-master-general was under the necessity of travelling from place to place by boat or on horseback. Before long he was accorded the assistance of a deputy-muster-master at New York and another at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The man chosen by Mr. Winslow to serve in his New York office was his old friend, Ward Chipman of Massachusetts, who was on duty late in November, 1777, if not earlier. Mr. Chipman retained his post throughout the Revolution. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1770, and had been driven to Boston from his locality in 1775. After serv-

ing as a clerk in the customs house there and as a volunteer, he had gone to Halifax at the evacuation and thence to London, where he was granted a pension. In less than a year he surrendered his annuity, and returned to New York. There he found employment in the muster-master-general's office, and perhaps also in the court of admiralty. When Sir William Howe made his expedition to Philadelphia, Mr. Winslow accompanied him, leaving Ward Chipman in charge of his office with another assistant. Howe took with him some Tory regiments, among them the Queen's Rangers, and others were organized in the invaded territory. After appointing a deputy-muster-master at Philadelphia in February, 1778, Winslow was able to return to New York.¹⁸

The Queen's Rangers had been raised by Colonel Robert Rogers of Dunbarton, New Hampshire, "in Connecticut and the vicinity of New York." He had made of it a corps of over four hundred men. Its first muster had been held on Staten Island in August, 1776. At the end of the year Rogers had sailed for England, leaving his organization at an outpost near Marroneck in a much reduced condition. Having gone to Philadelphia with its commandant, Major John Graves Simcoe, it was with Howe's army at Germantown in October, 1777. Its accessions, as well as its losses, in this territory and later considerably reduced the proportion of Connecticut men in its ranks.¹⁹

¹⁸ Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 445; I, 222, 311; Stark, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 133, 431, 432; Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 14, 18, 29, 45, 65, 66, 105, 111.

¹⁹ W. H. Siebert, "The Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut," *Transactions Royal Society of Canada*, Ser. III, X, 76, 81-83.

Despite the fact that the muster-master-general's responsibilities were reduced in some measure by the appointment of an inspector-general of the loyalist forces in the autumn of 1777, they were heavy and continued to increase, because provincial regiments, or detachments, were sent into active duty with every expedition, and the arrival of a British force in a new locality led to an influx of refugees who manifested their loyalty by organizing for service. In some instances the Tories of a community had organized as companies, or regiments, where a British garrison was stationed long before an expedition had come into the neighborhood. The duties of the muster-master-general and his deputies were not only to muster the Tory troops six times a year, but also to conduct partial musters, certify the abstracts for pay of the officers and men, and see to it that the accounts for subsistence were correct. Mr. Winslow himself rode not less than two hundred and sixty miles to attend some musters in his district, and kept at least one person employed in his office in New York. This was the situation at the end of August, 1778. From his correspondence it appears that he was frequently subjected to considerable hardships, exposure, and danger in the course of his visits to the various military posts. His efforts to correct irregularities and prevent errors in the reports relating to the troops under his supervision, involved him in quarrels and in two instances in personal combats with officers.²⁰

In November, 1778, an expedition was sent from New York to the West Indies. It was accompanied by two provincial corps, which were going to Pensacola. After

²⁰ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 18 n., 32-33, 33 n., 44, 65, 66.

a delay during the month of December at Kingston, Jamaica, the two corps proceeded to their destination, where the garrison had been already strengthened a year before by two companies of Loyal Refugees raised by John Stuart, the superintendent of Indian affairs. In the autumn of 1778, also, an expedition was sent from New York to Savannah, Georgia, including three Tory detachments of considerable size. These troops were soon joined by a force from St. Augustine, of which four loyalist regiments formed a part. The active service of these contingents of provincials in the south made necessary the appointment of a deputy-muster-master at Savannah and another at Pensacola, who reported their enumerations periodically to their chief at New York.²¹

In the autumn of 1776 Brigadier-General Ruggles had arrived at the metropolis from Halifax, and was soon recruiting a body of about three hundred militia on Staten and Long Islands. There were numerous duties for such troops to perform in the way of cutting wood and hay, foraging for provisions, manning privateers for marauding exploits on the Sound, or building camps and standing guard. At any rate, General Ruggles' services both at Boston and later were of sufficient importance to win him a place on the board of Associated Loyalists, which was organized in New York in October, 1780, but for some reason he did not attend for six weeks at least.²²

The activities of Massachusetts Tories were not con-

²¹ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 39-40, 45-46; W. H. Siebert, "The Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (March, 1916), 467, 472-473.

²² Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 245; Hist. MSS. Comm., *American Manuscripts in The Royal Institute*, II, 137, 198, 220.

fined to their own Province, or the region about New York City. Some of them found their field of operations in Rhode Island during the British occupation from December, 1776, to October, 1779. Among the troops under General Clinton and Earl Percy that took possession of Newport and Conanicut Island, were two provincial regiments, one from Kingsbridge, New York, and the other from Flushing Fly, Long Island. Numerous refugees came in from the outlying parts of Rhode Island to join the loyalist citizens of Newport after the British force arrived there on December 6.

Some refugees also came from Massachusetts, and volunteered for service. In March, 1777, Colonel George Wightman, a Rhode Islander, received a warrant from General Howe to raise a regiment of Loyal New Englanders, in which some of the officers and men were from Massachusetts, including one captain and at least four lieutenants. Six or seven months later a corps called the Loyal Newport Associators was formed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Wanton, Jr., consisting probably of three companies. In March, 1778, Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow appointed Captain Michael Martin, a Massachusetts man then in charge of a Tory corps in Rhode Island, to be the deputy-muster-master of these provincial troops.²³

Late in August of this year General Clinton returned from New York at the head of a relief expedition to Newport to drive away a besieging force. Finding that the enemy had departed the evening before his arrival,

²³ *R. I. Colonial Records*, VIII, 112; Franklin B. Dexter, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New Haven, 1916), II, 95; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 526, 538; II, 156, 350, 358-359.

Clinton went back to New York. However, he left behind him Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow and a fresh contingent of Tory troops. These troops had been sent over in June, and consisted of Brigadier-General Montfort Browne's Prince of Wales American Volunteers and Colonel Edmund Fanning's King's American Regiment, the former being posted on Conanicut Island and the latter at Newport. Fanning was a native of Long Island, and a graduate of Yale College. After having served as an official in North Carolina for some years, he had gone to New York in the early days of the Revolution. On December 11, 1776, he had been commissioned to raise a provincial corps, and given more than £ 3,000 with which to do it, the sum being contributed by Tory subscribers of New York, Staten Island, King's County, and the town of Jamaica on Long Island. By November 1, 1777, the King's American Regiment was at Kingsbridge, and numbered four hundred and eighty-one men. It reached its maximum enrollment of five hundred and seventeen nearly six months later. At Newport its strength was maintained at about four hundred and eighty.²⁴

Montfort Browne, who was enlisting men in the Prince of Wales American Volunteers in the summer of 1776 and during the following months, had been Lieutenant-Governor of West Florida in 1768 and 1769. He was greatly aided in recruiting by Stephen Hoit of Norwalk, Connecticut, who by July, 1776, had raised a full company and, according to his own testimony, continued

²⁴ Notes from the Muster Rolls; W. H. Siebert, "The Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut," *Transactions*, Royal Society of Canada, Ser. III, X, 75-79; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 415-416.

to recruit for this corps until he had brought in over three hundred men. Other Connecticut loyalists who were active in this service were Dr. Joseph Clarke of Stratford and Josiah Wheeler of Fairfield. The latter secured enough men to obtain a lieutenant's commission, and the former gathered thirty-three recruits. From Flushing, Long Island, Montfort Browne wrote on April 1, 1777, to Lord Germain that he considered "the rank of brigadier no step at all," and asked to be made major-general. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, when Browne's corps numbered about three hundred, it sailed with Major-General William Tryon's expedition against Danbury, Connecticut. The troops landed at Campo, between Norwalk and Fairfield, and on the following day marched some twenty-five miles to its objective and destroyed some storehouses with their contents of provisions and other supplies. On their return to their vessels Tryon's men were several times attacked, about twenty being killed, an equal number taken prisoner, and some ninety wounded. They embarked on the twenty-eighth and made off in the direction of Huntington, Long Island.²⁵

In June, 1777, new recruits were joining the Prince of Wales American Volunteers by scores, including a company of gentlemen of good fortune who declined to accept pay. These all seem to have been Connecticut men, some of them from Redding. By November 1 the corps was posted at Kingsbridge, and numbered four

²⁵ Frank Moore, *The Diary of the American Revolution, 1775-81* (Hartford, Conn., 1876), 423-427; Thomas Jones, *Hist. of New York during the Revolutionary War* (New York, 1879), I, 177-178.

hundred and sixty-six. In June, 1778, it was mustered at Newport, Rhode Island, and had suffered a loss of about forty. It was then moved to Conanicut Island, where it was mustered late in February, 1779. Again the figures show a reduction, this time of sixty-two. Browne's service in Rhode Island was terminated soon after this by his appointment as governor of the Bahama Islands.²⁶

In March, 1779, Colonel Winslow sought mutual co-operation among the Tory troops in Rhode Island for aggressive action against the enemy by promoting the formation of the Loyal Associated Refugees with James Clarke, a Rhode Islander, as their secretary. The purpose of the association was set forth in a formal document, which stated that it would "retaliate upon and make reprisal against the inhabitants of the several Provinces in America, in actual rebellion against their Sovereign." Its members considered themselves warranted, by the laws of God and man, "to wage war upon their inhuman persecutors, and to use every means in their power, to obtain redress and compensation for the indignities and losses they had suffered." In conclusion, the document invited the loyalists, together with those who had become tired of Congressional tyranny and paper money and hated French frippery, politics, religion, and alliances, to join in the endeavor to restore in America the old form of government. This plan was approved by the British commander-in-chief in Rhode Island, and

²⁶ Hist. MSS. Comm., *American Manuscripts in the Royal Institute*, I, 100, 105, 156, 468, 482; II, 418; Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 17, 28; Siebert, "The Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut," 75-79; Notes from the Muster Rolls.

the officers of the Loyal Associated Refugees were commissioned by him.²⁷

At the end of March, Colonel Winslow was appointed by General Richard Prescott to command a detachment of the new corps and other provincial troops on a secret attack against Bedford, Long Island. George Leonard of Massachusetts was second in command of the Loyal Associated Refugees, and was in charge of their privateers in this enterprise. The detachment comprised Wentworth's Volunteers, a part of Wightman's Loyal New Englanders under Captain Zebedee Terry of Free-town, Massachusetts, and Captain Martin's corps. The last-named officer was Michael Martin of Brookfield, Massachusetts. Whatever the number of Massachusetts men may have been in Martin's corps and in the Loyal New Englanders, only a fourth of Wentworth's Volunteers can be identified as such. One-half of this small company was made up of New Hampshire men, as was to be expected in a body formed under the patronage of the former governor of New Hampshire, John Wentworth. The other members were from Connecticut and Rhode Island. The company seems to have been first mustered at Flushing, Long Island, on October 16, 1777, its officers being Captain Daniel Murray of Brookfield, a Harvard graduate of 1771; Lieutenant Benjamin Whiting, a former sheriff of Hillsborough County, New Hampshire; and Second-Lieutenant Elijah Williams of Deerfield, a graduate of 1764 at Harvard. Captain Murray had fled from Massachusetts in 1777 rather than take the test oath, and gone to Rhode Island. The

²⁷ Hist. MSS. Comm., *American Manuscripts in the Royal Institute*, I, 286-287; Sabine, *Loyalists in the American Revolution*, I, 315-316.

Loyal New Englanders consisted of three companies, and numbered one hundred and twelve men at Newport on June 24, 1778. A year later they had fallen to nearly half their former strength.²⁸

As Winslow's expedition to Bedford did not reach its destination on account of the lack of a favorable wind, it proceeded down Long Island Sound and bombarded the town of Falmouth. A second attempt on Bedford in mid-May, which was made by Captain Murray and one hundred and sixty-seven Loyal Associated Refugees, met with no better success than the first one. When on June 19, some of the British troops withdrew from Rhode Island, Winslow and fifty of his men embarked on board their own privateers and assisted in transporting the contingent back to New York.²⁹

It included Fanning's King's American Regiment, which accompanied Tryon's raid on New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk early in July. Tryon's fleet of vessels and small boats reached West Haven on the fifth and plundered New Haven, but did not burn the town. It was spared probably through the intercession of Colonel Fanning, who had spent his college days there. Attacking parties harassed the invaders as they retreated, inflicting a loss of one hundred or more. On the seventh the fleet sailed for Kinzie's Point, where the troops disembarked. They met with such opposition in entering Fairfield that Tryon would not listen to entreaties to spare the town. The torch was applied in the evening,

²⁸ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 46-47; Notes from the Muster Rolls; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 315; II, 117, 350, 422-423, 435; Egerton, *Royal Commission on Loyalist Claims*, 1783-1785, 178-179.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 50-51, 52-53.

and most of the houses were consumed. In the afternoon of the eighth the raiders set sail for Norwalk, and plundered and burnt that town. Thence they crossed the Sound, and cast anchor at Huntington, Long Island.³⁰

During the summer and autumn of 1779 Winslow and his command captured eighteen vessels, ten boats with goods of various kinds, about three thousand head of live stock, and thirty-five prisoners. The sales of their plunder brought in over £23,400 sterling. Early in September Winslow and Leonard sailed with Wentworth's Volunteers to Martha's Vineyard to put an end to contraband trade there. They threatened dire vengeance to those concerned, and compelled the islanders to send a representative to Boston to request release from the payment of taxes, which Winslow declared was helping to support the Revolution. The release was granted temporarily. Winslow's services in Rhode Island kept the loyalists together, enabled them to make raids on a few towns along the Sound as Tryon was doing, and to gain compensation for the losses sustained by the refugees.

In rendering those services Winslow had the valued assistance of Major Joshua Upham, who had been a lawyer and magistrate at Brookfield in Worcester County. Upham had boldly opposed the "licentious conduct" of the people, had spoken in town meeting against American independence, but had signed a recantation in 1775. At length, in April, 1777, in order to avoid the test oath he had betaken himself to Boston and left the

³⁰ Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, 706-717; Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, 314.

Province. He was with Winslow in the attack on Norwalk. In January, 1779, he was appointed inspector of loyalist claims at ten shillings a day and a little later crown advocate in Rhode Island. He served there until the evacuation in October of the same year.³¹

Another Tory band, which was in Rhode Island in 1778 and probably continued there until the British withdrew, was Whitmore's "Greencoats." Sabine describes them as one hundred and twenty-seven "deserters and refugees from the whigs." What duties they performed are not known. They may have been sent out on marauding forays, or participated in what Captain Martin called "horse stealing" expeditions, or assigned to guard duty. Nor is it certain that any of them were Massachusetts men.³²

The provincial troops and other loyalists and their families who accompanied the British army from Rhode Island, were landed at Huntington, Long Island. At the muster of May 24, 1780, Wentworth's Volunteers were at Jerusalem, and numbered forty-one. Seven months later they were posted at Lloyd's Neck and numbered forty, Captain Daniel Murray still being in command of the corps. The showing made by the Loyal New Englanders under Lieutenant-Colonel Wightman at these two musters was somewhat larger, both taking place at Lloyd's Neck: in the May muster the number was fifty-four, and in the December one, fifty-three. In the case of both of these corps it is significant that the

³¹ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 50-51, 52, 55-56, 365; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 372-373; Egerton, *Royal Commission on Loyalist Claims, 1783-1785*, 177; Siebert, *Loyalist Refugees of New Hampshire*, Ohio State University Bulletin, October, 1916, 10, 11.

³² Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 424.

last muster of which we have record was held on December 24, 1780. On June 1 of the following year the inspector general of the provincial forces reported to the commander-in-chief that the Loyal New Englanders were "reduced to about thirty Effectives fit for Duty," and asked permission to incorporate them with some other battalion. Probably Wentworth's Volunteers were in no better condition. However this may be, General Carleton replied that the Loyal New Englanders were to choose for themselves what other organization they would join. On June 9 an order to that effect was issued, with the additional instruction that Colonel Winslow should put it into execution. Probably the same plan was followed in the case of Wentworth's Volunteers and other small provincial companies.³³

On their return from Rhode Island the Prince of Wales American Volunteers were posted at Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, in the autumn of 1779 and at Flushing Fly in the following spring. Their new commandant was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Pattinson, who accompanied the corps when it sailed early in April, 1780, with other regiments to join the British before Charleston, South Carolina. It arrived there on April 21, numbering four hundred rank and file, and after the capture of the town returned to Staten Island, having been absent just two months. Colonel Fanning and the King's American Regiment were sent with Lieutenant-General Alexander Leslie's contingent to South Carolina in October. The regiment then had four hundred and fifty-nine men. After participating in several engagements in that Province, the corps was transferred to Savannah.

³³ Notes from the Muster Rolls.

The Queen's Rangers embarked on December 11 for Virginia with Benedict Arnold's expedition. It then numbered six hundred and thirty-five infantry and one hundred and twenty-five cavalry. The hardships of service reduced them to about one hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry by early June, 1781, but they were strengthened by two hundred men of the 71st Regiment and dispatched against Baron Steuben at the head of James River. He fled from what he supposed to be Cornwallis's army, and left a quantity of stores in the possession of a threadbare detachment, a part of whose men were without shoes. Late in June the rangers routed a force superior to their own in number, and destroyed its stores and boats on the Chickahominy. They continued their operations until the surrender at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. There the three hundred and twenty men of the corps laid down their arms, and were interned in four camps in Virginia. During the subsequent months most of them escaped, and found their way back to New York. They were mustered in February, 1782, including women and children, and totaled five hundred and seventy-eight.³⁴

Fanning's King's American Regiment was mustered twice at Savannah, once in December, 1781, and again in June, 1782. Its eight companies of infantry were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel George Campbell, and its troop of cavalry by Captain Isaac Atwood. At the earlier muster the regiment numbered four hundred and thirty-three men, and at the later one slightly over

³⁴ Notes from the Muster Rolls; Siebert, *The Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut*, 84; D. B. Read, *The Life and Times of General John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1901), 94-100; Duncan C. Scott, *John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1906), 33-36.

four hundred. At the evacuation of Savannah in July the regiment returned to New York.³⁵

As early as January 23, 1779, it had been agreed between Lord Germain, secretary of state for the colonies, and his under secretary, Major Benjamin Thompson, that the latter should have a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the regular army, return to America, and raise a regiment to be known as the King's American Dragoons. Major Thompson was a Massachusetts man by birth, had studied medicine at Woburn and attended scientific lectures at Harvard, and taught school at Rumford (later Concord), New Hampshire, which was then a part of Essex County, Massachusetts. In the autumn of 1772 he had married a wealthy young widow, and made so favorable an impression on Governor Wentworth that the latter commissioned him a major in the Second Provincial Regiment of New Hampshire. At Boston Thompson met General Gage and other British officers. In the summer of 1774 he had been summoned before a committee at Rumford as one who was "unfriendly to the cause of Liberty." Although he denied the charge, a mob visited his dwelling in November but did not find him because he had been warned and had fled to his mother's home in Woburn. There he was arrested on May 15, 1775, on indefinite charges of disloyalty, but was discharged for lack of proof. In October he left for Narragansett Bay, and went on board the British frigate *Scarborough* in Newport Harbor. He is said to have offered his services to the patriot army, only to have them declined. In his letter of August 14, 1775, to his wife's father he regretted the sufferings he was causing his

³⁵ Notes from the Muster Rolls.

parents and friends and anticipated poverty and distress in unknown lands, but considered those evils more tolerable than the treatment he had met with from his "ungrateful countrymen." The *Scarborough* soon sailed for Boston, and remained there until the evacuation.³⁶ It has been said that in Boston Major Thompson was chosen to command one of the companies of the Loyal Associated Volunteers then being organized by Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles, but he did not serve in that capacity. After the evacuation of the town he sailed for London with dispatches from General Howe announcing the outcome of the blockade, and was soon appointed provincial secretary of Georgia. In September, 1780, he was made under secretary of state in the American Department under Lord George Germain. Some months later he resigned that office in order to accept a commission as lieutenant-colonel commandant of the King's American Dragoons, a regiment he was to organize in America.³⁶

In January, 1781, Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, was soon placed at the head of a detachment, and sent by Lieutenant-General Leslie against Colonel Francis Marion and his command. For driving the majority of Marion's men into the Santee River late in February, he received Leslie's "best thanks." In April Thompson proceeded to New York to embody the King's American Dragoons. About the same time, or in the fall and winter of the

³⁶ Hist. MSS. Comm., *American Manuscripts in the Royal Institute*, I, 376; Otis G. Hammond, *Tories of New Hampshire in the Revolution* (Concord, N. H., 1917), 32-37; Stark, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 262-267; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 353; George E. Ellis, *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson* (Boston, 1871), *passim*; Jones, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 275-276.

previous year, Major Joshua Upham had enrolled thirty-two Volunteers of New England, but had been appointed deputy-inspector of refugees at Lloyd's Neck, and late in June General Clinton had promoted him lieutenant-colonel of the Associated Loyalists and given him command of the fort and post there. Early in May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton had incorporated the soldiers recruited by Upham in the King's American Dragoons, and appointed him first major in that corps. Captain Daniel Murray seems to have been at Lloyd's Neck also with Wentworth's Volunteers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wightman with his corps of Loyal New Englanders. On February 22, 1781, Captain Murray had received his warrant as second major and orders to embody the corps of the King's American Dragoons, which was to consist of six troops of sixty men each. Dr. Adina Paddock, formerly of Boston, who had gone to England in 1779 to study medicine and surgery and had recently returned, was made surgeon, and Ward Chipman was paymaster of the new corps, which was raised chiefly through the efforts of Major Murray. Other Massachusetts men in its list of officers were Captain John Murray and Lieutenant Robert Murray, both brothers of the first major, Lieutenant Simeon Jones of Weston, and his brother Stephen, whose rank is not given, Lieutenant Samuel Tarbell of Groton, and Cornet Thomas Lechmere of Taunton.³⁷

³⁷ Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785* (Deland, Florida, 1929), I, 87-88; Sabine, *Loyalists in the American Revolution*, II, 117, 141, 177; I, 593; II, 353, 372-373; Egerton, *Royal Commission on Loyalist Claims, 1783-85*, 177, 178-179; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts*, II, 253; Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 30 n., 47 n., 49 n., 88 n., 101 n.; Jones, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, *passim*.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson took little or no part in organizing his provincial corps, but on June 20, 1782, wrote from Camp Cow Neck, 194 Water Street, New York, that he meant to recruit in good earnest. A muster of the regiment taken about the same time at Herrick's on Long Island showed two hundred and forty-four men. On July 24 an advertisement appeared in Rivington's *Royal Gazette* offering ten guineas each for volunteers and five guineas to every person who would bring in a recruit, the other five to be paid to the recruit himself. An officer of the regiment was to remain at Lloyd's Neck to receive those crossing from the mainland at that point. There were many accessions before long due to the incorporation of small companies of provincials, such as Wentworth's Volunteers, and the Loyal New Englanders, with larger battalions. In August the corps is said to have reached its full quota. It had been raised chiefly through the efforts of Major Murray, supported by the strong influence of Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles. Murray had been involved in an expense of £2,032 for subsisting the recruits for nearly eleven months and buying horses, for which he was sued after the war. In mid-September, 1782, the King's American Dragoons were at Ireland Heights, three miles east of Flushing, where sixty-two men enlisted. The corps had gained wide notice in the preceding August through the presentation to its commandant of a stand of colors by the Prince of Wales, later King George IV, who was the patron of the regiment. On October 1, Colonel Thompson conducted his command to Huntington, where it erected a fort to protect the trade across the Sound. Early in April, 1783, the regiment was at Springfield, Long

Island, and numbered three hundred and thirty-two men.³⁸

About October 1, 1782, some of the dragoons had emigrated to Annapolis, Nova Scotia, but most of them waited on Long Island until spring and then sailed with Major Murray to the River St. John in the Bay of Fundy. Thus the King's American Dragoons, who were for the most part New England men, formed the advance guard of the thousands of loyalists who evacuated New York and the neighboring region with the British troops during the year 1783. On the petition of Major Murray and Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow they were granted a block of land on the west side of the river one hundred and twenty-five miles from its mouth, which was named Prince William in compliance with their wishes. After being detained until August 8 at or near the site of Carleton on the west side of the St. John Harbor, they were sent up to their township to settle. They were the first of the loyalist regiments to arrive in the Province. Their commanding officer, Colonel Thompson, did not accompany them, having returned to England, where he was promoted to the rank of colonel with the half-pay of his new rank. On July 8, 1783, he wrote from Pall Mall Court in London that the King had recommended Winslow to General Carleton for the colonelcy and Major Murray for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment.³⁹

³⁸ Siebert, *The Loyalist Refugees of New Hampshire*, Ohio State University *Bulletin*, October, 1916, 12-13; Stark, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 268; Notes from the Muster Rolls, Jones, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 215.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 17; Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 30 n., 156 n., 209 n.

Already in the previous March the commanding officers of the King's American Regiment, the Prince of Wales American Volunteers, the Queen's Rangers, and eleven other provincial corps had memorialized Carleton for grants of land in some loyal American province for their officers and men and for assistance to enable them to settle thereon. Six months later the commander-in-chief directed Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Hewlitt to assume command of these troops, and move them to the locations set apart for them on the upper reaches of St. John River. They sailed on September 15, and reached the mouth of the river twelve days later. After being disbanded in the early days of October, many of the Queen's Rangers drew lots in Parr Town (later known as St. John) and became founders of that loyalist city. Numerous members of the King's American Regiment were not so wise, and ascended the river at once as far as St. Anns, where they spent a wretched winter. The regiment drew Canterbury Township on the west side of the river, but it was not until early in 1784 that Captain Isaac Atwood and a small number of his fellows settled at Bel-viso, forty miles above St. Anns. A considerable number of members of the corps soon followed and occupied the regimental land. As the Prince of Wales American Volunteers were not disbanded until October 10, they decided that it was too late to make the slow and arduous trip up the river in the small craft available, and remained where they were until spring. They settled in Douglas Township.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Siebert, *The Loyalist Refugees of New Hampshire*, 15-17; Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 156 n.

Late in September, 1784, two censuses were taken of these and the other settlements of loyalist troops on the River St. John, one showing the number of persons for whom provisions had been drawn before the muster (A) and the other of the number present at the muster (B). The figures for the regiments that contained a large proportion of New England men are given below:

A						
Name of Regiment	Men	Women	Children over 10	Children under 10	Servants	Total
King's American Dragoons	194	43	24	23	32	316
King's American Regiment	153	47	79	22	44	345
Prince of Wales American Volunteers	157	65	54	23	56	355
Queen's Rangers	222	66	21	41	47	397
<hr/>						
	726	221	178	109	179	1413

B						
Name of Regiment	Men	Women	Children over 10	Children under 10	Servants	Total
King's American Dragoons	143	39	19	24	6	231
King's American Regiment	144	35	68	28	18	293
Loyal New Englanders	5	4	8	1	0	18
Queen's Rangers	210	64	22	42	23	361
<hr/>						
	502	142	117	104	47	1003

The difference in numbers between the two tables is explained in most instances by the fact that some of the members of these provincial regiments did not settle on the land assigned to them, but scattered to other localities, near or remote. For example, fifteen men, nine women, and thirteen children belonging to the King's American Regiment and five members of the Queen's Rangers went to Port Roseway with numbers of other

refugees from the New England states, and helped to found the town of Shelburne. In fact, the victims of the Revolution from those states were to be found in nearly every town and village of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and a few settled on the St. Lawrence and the bays of Quinté and Chaleurs, not to mention those who spent the latter part of their lives in Upper Canada or in England or the few who were permitted after a period of exile to return to their old neighborhoods.⁴¹

⁴¹ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 30 n., 156 n., 244, 245; Siebert, *The Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut*, 91-92.